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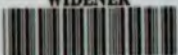
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HISTORY
OF
LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

HISTORY
OF
LATIN CHRISTIANITY:
INCLUDING THAT OF
THE POPES
TO
THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V.

By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

EIGHT VOLUMES IN FOUR.
VOLS. I., II.

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PREFACE
TO
THE SECOND EDITION.

IN this edition I have carefully revised the whole ; but the corrections which I have thought it necessary to make are in general confined to the style and language. Excepting in a few instances, I have not myself detected any important errors or inaccuracies as to the facts in the history ; neither have such, as far as I know, been pointed out by friendly or unfriendly critics — not indeed that I have any right to say that I have met with unfriendly critics. The additions which I have made — in some cases derived from older books, which had not fallen in my way, but chiefly from books published since the appearance of the first edition — are almost entirely confined to the notes. Among these, besides the “Life of Mohammed,” by Dr. Sprenger, I may specially name one or two original pieces in the new volume of Pertz, “Monumenta Germaniæ ;” the “Chronicon Placentinum,” from the British Museum ; and the curious documents relating to the “Friends of God,” published by Dr. Carl Schmidt.

PREFACE
TO
THE FIRST EDITION.

THE History of Latin Christianity is a continuation of "The History of Christianity to the Extinction of Paganism in the Roman Empire." But Latin Christianity appears to possess such a remarkable historic unity, that I have thought fit, in order to make this work complete in itself, to trace again its origin and earlier development, and to enter in some respects with greater fulness, yet without unnecessary repetition, into its history during the first four centuries. On one extremely dark part of that history a book but recently discovered has thrown unexpected light.

The sentence of Polybius which describes the unity, and the plan of his History of Republican Rome, might be adopted by the historian of the Rise and Progress of Christian Rome. *"Ομοτος γὰρ ἐνὸς ἔργου καὶ θεάματος ἐνὸς τοῦ σύμπαντος, ὑπὲρ τούτου γράφειν ἐπιχειρήκαμεν τοῦ, πῶς καὶ πότε, καὶ διὰ τί πάντα τὰ γνωρίζόμενα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥωμαίων δυναστείᾳ ἐγένετο.* — l. iii. c. i.
"The work which we have undertaken being one, the

whole forming one great design, how, when, and by what means all the known world became subject to the Roman rule." Though the great sphere of Latin Christianity was Western Europe, yet, during the first seven or eight centuries, it is so mingled up with the religious history of the Greek empire; the invasion of Western Europe by the Mohammedans, and the Crusades, so involved it again in the affairs of the East; that, in its influence at least, it extended to the limits of the known world.

My aim has been to write a history, not a succession of dissertations on history; to give with as much life and reality as I have been able, the result, not the process, of inquiry. This, where almost every event, every character, every opinion has been the subject of long, intricate, too often hostile controversy, was a task of no slight difficulty. Where the conflicting authorities have seemed to be nearly balanced, I have sometimes, but rarely, admitted them into the text, not desiring to speak with certainty, where certainty appeared unattainable; in general I have reserved such discussions, when inevitable, for the notes. Even in the notes I have endeavored to avoid two things — a polemic tone and prolixity. I. — I have cited the names of modern writers, in general, only when their observations have been remarkable in themselves, as original, or as characteristic of the progress of opinion. II. — I have usually contented myself with quoting the authority which after due consideration I have thought

it right to follow, instead of occupying a large space with concurrent or conflicting statements. Nothing can be more easy, now that we possess such admirable manuals of ecclesiastical history. (especially the invaluable one of Gieseler), than to heap together to immeasurable extent citations from ancient authors or the opinions of learned men. I notice this solely that I may not be suspected either of the presumption of having neglected the labors, or of want of gratitude for the aid, of that array of writers who — from the Magdeburg Centuriators, Baronius and his Continuator, through the great French scholars, Tillemont, Fleury, Dupin; the Germans, Mosheim, Schroeck, Neander, and countless others (where, alas! are the English historians of those times?) — have wrought with such indefatigable industry on the annals of Christianity. I have studied compression and condensation, rather than fulness and copiousness, simply in order to bring the work within reasonable compass.

PREFACE TO VOLUME IV.

FIRST EDITION.

I CANNOT offer the concluding volumes of the History of Latin Christianity without expressing my grateful sense of the kind and liberal manner in which the former portion of the work has been generally received. In these volumes I trust that I have not fallen below my constant aim — calm and rigid impartiality; the fearless exposure of the bad, full appreciation of the good, both in the institutions and in the men who have passed before my view. I hope that I may aver without presumption that my sole object is truth — truth uttered in charity; and where truth has appeared to me unattainable from want of sufficient authorities, or from authorities balanced or contradictory, I have avoided the expression of any positive opinion. I am unwilling to claim the authority of history for that for which there is not historical evidence. I would further remind the reader that if the course of affairs during these ages should appear dark, at times almost to repulsiveness, still in the dreariest and most gloomy period of Christian history there was

always an undercurrent of humble, Christian goodness flowing on, as the Saviour himself came, "without observation," the light of which we can discern but by faint and transitory glimpses.

Only one book, as far as I know, has appeared since the publication of the first part of my work, which has further elucidated any of the subjects treated in those volumes — the "Life of Mohammed," by Dr. Sprenger. After the perusal of that work, so much more full than any former history on the earlier and more authentic traditions of the Prophet, I have the satisfaction to find that though I might be disposed to add a few sentences, I find nothing in my own more brief and rapid sketch to alter or to retract. Moreover (I write with diffidence), it appears to me that Dr. Sprenger has hardly drawn the line, if it can be drawn, between the Historical and the Legendary in the life of Mohammed. I cannot but think that the Kôran, after all, is the one safe and trustworthy authority for the life, the acts, and the aims, of the founder of Islam.

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HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

INTRODUCTION.

DESIGN AND PLAN OF THE WORK.

THE great event in the history of our religion and of mankind, during many centuries after the extinction of Paganism, is the rise, the development, and the domination of Latin Christianity. Though the religion of Christ had its origin among a Syrian people—though its Divine Author spoke an Aramaic dialect—Christianity was almost from the first a Greek religion. Its primal records were all, or nearly all, written in the Greek language; it was promulgated with the greatest rapidity and success among nations either of Greek descent, or those which had been Grecised by the conquests of Alexander; its most flourishing churches were in Greek cities. Greek was the commercial language in which the Jews, through whom it was at first disseminated, and who were even now settled in almost every province of the Roman world, carried on their intercourse. Primitive Christianity no doubt continued to speak in

Syriac to vast numbers of disciples in the Syrian provinces; it spread eastward to a considerable extent, in Babylonia and beyond the Euphrates, into regions where Greek ceased to be the common tongue. Oriental influences, influences even from the remoter East, worked into its doctrine and into its system; yet even these flowed in chiefly or in great part through Greek channels. The Indian Monasticism¹ had already been domiciliated in Palestine and among the Egyptian Jews. Oriental and Egyptian notions had found their way into the Greek philosophy. Among the earlier Christian converts were some of these partially orientalized Greek philosophers. Many of the first teachers had been trained in their schools. In Antioch, in Alexandria, even in Ephesus there was something of an Asiatic cast in the Greek civilization.

Character of Greek Christianity. Greek Christianity could not but be affected both in its doctrinal progress and in its polity by its Greek origin. Among the Greeks had been for centuries agitated all those primary questions which lie at the bottom of all religions;—the formation of the worlds—the existence and nature of the Deity—the origin and cause of evil, though this seems to have been studied even with stronger predilection in the trans-Euphratic East. Hence Greek Christianity was insatiably inquisitive, speculative. Confident in the inexhaustible copiousness and fine precision of its

¹ Compare, on Buddhist monasticism, the very curious visitation of the Buddhist monasteries at the close of the fourth century, the continuation of earlier visitations anterior to the Christian era, the *Foe Xoueki*, translated by M. A. Rémusat, Paris, 1836; also the recent more popular work by Mr. Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, London, 1850.

language, it endured no limitation to its curious investigations. As each great question was settled or worn out, it was still ready to propose new ones. It began with the Divinity of Christ (still earlier perhaps with some of the Gnostic Cosmogonical or Theophanic theories), so onward to the Trinity: it expired, or at least drew near its end as the religion of the Roman East, discussing the Divine Light on Mount Tabor.

In their polity the Grecian churches were a federation of republics, as were the settlements of the Jews. But they were founded on a religious, not on a national basis; external to, yet in their boundaries, mostly in their aggregative system, following the old commonwealths, which still continued to subsist under the supremacy of the Roman Prefect or Proconsul, and in later times the distribution of the Imperial dioceses. They were held together by common sympathies, common creeds, common sacred books, certain, as yet simple, but common rites, common usages of life, and a hierarchy everywhere, in theory at least, of the same power and influence. They admitted the Christians of other places by some established sign, or by recommendatory letters. They were often bound together by mutual charitable subventions. Still each was an absolutely independent community. The Roman East, including Greece, had no capital. The old kingdoms might respect the traditionary greatness of some city, which had been the abode of their kings, or which was the seat of a central provincial government: other cities, from their wealth and population, may have assumed a superior rank, Antioch in Syria, Alexan-

dria in Egypt, Ephesus in Asia Minor. But though churches known or reputed to have been founded by Apostles might be looked on with peculiar respect, there was as yet no subordination, no supremacy; their federal union was a voluntary association. Whether the internal constitution had become more or less rapidly or completely monarchical; whether the Bishop had risen to a greater or less height above his co-Presbyters, the whole episcopal order, the representatives of each church, were on the same level. The Metropolitan and afterwards the Patriarchal dignity was of later growth. Jerusalem, which might naturally have aspired to the rank of the Christian capital, at least in the East, had been destroyed, and remained desolate for many years: it assumed only at a later period (at one time it was subject to Cæsarea) even the Patriarchal rank.

But at the extinction of Paganism, Greek, or, as it may now be called in opposition to the West, Eastern Christianity, had almost ceased to be aggressive or creative. Except the contested conversion of the Bulgarians, later of the Russians, and a few wild tribes, it achieved no conquests. The Nestorians alone, driven into exile by cruel persecutions, formed settlements, and propagated their own form of Christianity in Persia, India, perhaps in still more distant lands. The Eastern Church never recovered the ground which it had lost before the revived Magianism of the Sassanian kings of Persia; and it was compelled to retire within still narrowing bounds before triumphant Mohammedanism. The Greek hierarchy had

Not aggressive.

now lost their unity of action. The great Patriarchates, which by this time had been formed on the authority of Councils, were involved in perpetual strife, or were contested by rival bishops, till three of them, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, sank into administrators of a tolerated religion under the Mohammedan dominion. The Bishop of Constantinople was the passive victim, the humble slave, or the factious adversary of the Byzantine Emperor: rarely exercised a lofty moral control upon his despotism. The lower clergy, whatever their more secret beneficent or sanctifying workings on society, had sufficient power, wealth, rank, to tempt ambition, or to degrade to intrigue; not enough to command the public mind for any great salutary purpose; to repress the inveterate immorality of an effete age; to reconcile jarring interests; to mould together hostile races: in general they ruled, where they did rule, by the superstitious fears, rather than by the reverence and attachment of a grateful people. They sank downward into the common ignorance, and yielded to that worst barbarism—a worn out civilization. Monasticism withdrew a great number of those who might have been energetic and useful citizens into barren seclusion and religious indolence; but except where the monks formed themselves, as they frequently did, into fierce political or polemic factions, they had little effect on the condition of society. They stood aloof from the world, the anchorites in their desert wildernesses, the monks, in their jealously-barred convents; and secure, as they supposed, of their own salvation, left the rest of mankind to inevitable perdition.

Greek Monasticism.

Greek theology still maintained its speculative tendency; it went on defining with still more exquisite subtlety the Godhead and the nature of Christ. The interminable controversy still lengthened out, and cast forth sect after sect from the enfeebled community. The great Greek writers, Athanasius, Basil, the Gregories, had passed away and left only unworthy successors; the splendid public eloquence had expired on the lips of Chrysostom. There was no writer who laid strong hold on the imagination or reason of men, except the author of that extraordinary book, ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, of which perhaps the remote influence was greater in the West than in the Byzantine empire. John of Damascus, the powerful adversary of Iconoclasm, is a splendid exception, not merely on account of the polemic vigor shown in that controversy, but as a theologian doubtless the ablest of his late age. The Greek language gradually, but slowly, degenerated; at length, but not entirely till after the fall of Constantinople, it broke up into barbarous dialects; but it gave birth by fusion with foreign tongues to no new language productive of noble poetry, of oratory, or philosophy. A rude and premature reformation, that of Iconoclasm, attempted to overthrow the established traditional faith, but offered nothing to supply its place which could either enlighten the mind or enthrall the religious affections: it destroyed the images, but it did not reveal the Original Deity, or the Christ in his pure and essential spirituality. Greek Christianity remained however, and still remains, a separate and peculiar form of faith; it repudiated all the at-

Greek Theol.
 187.

tempts of the feebler sovereigns of the East to barter its independence for succor against the formidable Turks: it is still the religion of revived Greece, and of the vast Russian empire.

Latin Christianity, on the other hand, seemed endowed with an inexhaustible principle of ^{Latin Chris}expanding life. No sooner had the North-^{tianity.}ern tribes entered within its magic circle, than they submitted to its yoke: and, not content with thus conquering its conquerors, it was constantly pushing forward its own frontier, and advancing into the strongholds of Northern Paganism. Gradually it became a monarchy, with all the power of a concentrated dominion. The clergy assumed an absolute despotism over the mind of man: not satisfied with ruling princes and kings, themselves became princes and kings. Their organization was coincident with the bounds of Christendom; they were a second universal magistracy, exercising always equal, asserting, and for a long period possessing, superior power to the civil government. They had their own jurisprudence—the canon law,—coördinate with and of equal authority with the Roman or the various national codes, only with penalties infinitely more terrific, almost arbitrarily administered, and admitting no exception, not even that of the greatest temporal sovereign. Western Monasticism, in its ^{Latin Monas-}general character, was not the barren, idly-^{ticism.}laborious or dreamy quietude of the East. It was industrious and productive: it settled colonies, preserved arts and letters, built splendid edifices, fertilized deserts. If it rent from the world the most powerful minds, having trained them by its stern

discipline, it sent them back to rule the world. It continually, as it were, renewed its youth, and kept up a constant infusion of vigorous life, now quickening into enthusiasm, now darkening into fanaticism; and by its perpetual rivalry, stimulating the zeal, or supplying the deficiencies of the secular clergy. In successive ages it adapted itself to the state of the human mind. At first a missionary to barbarous nations, it built abbeys, hewed down forests, cultivated swamps, enclosed domains, retrieved or won for civilization tracts which had fallen to waste or had never known culture. With St. Dominic it turned its missionary zeal upon Christianity itself, and spread as a preaching order throughout Christendom; with St. Francis it became even more popular, and lowered itself to the very humblest of mankind. In Jesuitism it made a last effort to govern mankind by an incorporated caste. But Jesuitism found it necessary to reject many of the peculiarities of Monasticism: it made itself secular to overcome the world. But the compromise could not endure. Over the Indians of South America alone, but for the force of circumstances, it might have been lasting. In Eastern India it became a kind of Christian Paganism; in Europe a moral and religious Rationalism, fatal both to morals and to religion.

Throughout this period, then, of at least ten centuries, Latin Christianity was the religion of the Western nations of Europe: Latin the religious language; the Latin translation of the Scriptures the religious code of mankind. Latin theology was alone inexhaustibly prolific, and held

Latin Christianity.

wide and unshaken authority. On most speculative tenets this theology had left to Greek controversialists to argue out the endless transcendental questions of religion, and contented herself with resolutely embracing the results, which she fixed in her inflexible theory of doctrine. The only controversy which violently disturbed the Western Church was the practical one, on which the East looked almost with indifference, the origin and motive principle of human action—grace and free will. This, from Augustine to Luther and Jansenius, was the interminable, still reviving problem. Latin Christian literature, like Greek, might have seemed already to have passed its meridian after Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, and, high above all, Augustine. The age of true Latin poetry, no doubt, had long been over; the imaginative in Christianity could only find its expression to some extent in the legend and in the ritual; but, except in a very few hymns, it was not till out of the wedlock of Latin with the Northern tongues, not till after new languages had been born in the freshness of youth, that there were great Christian poets: poets not merely writing on religious subjects, but instinct with the religious life of Christianity, — Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, Shakspeare, Milton, Calderon, Schiller. But not merely did Latin theology expand into another vast and teeming period, that of the Schoolmen, culminating in Aquinas; but Latin being the common language, the clergy the only learned body throughout Europe, it was that of law in both its branches; of science, of philosophy, even of history; of letters; in short, of civilization. Latin Christianity, when her time

was come, had her great era of art, not only as the preserver of the traditions of Greek and Roman skill in architecture, and some of the technical operations in sculpture and painting, but original and creative. It was art comprehending architecture, painting, sculpture, and music, Christian in its fullest sense, as devoted entirely to Christian uses, expressive of Christian sentiments, arising out of and kindling in congenial spirits Christian thought and feeling.

The characteristic of Latin Christianity was that its character. of the old Latin world—a firm and even obstinate adherence to legal form, whether of traditional usage or written statute; the strong assertion of, and the severe subordination to, authority. Its wildest and most eccentric fanaticism, for the most part, and for many centuries, respected external unity. It was the Roman empire, again extended over Europe by an universal code and a provincial government; by a hierarchy of religious prætors or proconsuls, and a host of inferior officers, each in strict subordination to those immediately above them, and gradually descending to the very lowest ranks of society: the whole with a certain degree of freedom of action, but a restrained and limited freedom, and with an appeal to the spiritual Cæsar in the last resort.

Latin Christianity maintained its unshaken dominion until, what I venture to call, Teutonic Christianity,¹ aided by the invention of paper and of

¹ Throughout the world, wherever the Teutonic is the groundwork of the language, the Reformation either is, or, as in Southern Germany, has been dominant; wherever Latin, Latin Christianity has retained its ascendancy.

printing, asserted its independence, threw off the great mass of traditionary religion, and out of the Bible summoned forth a more simple faith, which seized at once on the reason, on the conscience, and on the passions of men. This faith, with a less perfectly organized outward system, has exercised a more profound moral control, through the sense of strictly personal responsibility. Christianity¹ became a vast influence working irregularly on individual minds, rather than a great social system, coerced by a central supremacy, by an all-embracing spiritual control, and held together by rigid usage, or by outward signs of common citizenship. Its multiplicity and variety, rather than its unity, was the manifestation of its life; or rather its unity lay deeper in its being, and consisted more in intellectual sympathies, in affinities of thought and feeling, of principles and motives, in a more remote or rather untraceable kindred through the common Father and common Saviour. Ceremonial uniformity seemed to retire into subordinate importance and estimation. Books gradually became, as far as the instruction of the human race, a coördi-

¹ It is obvious that I use Christianity, and indeed Teutonic Christianity, in its most comprehensive significance, from national episcopal churches, like that of England, which aspires to maintain the doctrines and organization of the apostolic, or immediately post-apostolic ages, onward to that dubious and undefinable verge where Christianity melts into a high moral theism, a faith which would expand to purer spirituality with less distinct dogmatic system; or that which would hardly call itself more than a Christian philosophy, a religious Rationalism. I presume not, neither is it the office of the historian, to limit the blessings of our religion either in this world or the world to come; "there is One who will know his own." As an historian I can disfranchise none who claim, even on the slightest grounds, the privileges and hopes of Christianity: repudiate none who do not place themselves without the pale of believers and worshippers of Christ, or of God through Christ.

- nate priesthood. No longer rare, costly, inaccessible, or unintelligible, they descended to classes which they had never before approached. Eloquence or argument, instead of expiring on the ears of an entranced but limited auditory, addressed mankind at large, flew through kingdoms, crossed seas, perpetuated and promulgated themselves to an incalculable extent. Individual men could not but be working out in their own studies, in their own chambers, in their own minds, the great problems of faith. The primal records of Christianity, in a narrow compass, passed into all the vernacular languages of the world, where they could not be followed by the vast, scattered, and ambiguous volumes of tradition. The clergy became less and less a separate body (the awakened conscience of men refused to be content with vicarious religion through them); they ceased to be the sole arbiters of man's destiny in another life: they sank back into society, to be distinguished only as the models and promoters of moral and religious virtue, and so of order, happiness, peace, and the hope of immortality. They derived their influence less from a traditionary divine commission or vested authority, than from their individual virtue, knowledge, and earnest, if less authoritative, inculcation of divine truth. Monasticism was rejected as alien to the primal religion of the Gospel; the family life, the life of the Christian family, resumed its place as the highest state of Christian grace and perfection.

This progressive development of Christianity seems the inevitable consequence of man's progress in knowledge, and in the more general dissemination of that knowledge. Human

Progressive
development
of Christian-
ity.

thought is almost compelled to assert, and cannot help asserting, its original freedom. And as that progress is manifestly a law of human nature, proceeding from the divine Author of our being, this self-adaptation of the one true religion to that progress must have the divine sanction, and may be supposed, without presumption, to have been contemplated in the counsels of Infinite Wisdom.

The full and more explicit expansion of these views on this Avatar of Teutonic Christianity must await its proper place at the close of our history.

BOOK I.

CHRONOLOGY OF FIRST FOUR CENTURIES.

A. D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
42	1 St. Peter (according to Jerome).	Claudius, year 2.	
43	2 .....	.....	Claudius in Britain.
44	3 .....	.....	Death of Herod.
45	4 .....	.....	Agrippa the Younger in favor with Claudius.
46	5 .....	.....	St. Paul visits Jerusalem with Barnabas.
47	6 .....	.....	Tiberius Alexander, Governor in Judea.
48	7 .....	.....	Agrippa the Younger succeeds his uncle, Herod.
49	8 .....	.....	Cumanus, Governor of Judea.
50	9 .....	.....	Council of Jerusalem. 1 Epistle to Thessalonians.
51	10 .....	.....	The date of the expulsion of the Jews (Suet. Claud.) uncertain, but as Agrippa in Rome was in high favor, and would protect the Jewish interests, it was probably after his departure from Rome.
52	11 .....	.....
53	12 .....	.....	Felix, Governor of Judea. 2
54	13	Nero, Oct. 12.	Epistle to Thessalonians.
55	14 .....	.....
56	15 .....	.....	Paul at Ephesus. 1 Epistle to Corinthians.
57	16 .....	.....	At Corinth. Epistle to Galatians.
58	17 .....	.....	At Corinth. Epistle to Romans.
59	18 .....	.....	Death of Agrippa.
60	19 .....	.....	Paul before Felix. Before Festus. In Malta.
61	20 .....	.....	Paul in Rome, writes to the Ephesians.
62	21 .....	.....	Paul acquitted. Epistles to Philippians, Colossians, Philemon.
63	22 .....	.....
64	23 .....	.....	Fire of Rome. Persecution of the Christians. Florus, Governor of Judea.
65	24 .....	.....	Nero goes to Greece.
66	25 .....	.....	Martyrdom of St. Paul — and of St. Peter (?).
67	1 Linus (according to Jerome, Irenaeus, Eusebius).	.....

A. D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
68	2 Clement (according to Tertullian and Rufinus).	Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian.	Death of Nero, in June.
69	3		
70	4		
71	5		Capture and destruction of Jerusalem.
72	6		
73	7		
74	8		
75	9		
76	10		
77	11		
78	1 Clement, or Anacleus (?).		
79	2	Titus.	
80	3		
81	4	Domitian.	Death of Titus, Sept. 13
82	5		
83	6		
84	7		
85	8		
86	9		
87	10		
88	11		
89	12		
90	13		
91	1 Clement (?) (according to later writers).		
92	2		
93	3		
94	4		
95	5		Death of the Consul Flavius Clemens, on account of Jewish superstition.
96	6	Nerva.	
97	7		
98	8	Trajan.	
99	9		Death of St. John (Irenæus, Eusebius).
100	1 Evaristus (?).		
101	2		
102	3		
103	4		Pliny in Bithynia.
104	5		Pliny's Letter to Trajan.
105	6		
106	7		
107	8		
108	9		
109	1 Alexander (?).		
110	2		
111	3		
112	4		
113	5		
114	6		Trajan in the East. Sedition of the Jews in Egypt and Cyrene. Martyrdom of Ignatius.
115	7		
116	8		
117	9	Hadrian.	
118	10		
119	1 Sixtus (?)		
120	2		
121	3		
122	4		

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
123	5 .....	.....	Hadrian at Athens. Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides.
124	6 .....	.....
125	7 .....	.....
126	8 .....	.....
127	9 .....	.....
128	10 .....	.....
129	1 Telesphorus.	.....
130	2 .....	.....
131	3 .....	.....	Hadrian in Egypt.
132	4 .....	.....	Jewish War.
133	5 .....	.....
134	6 .....	.....	Bar Cochba persecutes the Christians.
135	7 .....	.....	End of the Jewish War.
136	8 .....	.....	Foundation or reconstruction of Xilia on the ruins of Jerusalem.
137	9 .....	.....
138	10	Antoninus Pius.	
139	1 Hyginus.	.....
140	2 .....	.....
141	3 .....	.....
142	4 .....	.....
143	1 Pius I.	.....
144	2 .....	.....
145	3 .....	.....
146	4 .....	.....
147	5 .....	.....
148	6 .....	.....
149	7 .....	.....
150	8 .....	.....	Polycarp in Rome.
151	9 .....	.....	Marcion in Rome. Justin Martyr, Apology I.
152	10 .....	.....
153	11 .....	.....
154	12 .....	.....
155	13 .....	.....
156	14 .....	.....
157	1 Anicetus.	.....
158	2 .....	.....
159	3 .....	.....
160	4 .....	.....
161	5	M. Aurelius (Verns).	
162	6 .....	.....
163	7 .....	.....
164	8 .....	.....
165	9 .....	.....
166	10 .....	.....	Parthian War ended. Marcus Aurelius in the East. Martyrdom of Polycarp (?).
167	11 .....	.....	Terror about Marcomannian War. Justin Martyr.
168	1 Soter.	.....	Apology of Athenagoras.
169	2 .....	.....	Death of Verus.
170	3 .....	.....
171	4 .....	.....	Letter of Dionysius.
172	5 .....	.....	Apology of Melito, B. of Corinth.
173	6 .....	.....	Euseb. H. E. iv., 23.
174	7 .....	.....	Battle with Quadi — Storm thought miraculous.
175	8 .....	.....
176	9 .....	.....
177	1 Eleutherius (or 176).	.....	Martyrs of Lyons.
178	2 .....	.....

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
179	3		
180	4		
181	5	Commodus.	
182	6		
183	7		
184	8		
185	9		
186	10		
187	11		
188	12		
189	13		
190	1 Victor (?).	Pertinax.	
191	2	Julianus.	
192	3	Niger.	
193	4	Severus.	
194	5		Montanus, Priscilla and Max.
195	6		milla.
196	7		Dispute about Easter. — Euseb.
197	8		H. E. v. 24.
198	9		
199	10		
200	11		
201	12		
202	1 Zephyrinus (?).		Persecution of Severus in Egypt
203	2		Origen teaches in Egypt.
204	3		
205	4		
206	5		
207	6		Tertullian, Lib. I. Adv. Marcion.
208	7		He is now a Montanist.
209	8		
210	9		
211	10	Caracalla, Geta.	
212	11		Origen at Rome. Tertullian ad
213	12		Scapulam (?).
214	13		
215	14		
216	15		
217	16	Macrinus.	
218	17	Elagabalus.	Hippolytus bishop of Porto.
219	1 Callistus.		
220	2		
221	3		
222	4	Alexander Seve-	
223	1 Urbannus.	rus.	
224	2		
225	3		
226	4		
227	5		
228	6		
229	7		
230	1 Pontianus, July		
	22		
231	2		
232	3		
233	4		
234	5		
235	6 Anteros (Pontianus	Maximinus,	Pontianus banished to Sardinia.
	died Sept. 23).	The 2 Gordians,	His Martyrdom (?). Martyrdom
	Anteros died	Pupienus Bal-	of Hippolytus (?).
	June 18, 236.	binus.	

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
236	1 Fabianus.		
237	2		
238	3	Gordianus Junior.	
239	4		
240	5		
241	6		
242	7		
243	8		
244	9	Philipppus Arabs.	
245	10		
246	11		
247	12		
248	13		Cyprian, bishop of Carthage.
249	14	Decius.	Martyrdom of Fabianus, Jan. 20
250	See vacant.		
251	1 Cornelius, June 4, d. Sept. 14.	Gallus.	St. Cyprian.
252	1 Lucius.		
253	1 Stephen.		Death of Origen.
254	2	Æmilianus Valerianus.	Controversy concerning the Lapsi, Novatian Antipope.
255	3		Controversy about baptism of Heretics. III. Council of Carthage.
256	4		Exile of Cyprian.
257	Sixtus II., Martyr, d. Aug. 2, 258.		
258	Vacancy.		
259	1 Dionysius, July 23		Martyrdom of Sixtus. Martyrdom of Cyprian, Sept. 14.
260	2	Gallienus.	
261	3		
262	4		
263	5		
264	6		
265	7		
266	8		
267	9		
268	10	Claudius.	
269	1 Felix.		
270	2	Aurelian.	Paul of Samosata deposed.
271	3		
272	4		Manes from A.D. 241 to A.D. 273
273	5		
274	6		
275	1 Eutychianus.	Tacitus, Probus.	
276	2	Florianus.	
277	3		
278	4		
279	5		
280	6		
281	7		
282	8	Carus, Carinus.	
283	1 Calus.	Numerianus.	
284	2	Diocletian.	
285	3		
286	4	Maximian.	
287	5		
288	6		
289	7		
290	8		Lactantius.
291	9		

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
292	10	Two Cæsars, Constantius, Galerius.	
293	11		
294	12		
295	13		
296	1 Marcellinus, June 30.	.....	Arnobius.
297	2		
298	3		
299	4		
300	5		Persecution.
301	6 .....	.....
302	7		
303	8		
304	Died Oct. 24.	Constantius,	Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian.
305	See vacant.	Galerius.	
306	.....	Severus Maximin.	
307	.....	Constantine, Maxentius, Licinius, Maximian.	
		Six Emperors.	
308	Marcellus, May 19.		Death of Severus.
309	Eusebius, 6 months.	.....	Death of Maximian.
310	1 Vacancy. Melchisedes, July 2.	.....	Death of Galerius.
311	.....	
312	.....	.....	Victory of Constantine over Maxentius.
313	.....	.....	Edict of Milan, Oct. 28.
314	1 Sylvester, Jan. 31.		
315	2		
316	3		
317	4		
318	5		
319	6		
320	7		
321	8		
322	9		
323	10 .....	.....	Defeat and death of Licinius.
324	11 .....	.....	Constantine sole Emperor.
325	12 .....	.....	Council of Nicea, June 19.
326	13		
327	14		
328	15		
329	16		
330	17		
331	18		
332	19		
333	20		
334	21		
335	22		
336	1 Marcus, Jan 18.	.....	Exile of Athanasius.
337	1 Julius I., Feb. 6.	Constantine, Constans, Constantius.	Baptism of Constantine.
338	2 .....	.....	Athanasius returns from exile.
339	3		
340	4 .....	.....	Constantine defeated and killed by Constans. Death of Eu- sebius of Cæsarea.
341	5 .....	.....	Athanasius in Rome. Law against Pagan sacrifices.
342	6		

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
343	7		
344	8		
345	9		Athanasius at Milan, in Gaul.
346	10		
347	11		Council of Sardica.
348	12		Council of Philippopolis.
349	13		Athanasius in Alexandria.
350	14	Magnentius.	Constant killed in Spain by Magnentius.
351	15		
352	1 Julius died April 5; Liberius, May 22.		
353	2	Constantius alone.	Battle of Mursa. Death of Magnentius.
354	3		Birth of Augustine.
355	4		Council of Arles. Council of Milan. Banishment of Liberius.
356	5 (Felix, Antipope.)		Julian's Campaign in Gaul. Athanasius exiled from Alexandria.
357	6		Constantius at Rome.
358	7		Recall of Liberius.
359	8		Council of Rimini. Council of Seleucia.
360	9		
361	10	Julian.	Death of Constantius.
362	11		Athanasius returns to Alexandria—again expelled.
363	12	Jovian.	Attempt to rebuild the Temple.
364	13	Valentinian, Valens.	Death of Julian, June 26.
365	14		
366	15 died Sept. 29.		
367	1 Damasus.	Gratian.	Tumults at Rome on the contested election of Damasus and Ursicinus.
368	2		
369	3		
370	4		
371	5		
372	6		
373	7		Death of Athanasius, May 2.
374	8		
375	9	Valentinian II.	Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.
376	10		
377	11		
378	12		Death of Valens.
379	13	Theodosius, Emp. of the East.	Theodosius expels the Arians. Synod against Priscillian.
380	14		Council of Constantinople. Address of Symmachus on Statute of Theodosius de Hereticois.
381	15		
382	16		
383	17		
384	18 Damasus died Dec. 11.		Jerome retires to Bethlehem.
385	1 Siricius.		
386	2		
387	3		Chrysostom ad Antiochensis.
388	4		
389	5		
390	6		Temple of Serapis destroyed.
391	7		
392	8		

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
393	9 .....	.....	Jerome retires to Bethlehem.
394	10 .....	.....
395	11	Honorius, Ar-	
396	12	cadus.	
397	13 .....	.....
398	14 died Nov. 26.	.....	Death of Ambrose.
399	Anastasius.	.....	Chrysostom Bishop of Constan-
400			tinople.

BOOK I

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING OF ROMAN CHRISTIANITY.

LATIN Christianity, from its commencement, in its character, and in all the circumstances of its development, had an irresistible tendency to monarchy. Its capital had for ages been the capital of the world, and it still remained that of Western Europe. This monarchy reached its height under Hildebrand and Innocent III.; the history of the Roman Pontificate thus becomes the centre of Latin Christian History. The controversies of the East, in which Occidental or Roman Christianity mingled with a lofty dictation, sometimes so unimpassioned, that it might seem as though the establishment of its own supremacy was its ultimate aim — the conversion of the different races of Barbarians, who constituted the world of Latin Christendom — Monasticism, with the forms which it assumed in its successive Orders — the rise and conquests of Mohammedanism, with which Latin religion came at length into direct conflict, at first in Spain and Gaul, in Sicily and Italy; afterwards when the Popes placed themselves at the head of the Crusades, and Islam and Latin Christianity might seem to contest the dominion of the human race — the restoration of the

Western empire beyond the Alps — the feudal system of which the Pope aspired to be as it were the spiritual Suzerain — the long and obstinate conflicts with the temporal power — the origin and tenets of the sects which attempted to withdraw from the unity of the church, and to retire into independent communities — the first struggles of the human mind for freedom within Latin Christendom — the gradual growth of Christian literature, Christian art, and Christian philosophy — all these momentous subjects range themselves as episodes in the chronicle of the Roman bishops. Hence our history obtains that unity which impresses itself upon the attention, and presents the vicissitudes of centuries as a vast, continuous, harmonious whole; while at the same time it breaks up and separates itself into distinct periods, each with its marked events, peculiar character, and commanding men. And so the plan of our work may, at least, attempt to fulfil the two great functions of history, to arrest the mind and carry it on with unflagging interest, to infix its whole course of events on the imagination and the memory, as well by its broad and definite landmarks, as by the life and reality of its details in each separate period. The writer is unfeignedly conscious how far his own powers fall below the dignity of his subject, below the accomplishment of his own conceptions.

I. — The first of these periods in the history of Latin A. D. 300-401. Christianity closes with Pope Damasus and his two successors.¹ Its age of total obscurity is passed, its indistinct twilight is brightening into open day. The

¹ There is another advantage in this division; the first authentic decretal is that of Pope Siricius, the successor of Damasus.

Christian bishop is become so important a personage in Rome, as to be the subject of profane history. His election is a cause of civil strife. Christianity more than equally divides the Patriciate, still more the people; it has already ascended the Imperial throne. Noble matrons and virgins are becoming the vestals of Christian Monasticism. The bitterness of the Heathen party betrays a galling sense of inferiority. Paganism is writhing, struggling, languishing in its death pangs, Christianity growing haughty and wanton in its triumph.

II.—The second ends with Pope Leo the Great. Paganism has made its last vain effort, not A. D. 461. now for equality, for toleration. It has been buried under the ruins of the conquered capital. Alaric tramples out its last embers. Rome emerges from its destruction by the Goths a Christian city. The East has wrought out, after the strife of two centuries, the dogmatic system of the church, which Rome receives with haughty condescension, as if she had imposed it on the world. The great Western controversy, Pelagianism, has been agitated and has passed away. Pretensions to the successorship of St. Peter are A. D. 402-417 already heard from Innocent I. Claims are made at least to the authority of a Western Patriarch. In Leo the Great, half a century later, the pope is A. D. 440-461. not merely the greatest personage in Rome, but even in Italy; he takes the lead as a pacific protector against the Barbarians. Leo the Great is likewise the first distinguished writer among the popes.

III.—To the death of Gregory I. (the Great).

A. D. 604. Christianity is not only the religion of the Roman or Italian, but in part of the barbarian world. Now takes place the league of Christianity with Barbarism. The old Roman letters and arts die away into almost total extinction. So fallen is Roman literature, that Boethius is a great philosopher, Cassiodorus a great historian, Prudentius, Fortunatus, Juvencus great poets. The East has made its last effort to unite the Christian world under one dominion. Justinian has aspired to legislate for Christendom. Monastic Christianity, having received a strong impulse from St. Benedict, is in the ascendant. Gregory I. as a Pope, and as a writer, offers himself as a model of its excellencies and defects.

IV.—To the coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of the West. Mohammed and Mohammedanism arise. The East and Egypt are severed from Greek, Africa and Spain from Latin Christianity. Anglo-Saxon Britain, Western and Southern Germany are Christian. Iconoclasm in the East finally separates Greek and Latin Christianity. The Pope has become the great power in Italy. The Gothic kingdom, the Greek dominion of Justinian have passed away. The Pope seeks an alliance against the Lombards with the Transalpine kings. Charlemagne is Patrician of Rome and Emperor of the West.

V.—The Empire of Charlemagne. The mingled Temporal and Ecclesiastical supremacy of Charlemagne breaks up at his death. Under his successors the spiritual supremacy, in part the temporal, falls to the clergy. Growth of the Transalpine hierarchy.

Pope Nicholas the First accepts the false decretals. Invasion of the Northmen. The dark ages A. D. 900 of the Papacy lower and terminate in the degradation of the Popes into slaves of the lawless Barons of the Romagna.

VI. — The line of German Pontiffs. The Transalpine powers interpose, rescue the Papacy A. D. 900-1000 from its threatened dissolution, from the hatred and contempt of mankind. For great part of a century foreign ecclesiastics are seated on the Papal throne.

VII. — The restoration of the Italian Papacy under Gregory VII. (Hildebrand). The Pontificates of his immediate predecessors and successors. A. D. 1061-1073 Now commences the complete organization of the sacerdotal caste as independent of, and claiming superiority to, all temporal powers. The strife of centuries ends in the enforced celibacy of the clergy. Berengar disputes Transubstantiation. Urban II. places himself at the head of Christendom on the A. D. 1096 occasion of the first Crusade.

VIII.—Continuation of contest about Investitures. Intellectual movement. Erigena. Gotschalk. Anselm. Abelard. Arnold of Brescia. Strong revival of Monasticism. Stephen Harding. St. Bernard. The 12th century. Strife in England for immunities of the clergy. Thomas à Becket. Rise of the Emperors of the line of Hohenstaufen. Frederick Barbarossa.

IX. — Meridian of the Papal power under Innocent III. Innocent aspires to rule all the king- From 1198

doms of the West. Latin conquest of Constantinople. Wars of the Albigenses. St. Dominic. St. Francis.

X. — The successors of Innocent III. wage an internecine conflict with the Emperors. Fruitless and premature attempt at emancipation under Frederick II.

Gregory IX.
1228-1238. The Decretals, the Palladium of the Papal power, are collected, completed, promulgated as the law of Christendom by Gregory IX. Continued conflict of the Papal and Sacerdotal against the Imperial and Secular power. Innocent IV.
dies 1254. Innocent IV. Fall of the House of Hohenstaufen.

XI. — The Empire is crushed, and withdraws into its Teutonic sphere. The French descend into Italy. In the King of France arises a new adversary to the Pope. Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII. Boniface dies
1303. close the open strife of the temporal and spiritual power.

XII. — The Popes are become the slaves of France at Avignon. What is called the Babylonian captivity of seventy years. A. D. 1305 to
1370. Clement V. abolishes the Templars. The Empire resumes its claims on Italy. Henry of Luxemburg. Louis of Bavaria. John XXII. and the Fraticelli. Rienzi.

XIII. — Restoration to Rome. The great Schism. Councils of Pisa, of Constance, of Basil, of Florence, — the Councils advance a claim to supremacy over the Popes. Last attempt to reconcile Greek and Latin Christianity. Popes begin to be patrons of Letters and Arts.

XIV. — Retrospect of Mediæval Letters and Arts.
Revival of Greek Letters.

CONCLUSION. — Advance of the Reformation. Teutonic Christianity aspires and begins to divide the world with Latin Christianity.

Like almost all the great works of nature and of human power in the material world and in the world of man, the Papacy grew up in silence and obscurity. The names of the earlier Bishops of Rome are known only by barren lists,¹ by spurious decrees and epistles inscribed, centuries later, with their names; by their collision with the teachers of heretical opinions, almost all of whom found their way to Rome; by martyrdoms ascribed with the same lavish reverence to those who lived under the mildest of the Roman emperors, as well as those under the most merciless persecutors.² Yet the mythic or imaginative spirit of early Christianity has either respected, or was not tempted to

¹ The catalogue published by Bucherius, called also *Liberianus*, is generally the most accredited. M. Bunsen promises a revision of the whole question. (*Hippolytus*, i. 279.) Historically the chronological discrepancies in these lists are of no great importance. But it is remarkable that almost all the earlier names are Greek; Clemens, Pius, Victor, Caius, are among the very few genuine Roman.

² In a list of Popes, published by Fabricius (*Bibliotheca Græca*, xi. p. 794), from St. Peter to Sylvester, two unhappy pontiffs alone (who are acknowledged to be Greeks) are excluded from the honors of martyrdom, Dionysius and Eusebius. It might seem that this list was composed after Greek and Latin Christianity had become hostile. As an illustration of the worthlessness of these traditions, Telesphorus is reckoned as a martyr on the authority of Irenæus (l. ii. c. 3; compare note of Feuardentius). But Telesphorus was bishop of Rome during the reign of Hadrian; his martyrdom is ascribed to the first year of Antoninus Pius. Their character, as well as the general voice of Christian history (see *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 151, 156), absolves these emperors from the charge of persecution.

indulge its creative fertility by the primitive annals of Rome. After the embellishment, if not the invention, of St. Peter's Pontificate, his conflict with Simon Magus in the presence of the Emperor, and the circumstance of his martyrdom, it was content with raising the successive bishops to the rank of martyrs without any peculiar richness or fulness of legend.¹

It would be singularly curious and instructive to trace, if it were possible, the rise and growth of any single Christian community, more especially that of Rome, at once in the whole church, and in the lives of the bishops; the first initiatory movements in the conquest of the world, and of the mistress of the world, by the religion of Christ. How did the Church enlarge her sphere in Rome? how, out of the population (from a million to a million and a half),² slowly gather in her tens, her hundreds, her thousands of converts? By what processes, by what influences,

¹ Two remarkable passages greatly weaken, or rather utterly destroy the authority of all the older Roman martyrologies. In the book, *De libris recipiendis*, ascribed to the pontificate of Damasus, of Hormisdas, more probably to that of Gelasius, the caution of the Roman Church, in not publicly reading the martyrologies is highly praised, their writers being unknown and without authority. *Singulari cautela a S. Rom. Ecclesia non leguntur, quia et eorum qui conscripserint nomina penitus ignorantur, et ab infidelibus vel idiotis superflua aut minus apta quam rei ordo fuerit esse putantur . . .* The authors "*Deo magis quam hominibus noti sunt.*" *Apud Mansi, sub Pont. Gelasii, A.D. 492, 496.* Gregory I. makes even a more ingenuous confession, that excepting one small volume (a calendar, it should seem, of the names and days on which they were honored) there were no Acts of Martyrs in the archives of the Roman See or in the libraries of Rome. *Præter illa, quæ in ejusdem Eusebii libris (doubtless the de Martyr. Palæst. of the historian), de gestis sanctorum martyrum continentur, nulla in archivis hujus nostræ Ecclesiæ vel in Romanæ urbis bibliothecis esse cognovi, nisi pauca quædam in unius codicis volumine collecta, et seqq. Greg. M. Epist. viii. 29.*

² Notwithstanding the arguments of M. Dureau de la Malle, Mr. Merivale, and other learned writers who have also investigated this subject, I still think the estimate of Gibbon the most probable.

by what degrees did the Christians creep onward towards dangerous, towards equal, towards superior numbers? How did they find access to the public ear, the public mind, the public heart? How were they looked upon by the government (after the Neronian persecution), with what gradations, or alternations of contempt, of indifference, of suspicion, of animosity? When were they entirely separated and distinguished in general opinion from the Jewish communities? When did they altogether cease to Judaize? From what order, from what class, from what race did they chiefly make their proselytes? Where and by what channels did they wage their strife with the religion, where with the philosophy of the times? To what extent were they permitted or disposed to hold public discussion? or did the work of conversion spread in secret from man to man? When did their worship emerge from the obscurity of a private dwelling; or have its edifices, like the Jewish synagogues, recognized as sacred fanes? Were they, to what extent, and how long, a people dwelling apart within their own usages, and retiring from social communion with their kindred, and with the rest of mankind?

Rome must be imagined in the vastness and multiplicity of its social condition, the mingling and confusion of races, languages, conditions, in order to conceive the slow, imperceptible, yet continuous aggression of Christianity. Amid the affairs of the universal empire, the perpetual revolutions, which were constantly calling up new dynasties or new masters over the world, the pomp and state of the Imperial palace, the commerce, the business flowing in from all

parts of the world, the bustle of the Basilicas or courts of law, the ordinary religious ceremonies, or the more splendid rites on signal occasions, which still went on, if with diminishing concourse of worshippers, with their old sumptuousness, magnificence, and frequency, the public games, the theatres, the gladiatorial shows, the Lucullan or Apician banquets, — Christianity was gradually withdrawing from the heterogeneous mass some of all orders, even slaves, out of the vices, the ignorance, the misery of that corrupted social system. It was ever instilling feelings of humanity yet unknown or coldly commended by an impotent philosophy, among men and women, whose infant ears had been habituated to the shrieks of dying gladiators; it was giving dignity to minds prostrated by years, almost centuries, of degrading despotism; it was nurturing purity and modesty of manners in an unspeakable state of depravation; it was enshrining the marriage bed in a sanctity long almost entirely lost, and rekindling to a steady warmth the domestic affections; it was substituting a simple, calm, and rational faith and worship for the worn-out superstitions of heathenism; gently establishing in the soul of man the sense of immortality, till it became a natural and inextinguishable part of his moral being.

The dimness and obscurity which veiled the growing church, no doubt threw its modest concealment over the person of the Bishop. He was but one man, with no recognized function, in the vast and tumultuous population. He had his unmarked dwelling, perhaps in the distant Transteverine region, or in the then lowly and unfrequented Vatican. By the vulgar, he was beheld as a Jew, or as belonging

Obscurity of
the Bishop of
Rome.

to one of those countless Eastern religions, which, from the commencement of the Empire, had been flowing, each with its strange rites and mysteries, into Rome. The Emperor, the Imperial family, the court favorites, the military commanders, the Consulars, the Senators, the Patricians by birth, wealth, or favor, the Pontiffs, the great lawyers, even those who ministered to the public pleasures, the distinguished mimes or gladiators, when they appeared in the streets, commanded more public attention than the Christian Bishop, except when sought out for persecution by some politic or fanatic Emperor. Slowly, and at long intervals, did the Bishop of Rome emerge to dangerous eminence. Yet, was there not more real greatness, a more solemn testimony to his faith in Christ, in this calm and steadfast patience which awaited the tardy accomplishment of the divine promises, than if, as he is sometimes described by the fond reverence of later Roman writers, he had already laid claim to supreme power over expanding Christianity, or had been held of sufficient importance to be constantly exposed to death? The Bishop of Rome could not but be conscious that he was chief minister in the capital of the world of a religion which was confronting Paganism in all its power and majesty. His faith was constantly looking forward to the time, when (if not anticipated by the more appalling triumph at the coming of Christ in His glory) that vast fabric of idolatry, in its strength and wealth, hallowed by the veneration of ages, with all its temples, pomps, theatres, priesthood, its crimes and its superstitions, and besides this, all the wisdom of the philosophic aristocracy, would crumble away; and the successor of the Galilean fisherman or the persecuted

Jew be recognized as the religious sovereign of the Christianized city. The peaceful head of a small community (small comparatively with the believers in the old religions or the believers in none,) even though, like the Apostle, he may have had some converts in high places, "in Cæsar's household," yet who had no doubt in the future universality of Christianity, and who was content to pursue his noiseless course of beneficence and conversion, is a nobler example of true Christianity, than he who, in the excitement of opposition to power, and in the absorbing but brief agony of martyrdom, laid down his life for the Cross.

Christianity, indeed, might seem, even from the first, to have disdained obscurity—to have sprung up or to have been forced into terrible notoriety in the Neronian persecution and the subsequent martyrdom of one at least, according to the vulgar tradition, of its two great Apostles. What caprice of cruelty directed the attention of Nero to the Christians, and made him suppose them victims important enough to glut the popular indignation at the burning of Rome, it is impossible to determine: (the author has ventured on a bold conjecture, and of Domitian. adheres to his own paradox).¹ The cause and extent of the Domitian persecution is equally obscure. The son of Vespasian was not likely to be merciful to any connected with the fanatic Jews. Its known victims were of the imperial family, against whom some crime was necessary, and an accusation of Christianity served the end.²

At the commencement of the second century, under

¹ Hist. of Christianity, ii. p. 36.

² Ibid., ii. p. 59.

Trajan, persecution against the Christians is ^{Roman} raging in the East. That, however (I feel ^{Church under} ^{Trajan.} increased confidence in the opinion), was a local, or rather Asiatic persecution, arising out of the vigilant and not groundless apprehension of the sullen and brooding preparation for insurrection among the whole Jewish race (with whom Roman terror and hatred still confounded the Christians), which broke out in the bloody massacres of Cyrene and Cyprus, and in the final rebellion, during the reign of Hadrian, under Barchochebas. But while Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, is carried to Rome to suffer martyrdom, the Roman community is in peace, and not without influence. Ignatius entreats his Roman brethren not to interfere with injurious kindness between himself and his glorious death.¹

The wealth of the Roman community, and their lavish Christian use of their wealth, by contributing to the wants of foreign churches, at all periods, especially in times of danger and disaster, (an ancient usage which lasted till the time of Eusebius,) testifies at once to their flourishing condition, to their constant communication with more distant parts of the empire,² and thus in-

¹ Φοβοῦμαι γὰρ τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγάπην, μὴ αὐτὴ με ὑδίκησιν, ὑμῖν γὰρ εὐχερὲς ἔστιν ὃ θέλετε ποιῆσαι.—p. 41. Ἐγὼ γράφω πᾶσαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσιν ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ Θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω, ἵνα ὑμεῖς μὴ κωλύσῃτε (με). Παρακαλῶ ὑμεῖς μὴ (ἐν) εὐνοίᾳ ἀκαίρῳ γένησθέ μοι ...—Corpus Ignatianum a Cureton, p. 45. I quote Mr. Cureton's *Syriac Ignatius*, not feeling that the larger copies have equal historical authority.

² The first notice of this is in the latter half of the second century, during the bishopric of Soter, either 173-177, or 168-176, as appears from the letter of Dionysius of Corinth, *ἔ;* ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῦτο. He calls it αἰὲ πατριπαράδοτον ἔθος.—Euseb. H. E. iv. 23. It continued during the Decian persecution; Syria and Arabia are described as rejoicing in the bounty of Rome. H. E. vii. 5. Eusebius himself speaks of it as lasting to his time. τὸ μέχρι τοῦ καὶ ἡμῶς ὁωγμοῦ φυλαχθὲν Ῥωμαίων ἔθος.

cidentally, perhaps, to the class, the middle or mercantile class, which formed the greater part of the believers.

But the history of Latin Christianity has not begun. For some considerable (it cannot but be an undefinable)

Church of Rome Greek. part of the first three centuries, the Church of Rome, and most, if not all the churches of the West, were, if we may so speak, Greek religious colonies. Their language was Greek, their organization Greek, their writers Greek, their Scriptures Greek; and many vestiges and traditions show that their ritual, their Liturgy was Greek. Through Greek the communication of the churches of Rome and of the West was constantly kept up with the East; and through Greek every heresiarch, or his disciples, having found his way to Rome, propagated, with more or less success, his peculiar doctrines. Greek was the commercial language throughout the empire; by which the Jews, before the destruction of their city, already so widely disseminated through the world, and altogether engaged in commerce, carried on their affairs.¹

¹ At the commencement of the second century, from the time of the great peace, which followed the victories of Trajan, and which, with some exceptions, occupied the whole reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, till the Marcomannic war; when the Cæsars had become cosmopolitan sovereigns of the Roman Empire, rather than emperors of Rome; Greek, in letters, appears to have assumed a complete ascendancy. Greek literature has the names of Plutarch, Appian, Arrian, Herodian (the historian), Lucian, Pausanias, Dion Cassius, Galen, Sextus Empiricus, Epictetus, Ptolemy. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius wrote his philosophy in Greek. The poets, such as they were, chiefly of the didactic class, Oppian, Nicander, are Greeks. (See, in Fynes Clinton's Appendix to *Fasti Romani*, the catalogue of Greek authors.) Latin literature might seem to have been in a state of suspended animation after Quintilian, the Pliny, and Tacitus. Not merely are there no writers of name who have survived, but there hardly seem to have been any. From Juvenal to Claudian there is scarcely a poet. The fragments of Fronto, lately discovered, do not make us wish for more of a writer who had greater fame than most of his day. Apuleius was an African.

Jurisprudence alone maintained the dignity and dominion of Latin. The

The Greek Old Testament was read in the synagogues of the foreign Jews. The churches, formed sometimes on the foundation, to a certain extent on the model, of the synagogues, would adhere for some time, no doubt, to their language. The Gospels and the Apostolic writings, so soon as they became part of the public worship, would be read, as the Septuagint was, in their original tongue. All the Christian extant writings which appeared in Rome and in the West are Greek, or were originally Greek,¹ the Epistles of Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies; the works of Justin Martyr, down to Caius and Hippolytus the author of the Refutation of All Heresies. The Octavius of Minucius Felix,² and the Treatise of Novatian on the Trinity, are the earliest known works of Latin Christian literature which came from Rome. So was it too in Gaul: there the first Christians were settled chiefly in the Greek cities, which owned Marseilles as their parent, and which retained the use of Greek as their vernacular tongue. Irenæus wrote in Greek; the account of the Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne is in Greek. Vestiges of the old Greek ritual long survived not only in Rome, but also in some of the Gallic churches. The Kyrie eleison still lingers in the Latin service.³ The singular fact,

great lawyers, Ulpian, Paulus, and their colleagues, are the only famous writers. Latin law alone, of Latin letters, was studied in the schools of the East. The Greek writers of the day were many of them ignorant of Latin.

¹ Ubrigens war die Griechische Sprache noch fast die einzige Kirchensprache. Gieseler, i. p. 203. (Compare the passage.)

² Some place the Octavius in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, others between Tertullian and Cyprian. Gieseler, note, p. 207.

³ Martene, de Antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus, i. p. 102: he quotes the anonymous Turonius. Nos canimus illud Græcè juxta morem antiquum Roma

related by the historian Sozomen, that, for the first centuries, there was no public preaching in Rome, here finds its explanation. Greek was the ordinary language of the community, but among the believers and worshippers may have been Latins, who understood not, or understood imperfectly, the Greek. The Gospel or sacred writings were explained according to the capacities of the persons present. Hippolytus indeed composed, probably delivered, homilies in Greek, in imitation of Origen, who, when at Rome, may have preached in Greek; and this is spoken of as something new. Pope Leo I. was the first celebrated Latin preacher, and his brief and emphatic sermons read like the first essays of a rude and untried eloquence, rather than the finished compositions which would imply a long study and cultivation of pulpit oratory. Compare them with Chrysostom.¹

Africa,² not Rome, gave birth to Latin Christianity.

nae ecclesiae, cui tam Graeci quam Latini solebant antiquitus deservire, et a Graecis habitabatur maxima pars Italiae, et seqq. This is evidence for the Church of Tours. It is by no means clear when the Latin service began, even in Rome. There is much further illustration of the coexistence of the Latin and Greek service in the West, to a late period. Compare Martene, iii. 35. The Epistle and Gospel were read in both languages to a late period. Mabillon, *Iter Italicum*, ii. pp. 168 and 453. In Southern Gaul Latin had not entirely dispossessed Greek in the fifth century: Greek was still spoken by part of the population of Arles. (See Fauriel, *Gaule Méridionale*, i. p. 432.) A Saint Martial de Limoges on chantait en Grec dans le x. siècle à la Messe du jour de la Pentecôte le Gloria, le Sanctus, l'Agnus, &c. Ce fait est établi par un MS. de la Bibliothèque Royale, 4° 4458. Jourdain, *Traductions d'Aristote*, p. 44.

¹ In Rome neither the Bishop nor any one else publicly preached to the people, *οὔτε δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος οὔτε ἄλλός τις ἐνθάδε ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας δίδασκει*. H. E. vii. 19. In Alexandria the bishop alone preached. Compare Bunsen's Hippolytus, vol. i. p. 313.

² Of Africa Greek was the general language no further East than the Cyrenaica; westward the old Punic language prevailed, even where the Roman conquerors had superinduced Latin. Even Tertullian wrote also

Tertullian was the first Latin writer, at least the first who commanded the public ear; and there is strong ground for supposing that, since ^{Africa parent of Latin Christianity.} Tertullian quotes the sacred writings perpetually and copiously, the earliest of those many Latin versions, noticed by Augustine, and on which Jerome grounded his Vulgate, were African.¹ Cyprian kept up the tradition of ecclesiastical Latin. Arnobius, too, was an African.²

Thus the Roman church was but one of the confederation of Greek religious republics, founded by Christianity. As of Apostolic origin, still more as the church of the capital of the world, it was, of course, of paramount dignity and importance. It is difficult to exaggerate the height at which Rome, before the foundation of Constantinople,

^{Church of Rome centre of Christendom.}

in Greek. *Latinæ quoque ostendam virgines nostras velari oportere.* (De Virgin. veland.) *Sed et huic materis propter suaviludios nostros Græco quoque stylo satisfacimus.* De Coron. Mil. vi.

¹ *Vetus hæc interpretatio vix dubitari potest quin inter eam gentem quæ Græcæ linguae minimè perita esset, nata fuerit, hoc est in Africâ.* Lachman, Pref. in Nov. Test. Lachman quotes a learned Dissertation of Cardinal Wiseman as conclusive on this point. In this Dissertation (reprinted in his Essays, London, 1854) the author ventures on the forlorn hope of the vindication of the disputed text in St. John's Epistle. I can only express my surprise that so acute a writer should see any force in such arguments. But the Dissertation on African Latinity appears to me valuable, scholar-like, and sound. The dubious passage of St. Augustine, on which alone rests the tradition of the Versio *Itala*, I would read, after Bentley, as Bishop Marsh and most of the later biblical scholars, *Itla*. — Marsh's Introduction, note, vol. ii. p. 623.

I would suggest, as a curious investigation, if it has not yet been executed by any competent scholar (which I presume not to assert), a critical comparison of the Latinity of the old version, as published by Sabatier, and even of the Vulgate, with the Latin of Tertullian, Cyprian, Apuleius of Madaura, and other African writers.

² Minucius Felix, Arnobius, Lactantius are to the Greek divines what Cicero was to the Greek philosophers — writers of popular abstracts in that which in his hands was, in theirs aspired to be, elegant Latin.

stood above the other cities of the earth; the centre of commerce, the centre of affairs, the centre of empire. The Christians, like the rest of mankind, were constantly ebbing and flowing out of Rome and into Rome. The church of the capital could not but assume something of the dignity of the capital; it was constantly receiving, as it were, the homage of all the foreign Christians, who, from interest, business, ambition, curiosity, either visited or took up their residence in the Eternal City.

The Roman Church, if it had become prematurely Latin, would have been isolated and set apart from the rest of Christendom; remaining Greek, it became also the natural and inevitable centre of Christianity. The public documents of the Christian world spoke throughout the same language; no interpretation was necessary between the East and the West.¹ To the unity of the Church this was of infinite importance. The Roman Christians and their Bishop were the constituted guardians and protectors of what may be called the public interests of Christianity. In Rome they beheld, or had the earliest intelligence of, every revolution in the empire; they had the first cognizance of all the Imperial edicts which might affect the brethren. On them, even if they had no access to the counsels or to the palace of the Emperor, on their influence, on their conduct, might in some degree depend the fate of Christendom. They were in the van, the first to foresee the threatened persecution, the first to suffer. The Bishop of Rome, as long as the Emperor ruled in

¹ As late as the middle of the third century, after the Novatian schism, Pope Cornelius writes in Greek to Fabius of Antioch. Eusebius records as something new and extraordinary that letters from Cyprian to the Asiatic bishops are in Latin. H. E. vi. 43.

Rome, was at once in the post of the greatest distinction, and in that of the greatest difficulty and danger. The Christian world would look with trembling interest on his conduct, as his example might either glorify or disgrace the Church ; on his prudence or his temerity, on his resolution or on his weakness, might depend the orders despatched to every prefect or proconsul in the Empire. Local oppressions or local persecutions would be confined to a city or a province ; in Rome might be the signal for general proscription. The eyes of all Christendom must thus have constantly been fixed on Rome and on the Roman Bishop.

But if Rome, or the Church of Rome, was thus the centre of the more peaceful influences of ^{Centre of} Christianity, and of the hopes and fears of ^{Christian} the Christian world, it was no less inevitably the chosen battle field of her civil wars ; and Christianity has ever more faithfully recorded her dissensions than her conquests. In Rome every feud which distracted the infant community reached its height ; nowhere do the Judaizing tenets seem to have been more obstinate, or to have held so long and stubborn a conflict with more full and genuine Christianity. In Rome every heresy, almost every heresiarch, found welcome reception. All new opinions, all attempts to harmonize Christianity with the tenets of the Greek philosophers, with the Oriental religions, the Cosmogonies, the Theophanies, and Mysteries of the East, were boldly agitated, either by the authors of the Gnostic ^{About} systems or by their disciples. ^{A. D. 140.} Valentinus the Alexandrian was himself in Rome, so also was Marcion of Sinope. The Phrygian Montanus, with his prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla, if not present,

had their sect, a powerful sect, in Rome and in Africa. In Rome their convert, for a time at least, was the Pope; in Africa, Tertullian. Somewhat later, the precursors of the great Trinitarian controversy came from all quarters. Praxeas, an Asiatic; Theodotus, a Byzantine; Artemon, an Asiatic; Noetus, a Smyrniote, at least his disciples, the Deacon Epigenes and Cleomenes, taught at Rome. Sabellius, from Ptolemais in Cyrene, appeared in person; his opinions took their full development in Rome. Not only do all these controversies betray the inexhaustible fertility of the Greek or Eastern imagination, not only were they all drawn from Greek or Oriental doctrines, but they must have been still agitated, discussed, ramified into their parts and divisions, through the versatile and subtle Greek. They were all strangers and foreigners; not one of all these systems originated in Rome, in Italy, or in Africa.¹ On all these opinions the Bishop of Rome was almost compelled to sit in judgment; he must receive or reject, authorize or condemn; he was a proselyte, whom it would be the ambition of all to gain. No one unfamiliar with Greek, no one not to a great extent Greek by birth, by education, or by habit, could in any degree comprehend the conflicting theories.

The Judaizing opinions, combated by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, maintained their ground among some of the Roman Chris-

Judaizing
Christianity.

¹ A passage of Aulus Gellius illustrates the conscious inadequacy of the Latin to express, notwithstanding the innovations of Cicero, the finer distinctions of the Greek philosophy: *Hæc Favorinum dicentem audiui Græcâ oratione, cujus sententias, quantum meminisse potui, retuli. Amœnitates vero et copias ubertatesque verborum, Latina omnis facundia vix quidem indispici potuerit.* Noct. Att. xii. Favorinus, of the time of Hadrian, was a native of Arles in Gaul.

tians for above a century or more after that Apostle's death. A remarkable monument attests their power and vitality. There can be slight doubt that the author of that singular work, commonly called the Clementina, was a Roman, or rather a Greek domiciled in Rome.¹ Its Roman origin is almost proved by the choice of the hero in this earliest of religious romances. Clement, who sets forth as a heathen philosopher in search of truth, becomes the companion of St. Peter in the East, the witness of his long and stubborn strife with his great adversary, Simon the Magician; and if the letter prefixed to the work be a genuine part of it,² becomes the successor of St. Peter in the see of Rome. It bears in its front, and throughout, the character of a romance; it can hardly be considered even as mythic history. Its groundwork is that so common in the latest Greek and in the Latin comedy, and in the Greek novels; adventures of persons cast away at sea, and sold into slavery; lost children by strange accidents restored to their parents, husbands to their wives; amusing scenes in what we may call the middle or mercantile life of the times. It might seem borrowed, in its incidents, from a play of Plautus or Terence, or from their originals; a kind of type of the *Æthiopics* of Bishop Heliodorus, or the *Chærea* and *Callirhoe*. The religious interest is still more remarkable, and no doubt faith-

¹ This is the unanimous opinion of those who, in later days, have critically investigated the Clementina — Schlieman, Neander, Baur, Gieseler. *ἐν Κλήμης Ῥωμαίος ὄν*, in init. This does not prove much.

² I entertain some doubt on this point. A good critical edition of this work, in its various forms, is much to be desired.*

* There are now two good editions of the Clementina — 1. by Schwieger, Stuttgart, 1847; 2. The last and best, by Dressel, Göttingen, 1858; besides, 3. The Latin translation of Rufinus, by Gerdes, Leipzig, 1838.

fully represents the views and tenets of a certain sect or class of Christians. It is the work of a Judaizing Christian, according to a very peculiar form of Ebionitism.¹ The scene is chiefly laid in Palestine and its neighborhood, its original language is Greek. The views of the author as to the rank, influence, and relative position of the Apostles, is among its most singular characteristics. So far from ascribing any primacy to St. Peter, though St. Peter is throughout the leading personage, James, Bishop of Jerusalem, is the acknowledged head of Christendom, the arbiter of Christian doctrine, the Bishop of Bishops, to whom Peter himself bows with submissive reverence. Of any earlier visits of Peter to Rome the author is ignorant. Clement encounters the Apostle in Palestine; in Palestine or in the East is carried on the whole strife with Simon Magus. Yet Peter is the Apostle of the Gentiles, to Peter the heathens owe their Christianity. More than this, there is a bitter hatred to St. Paul, which betrays itself in brief, covert, sarcastic allusion, not to be mistaken in its object or aim.² The whole purpose of the work is to assert a Petrine, a Judaizing, an anti-Pauline Christianity. The Gospel is but a republication of the Law, that is, the pure, genuine, original Law, which emanated from God. God is light, his Wisdom or his Spirit (these are identified and are both the Son of God) has dwelt in different men, from Adam to

¹ This is abundantly proved by Schlieman and by Neander.

² In the letter of St. Peter, *τινὲς γὰρ τῶν ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐμοῦ νόμιμον ἀπεδοκίμασαν κήρυγμα, τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡνομήσαντα καὶ φλαρώδη προσηκόμενοι διδασκαλίαν*. If we could doubt that here St. Paul, not Simon Magus is meant, the allusions xi. 35, xvii. 19, and elsewhere, to the very acts and words of St. Paul are conclusive. Compare Schlieman, *Die Clementine*, 74, 96, 534, &c.

Jesus. The whole world is one vast system of Dualisms, or Antagonisms. The antagonism of Simon Magus to St. Peter is chiefly urged in the Clementine homilies; but there are manifest hints, more perhaps than hints, of a second antagonism between Peter and Paul, the teacher of Christianity with the Law, and the teacher of Christianity without the Law. Here then is the representative of what can scarcely be supposed an insignificant party in Rome (the various forms, reconstructions, and versions in which the Clementina appear, whole, or in fragments, attest their wide-spread popularity) who does not scruple to couple fiction with the most sacred names. Of the whole party it must have been the obvious interest to exalt St. Peter, to assert him as the founder, the Bishop of the true Church in Rome; and it is certainly singular that in all the early traditions, which are more than allusions to St. Peter at Rome, Simon Magus appears as his shadow. Has, then, the myth grown out of the pure fiction, or is the fiction but an expansion of the myth? ¹

At all events these works are witnesses to the perpetuity and strength, to a late period, of these Judaizing opinions in Rome.² Their fictitious form in no way invalidates their authority as expressing living opinions, tenets, and sentiments. If not Roman (I have slight doubt on this head), there is an attestation to the wide-spread oppugnancy of a Petrine and a Pauline party;

¹ Strictly speaking the authority for Simon Magus being at Rome is earlier than that for St. Peter. The famous passage of Justin Martyr on the inscription Semoni Sanco, is about twenty years older than the Epistle of Dionysius of Corinth (A. D. 171),—the first *distinct* assertion of St. Peter in Rome. Euseb. H. E. ii. 12, 14.

² Schlieman assigns the Recognitions to some time between 212 and 220—the Clementina, no doubt, are of an *earlier* date. p. 327, *et seqq.*

to strong divergence of opinion as to the relative rank and dignity of the Apostles.

Out of the antagonism between Judaic and anti-Judaic Christianity arose the first conflict, in which the Bishop of Rome, as the leader of a great part of the Christian confederation, assumed unwonted authority. Difference of opinion did not necessarily lead to open strife—from difference of observance it was unavoidable. The controversy about the time of keeping Easter, or rather the Paschal Feast, had slept from the days of Polycarp and Anicetus of Rome. Towards the close of the second century it broke out again. Rome, it is remarkable, now held the anti-Judaic usage of the variable feast, and in this concurred with the churches of Palestine, of Cæsarea, and Jerusalem. These were chiefly of Gentile descent, and probably from near neighborhood to the Jews were most averse to the usages of that hostile and odious race. The Asiatic churches had adhered to the ancient Jewish custom, the observance of the 14th day of the month (Nisan). The controversy seems to have been awakened in Rome by one Blastus,¹ denounced as endeavoring secretly to enslave the Church to Judaism. The Bishop Victor deposed the obstinate schismatic from the Roman Presbytery. But the strife was not confined to Rome. The Asiatic Christians, under Polycrates of Ephesus, maintained their own, the Judaic usage, sanctioned, as was asserted, by the martyr

¹ Est præterea his omnibus Blastus accedens, qui latenter Judaismum vult introducere. Pascha enim dicit non aliter custodiendum esse nisi secundum legem Moysei xiiii mensis.—Præscript. Hæret. This is from an addition, probably an ancient one, to the Treatise of Tertullian.

Polycarp, by Philip the Deacon, and even by St. John. Victor, supported by the Bishops, Theophilus of the Palestinian Cæsarea, by Narcissus of Jerusalem, by some in Pontus, in Osroene, in Gaul, and by Bacchylides of Corinth, peremptorily demanded a Council to judge the Asiatic Bishops; threatened or actually pronounced a disruption of all communion with those who presumed to maintain their stubborn difference from himself and the rest of the Christian world.¹ The strife was appeased by the interposition of Irenæus, justly, according to the Ecclesiastical historian, called a Man of Peace. Irenæus was Bishop of Vienne in Gaul; and so completely is Christianity now one world, that a Bishop of Gaul allays a feud in which the Bishop of Rome is in alliance with the Bishops of Syria and of the remoter East, against those of Asia Minor. Africa does not look with indifference on the controversy. Irenæus had already written an epistle to Blastus in Rome, reproving him as author of the schism: he now wrote to the Bishop Victor, asserting the right of the Churches to maintain their own usages on such points, and recommending a milder tone on these ceremonial questions.²

It was not till the Council of Nicea that Christendom acquiesced in the same Paschal Cycle.

The reign of Commodus, commencing with the last twenty years of the second century, is an Reign of Commodus 180-193. epoch in the history of Western Christendom. The feud between the Judaizing and anti-Judaizing

¹ Euseb. H. E. v. 15.

² The Latin book ascribed to Novatian, against the Jewish distinction of meats, shows Judaism still struggling within the church on its most vital peculiarities. The author of this tract wrote also against circumcision and the Jewish Sabbath.

parties in Rome seemed to expire with the controversy about Easter. The older Gnostic systems of Valentinus and Marcion had had their day. Montanism was expelled from Rome to find refuge in Africa. In Africa Latin Christianity began to take its proper form in the writings of Tertullian. Rome was absorbed in the inevitable disputes concerning the Divinity of the Saviour, the prelude to the great Trinitarian controversy. The Bishops of Rome, Eleutherius, still more Victor, and at the commencement of the third century Zephyrinus and Callistus, before dimly known by scattered allusions in Tertullian and Eusebius, and still later writers, have suddenly emerged into light in the contemporary work, justly, to all appearance, attributed to Hippolytus Bishop of Portus.¹

¹ The Chevalier Bunsen's very learned work has proved the authorship of Hippolytus to my full satisfaction — so likewise Dr. Wordsworth — Hippolytus. I have also read the 'Hippolytus und Kallistus' (just published), by J. Döllinger, the church historian; I must say with no conviction but of the author's learning and ingenuity. It appears to me that M. Döllinger's arguments against M. Bunsen (*e. g.* from the ignorance of St. Jerome) are quite as fatal to his own theory. I still think it most probable that Hippolytus was Bishop of Portus, and that these suburbicarian bishops formed or were part of a kind of presbytery or college with the bishops of Rome. I hardly understand how those (seven) bishops (the cardinal-bishops) can have gained their peculiar relation to Rome, in later times, without any earlier tradition in their favor. The loose language of later Greek writers might easily make of a bishop, a member of such a presbytery, a bishop in Rome, or even of Rome. More than one, at least, of these writers calls Hippolytus Bishop of Portus: and hence, too, he may have been sometimes described as Presbyter.

Portus, there can be no doubt, was a very considerable town; but a new and flourishing haven cannot have grown up at the mouth of the Tiber, after half, at least, of the commerce and concourse of strangers had deserted Rome, after the foundation of Constantinople, and during the Barbarian invasions. Birkenhead would not have risen to rival Liverpool excepting in a most prosperous state of English trade.

I cannot but regret that M. Döllinger's book, so able, and in some respects so instructive, should be written with such a resolute (no doubt conscientious) determination to make out a case. It might well be entitled

The Christians from the death of M. Aurelius, throughout the reign of Commodus, enjoyed undisturbed peace with the civil government.¹ But many of the victims of the persecution under Aurelius were pining in the unwholesome mines of Sardinia. Marcia, the favorite concubine of the Emperor Commodus, whom he treated as his wife, and who held the state of an Empress, was favorable to the Christians: how far she herself had embraced the doctrines, how, if herself disposed to Christianity, she reconciled it with her life, does not appear.² The Bishop Victor did not scruple (such scruples had been too fastidiously rigorous) to employ her influence for the release of his

Apologia pro Callisto; and I must presume to say, in my judgment, a most unfortunate case for his own cause. Were I polemically disposed as to the succession to the Papacy, the authority and supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, or even the unity of the Church, I could hardly hope for so liberal a concession as that twice within thirty years, during the early part of the third century, rival bishops, one a most distinguished theologian, should set themselves up in Rome itself against the acknowledged Pope, and declare their own communities to be the true Church. Döllinger indeed could not but see, that, whoever the author, he writes, from station, from character, or from influence, as quite on a level with the Pope; he seems altogether unconscious of awe, and even of the respect for that office, which is of a later period. The Abbé Cruice, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise de Rome sous les Pontificats de St. Victor, St. Zephyrin, et de St. Calliste* (Paris, 1856), is bolder and more dutiful. With him the Popes are already invested in all their power (of excommunication), in their ex officio wisdom and holiness. They are all, by the magical prefix S, Saints; Victor and Callistus, on the authority of legend, martyrs. This unhistoric history (not unamusing), this theology without precision, seems to pass in France for profound learning.

¹ Asterius Urbanus apud Eusebium, H. E. v. 16. Compare Moyle's works, ii. p. 265. — The peace lasted for thirteen years after the death of Maximilla the Montanist, just the period of the reign of Commodus.

² οὐδὲν δὲ ἔδειξε γαμετῆς γυναῖκος, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐπέηρχεν ὅσα Σεβαστῶν πλὴν τοῦ πυρός. Herodian, i. 50. Her complicity in the murder of Commodus was but to avert her own. Commodus must have been insane; Marcia strove, even with tears, to dissuade him from the disgrace of appearing in public as a gladiator; his two ministers joined their strong remonstrances. Commodus, in revenge, marked down her name, and those

exiled brethren: they all returned to Rome.¹ This state of peace seemed to quicken into more active life the brooding elements of discord, and to invite the founders of new systems, or their busy proselytes, to Rome. Already had spread to Europe, to Africa, to Rome itself, from the depths of Phrygia, the disciples of Montanus. It is probable that these Montanist or kindred prophecies of coming wars, and the approaching Dissolution of the World (a vaticination which involved or rather signified to the jealous Roman ear only the ruin of the Empire), may have aided in exciting the religious terror and indignation of the philosophic Emperor and of the Roman world against the Christians, and so have been one cause of the persecutions under Marcus Aurelius.² Montanus himself, and Maximilla, his chief prophetess, seem not to have travelled beyond the confines of Phrygia.³ But their followers swarmed over Christendom. They dispersed or revealed to the initiated in countless books, the visions of Montanus, and his no less inspired female followers, Priscilla and Maximilla.⁴ Montanism, strictly speaking, was no heresy; in their notions of God and of Christ, these sectaries departed not from the received doctrine. But beyond,

of Lætus and Eclectus, his faithful counsellors, for death. The fatal tablet fell into the hands of Marcia. They anticipated their own doom by that of Commodus. Herodian, *ibid.* Marcia afterwards married Eclectus. — Dion Cassius, or Xiphylin, *lvii.* 4.

¹ *Refutatio Hæresium*, p. 287.

² This further confirms the author's view of the cause of the persecutions under M. Aurelius. *Hist. of Christianity*, Book ii. c. 7.

³ Their fate was so obscure, that rumors spread abroad among their enemies that they had died like Judas, had hanged themselves. See the uncertain author quoted by Eusebius. *H. E.* v. 16.

⁴ This we learn from the *Refutatio Hæresium*. *Ὁν βίβλους ἀπείρους ἔχοντες πλανῶνται*, p. 275.

and as the consummation and completion of the Christian Revelation, the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, dwelt in Montanus and the Prophetesses. At intervals, throughout the annals of Christianity, the Holy Ghost has been summoned by the hopes, felt as present by the kindled imaginations, been proclaimed by the passionate enthusiasm of a few, as accomplishing in them the imperfect revelation ; as the third revelation — which is to supersede and to fulfil the Law and the Gospel. This notion will appear again in the middle ages as the doctrine of the Abbot Joachim, of John Peter de Oliva and the Fraticelli ; in a milder form it is that of George Fox and Barclay. The land of heathen orgies was the natural birthplace of that wild Christian mysticism ; it was the Phrygian fanaticism speaking a new language ; and as the ancient Phrygian rites of Cybele found welcome reception in heathen Rome, so also that, which was appropriately called Cataphrygianism, in the Christian Church.¹ A stern intolerant asceticism, which had already begun to harden around the Christian heart, a rigor, a perfection of manners as of creed (so they deemed it) beyond the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel, distinguished the Montanists, who, by their own asserted superiority, condemned the rest of the Christian world.² They had fasts far more long and severe, their own festivals, their own food, chiefly roots ;³ they held the austere views on the connection of the sexes ; if they did not absolutely condemn, hardly permitted marriage ; a second marriage was an

¹ Compare the *Super alta vectus Atys* with the extravagancies of Montanism.

² πλείον δὲ αὐτῶν φάσκοντες ὡς μεμαθηκέναι, ἢ ἐκ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων. Euseb. H. E. p. 276.

³ The author of the *Refutatio* speaks of their *ξηροφάγια*.

inexpiable sin. Their visions enwrap the imagination, their rigor enthralled minds of congenial temperament. They seized on the African passions, they fell in with the austerity, they satisfied the holy ambition of Tertullian, who would not rest below what seemed the most lofty, self-sacrificing Christianity. In Rome itself (so Tertullian writes, with mingled indignation and contempt) the Bishop had been seized with admiration, had acknowledged the inspiration of the Prophets; he had issued letters of peace in their favor, which had tended to quiet the agitated churches of Asia and of Phrygia. But at the instigation of Praxeas the Heresiarch, if not the author, among the first teachers of that doctrine, afterwards denounced as Patripassianism; he had revoked his letters, denied their spiritual gifts, and driven out the Prophets in disgrace.¹

The indignation of Tertullian at the rejection of his Montanist opinions urges him to arraign the Pope, with what justice, to what extent we know not, as having embraced the Patripassian opinions of Praxeas. This Monarchianism, or, as it was branded by the more odious name, Patripassianism, was the controversy which raged during the episcopate of Victor, Zephyrinus, and Callistus.² It called forth the

Monarchian-
ism.

¹ Ita duo negotia Diaboli Praxeas Romæ procuravit, prophetiam expulit et hæresim intulit. Paracletum fugavit, et Patrem crucifixit. Adversus Praxeam, c. i. Who was this bishop of Rome? It has been usually supposed Victor. Neander (*Anti-Gnosticus*, p. 486) argues strongly, I think not conclusively, that it was his predecessor Eleutherius. The spurious passage, at the close of the *De Præscrip. Hæret.*, which, though not Tertullian's, seems ancient, has these words:—"Praxeas quidem hæresim introduxit, quam Victorinus (the Bishop Victor?) corroborare curavit."

² The oppugnancy of the Latin and Greek mind is well illustrated by the contrast of Tertullian with the early Greek writers, e. g. Justin Martyr. In Tertullian there is no courteous respect for the Greek philosophy: he is dead to the beauty of the dying hours of Socrates; his *Dæmon* is a devil.

'Refutation of Heresies.' That paramount doctrine of Christianity, the nature of Christ, his relation to the primal and paternal Godhead, which had been contested in a vaguer and more imaginative form under the Gnostic systems, must be brought to a direct issue. Rome, though the war was waged by Greek combatants in the Greek language, must be the chosen battlefield of the conflict. There was division in the Church. Pope Victor, a stern and haughty Prelate, who had demanded implicit submission to his opinions on the question of Easter, now seemed stunned and bewildered by the polemic din and tumult.¹ The feebler Zephyrinus, through his long pontificate, vacillated and wavered to and fro. Callistus, if we are to believe his implacable and uncompromising adversary, not only departed from the true faith, but left a sect, bearing his name, to perpetuate his reprehensible opinions. From Theodotus, a follower of Valentinus, to ^{About} Noetus and his disciple Epigonus, there was ^{A.D. 150}

"No man comes to God but by Christ; of these things the heathen knew nothing." T. de Anim. i. 39. Compare Ritter, *Gesch. Christ. Philosophie*, p. 335. Tertullian cannot conceive immaterial being. *Nihil incorpore quod non est.* De Carn. Christ. Neander, iii. p. 965.

¹ Victor condemned indeed and excommunicated Theodotus, who reduced the Saviour to his naked manhood; he was but an image of Melchisedek. This was asserted fifty years later, when the doctrine of the naked manhood of Christ was taught in its most obnoxious form by Artemas, and afterwards by Paul of Samosata. These teachers appealed to the unbroken tradition of the church, from the Apostles to their own days, in favor of their own tenet. It was answered that Victor had condemned Theodotus, the author of this God-denying apostacy; *ὅτι βίατωρ τὸν σκυντῆ Θεοδότου, τὸν ἀρχηγὸν ταύτης τῆς ἀρησιδεύου ἀποστασίας, ἀπεκήρυξε τῆς κοινῆς, πρῶτον εἰπόντα ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπον τὸν Χριστόν.* Euseb. H. E. v. 15 Epiph. 54, 55. Compare Pseudo-Tertullian de Præscrip. Hæret. On the Theodoti, compare Bunsen, Hippolytus, p. 92. Yet Victor, it should seem, was deceived by Praxeas (see note above). Florinus, condemned with Blastus the Quartodeciman, was a Monarchian; but there were manifestly many shades of Monarchianism.

a constant succession of strangers, each with his own system. The shades of distinction were infinite, from that older Ebionitish or Judaic doctrine, which kept down the Saviour to mere naked manhood, hardly superior to the prophets; and that which approximated to, if it did not express in absolute terms, the full Godhead of the Nicene Creed. The broad divisions, up to a certain period, had been three-fold: 1. Those who altogether denied the Godhead—the extreme Ebionites. 2. Those who denied the Manhood—all the Gnostic sects. In their diverging forms of Docetism, these held the unreal, or but seeming human nature of the Redeemer; whether, as Valentinus said, the *Æon* Christ had descended on the man Jesus, the psychic or animal man; or as Marcion, maintained the manhood to be a mere phantasm. 3. All the rest (even the Roman Ebionites, represented by the Clementine Homilies) acknowledged some Deity, some efflux, irradiation, emanation of the primal Godhead. The Logos, the Wisdom, the Spirit of God (the distinction was not always maintained, nor as yet accurately defined) indwelt in various manners and degrees within the Christ. The difficulty was to claim the plenary Godhead for the Son, the Redeemer, without infringing on the sole, original Principality of the Father; to admit subordination without inferiority. So grew up a new division between the Monarchians, the assertors of one immutable primary Principle, who yet acknowledged the divinity of the Redeemer; and those who, while they mostly acknowledged in terms, were impatient of any real or definite subordination. Each drew an awful conclusion from the tenets of his adversary; each used an opprobrious term which ap-

About A.D.
200-220.

pealed to the resentful passions. The Monarchians were charged with the appalling doctrine, that the Father, the one primary Principle, must have suffered on the cross; they were called Patripassians. They retorted on those who were unable, or who refused to define the subordination of the Son, as worshippers of two Gods, Ditheists. Sabellius, who at first repressed, or brought forward his views with reserve and caution, attempted to mediate, and was disdainfully cast aside by both parties. The notion of the same God under three manifestations, forms, or names, seemed to annul the separate personality of each.¹

Pope Victor saw but the beginning of this strife. With Pope Zephyrinus, whose Episcopate of A.D. 201-212. nineteen years commences with the third century, appears his antagonist, the antagonist of his successor Callistus, the author of the Refutation of all Heresies. According to his own distinct statement, this writer was not a casual and transient visitor in Rome, but domiciled in the city or in its neighborhood, invested in some high public function,² and holding acknowledged influence and authority. He describes himself as the head of what may be called the orthodox party, resisting and condemning the wavering policy of one Pope, actually excommunicating another, and handing him down to posterity as an heresiarch of a sect called after his name. Who then was this antagonist? What rank and position did he hold? Fifty years A.D. 201-250.

¹ Sabellius, according to the Refutation of Heresies, might have been kept within the bounds of orthodoxy, had he not been driven into extremes by the injudicious violence of the Pope.

² Origen visited Rome about the year 211, but his visit was not long; and, with all his fame and learning, to the height of which he had not attained, he was a stranger, without rank or authority. He was not even in orders.

later¹ the Roman church comprehended, besides its Bishop, forty-six Presbyters, and seven Deacons,² with their subordinate officers. Each Presbyter doubtless presided over a separate community, each with its basilica, scattered over the wide circuit of the city: they were the primary Parish Priests of Rome. But besides these, were Suburbicarian Bishops of the adjacent towns, Ostia, Tibur, Portus, and others (six or seven), who did not maintain their absolute independence on the metropolis, each in the seclusion of his own community; they held their synods in Rome, but as yet with Greek equality rather than Roman subordination; they were the initiatory College of Cardinals (who still take some of their titles from these sees), but with the Pope as one of this coequal college, rather than the dominant, certainly not the despotic, head.

Of all these suburban districts at this time Portus was the most considerable, and most likely to be occupied by a distinguished prelate. Portus, from the reign of Trajan, had superseded Ostia as the haven of Rome. It was a commercial town of growing extent and opulence, at which most of the strangers from the East who came by sea landed or set sail. Through Portus, no doubt, most of the foreign Christians found their way to Rome.³ Of this city at the present time, it can hardly be doubted, Hippolytus was the bishop, Hippolytus who afterwards rose to the dignity of saint and martyr, and whose

¹ Calculating from the accession of Zephyrinus to the Decian persecution. Letter of Pope Cornelius in Euseb. H. E. vi. 42.

² Each deacon appears to have comprehended under his charitable superintendence two out of the fourteen regions of the city.

³ In the letters of Æneas Sylvius there is a curious account of a visit which he made to the site of this ancient bishopric, then held by one of his friends. Dr. Wordsworth has some interesting details concerning Portus.

statue, discovered in the Laurentian cemetery, now stands in the Vatican. Conclusive internal evidence indicates Hippolytus as the author of the Refutation of all Heresies. If any one might dare to confront the Bishop of Rome, it was the Bishop of Portus.

Zephyrinus, according to his unsparing adversary, was an unlearned man; ignorant of the lan- Pope Zephy-
rinus. 219. guage and definitions of the Church; avaricious, venal, of unsettled principles; not holding the balance between conflicting opinions, but embracing adverse tenets with all the zeal, of which a mind so irresolute was capable. He was now a disciple of Cleomenes, the successor of Noetus, and teacher of Noetianism in Rome (Noetus held the extreme Monarchian doctrine, so as to be obnoxious to the charge of Patripassianism), now of Sabellius, who, become more bold, had matured his scheme, which was odious alike to the other two contending parties. Zephyrinus was entirely governed by the crafty Callistus; and thus constantly driven back, by his fears or confusion of mind, to opposite tenets, and involved in the most glaring contradictions. At one time he publicly used the startling language: "I acknowledge one God, Jesus Christ, and none beside him, that was born and suffered;" at another, he refuted himself, "It was not the Father that died, but the Son." So through the long episcopate of Zephyrinus there was endless conflict and confusion. The author of the Refutation steadily, perseveringly, resisted the vacillating Pontiff; he himself was branded with the opprobrious appellation of Ditheist.

Callistus, who had ruled the feeble mind Callistus
Pope. 219-
224. of Zephyrinus, aspired to be his successor;

as head, it should seem, of one of the contending parties, he attained the object of his ambition. The memory of theologic adversaries is tenacious. His enemies were not likely to forget the early life of Callistus, which must have been public and notorious, at least among the Christians. He had been a slave in the family of Carpophorus, a wealthy Christian, in the Emperor's household. He was set up by his master in a bank in the quarter called the *Piscina Publica*. The Christian brethren and widows, on the credit of the name of Carpophorus, deposited their savings in this bank of Callistus. He made away with the funds, was called to account, fled, embarked on board a ship, was pursued, threw himself into the sea — was rescued — brought back to Rome, and ignominiously consigned to hard labor in the public workhouse. The merciful Carpophorus cared not for his own losses, but for those of the poor widows; he released the prisoner on the pretext of collecting moneys, which he pretended to be due to him. Callistus raised a riot in a Jewish synagogue, was carried before the Prefect Fuscianus, scourged and transported to the mines in Sardinia. On the release of the exiles through the intercession of Marcia, Callistus, though not on the list furnished by the Bishop Victor, persuaded Hyacinthus, the Eunuch appointed to bear the order for the release of the captives to the governor, to become responsible for his liberation also.¹ He returned to Rome; the Pope Victor, though distressed by the affair, was too

¹ This singular picture of Roman and Christian middle life has an air of minute truthfulness, though possibly somewhat darkened by polemic hostility. Some have supposed that they detect a difference in the style from the rest of the treatise. I perceive none but that which is natural in a transition from polemic or argumentative writing to simple narrative

merciful to expose the fraud; Callistus was sent to Antium with a monthly allowance for his maintenance. At Antium (for this release of the Sardinian prisoners must have been at the commencement of Victor's episcopate)¹ he remained nine or ten years. Zephyrinus recalled him from his obscure retreat; and placed him over the cemetery.² By degrees the Pope entirely surrendered himself to the guidance of Callistus.

The first act of Callistus on his advancement to the bishopric was the excommunication of Sabellius, an act cordially approved by Hippolytus, and ascribed to the fear of himself. Callistus formed a new scheme, by which he hoped to elude the charge on one side of Patripassianism, on the other of Ditheism. Hippolytus denounces his heresy without scruple or reserve.³

The suggestion that it is a Novatian interpolation is desperate and preposterous. Novatian was not heard of till thirty years after, his followers, of course, later. What possible motive could they have for blackening the memory of Zephyrinus and Callistus? Novatian was no enemy of the Bishop of Rome; had no design to invalidate his powers. He was the enemy of Cornelius, his successful rival for the see; he aspired himself to be bishop—was, in fact, anti-Pope. The great point on which Novatian made his stand had, indeed, been mooted, but did not become a cause of fatal division till after the persecution of Decius, the treatment of the Lapsi—those who in the persecution had denied the faith.

Hippolytus, it is true, in the poetic legend of Prudentius (who borrows the circumstances of his martyrdom from the destiny of his namesake in the tragedy of Euripides), is charged with holding the tenets of Novatus, which he recanted, and in his death-agony became a good Catholic. But the author of the *Refutation of all Heresies* can hardly have been involved in the schism of Novatian, who did not appear till so many years after the death of Callistus. Novatian, with such a partisan, would not have sought out three obscure bishops for his ordination. I cannot but think the Spanish legendary poet of the fourth century utterly without historical authority,—possibly he confounded different Hippolyti.

¹ The release of the prisoners took place probably in the tenth year of Commodus, the year of Victor's accession, A.D. 190.

² We are naturally reminded of the cemetery called of Callistus. Aringhi supposes this cemetery older than the time of Callistus.

³ Callistianism differed but slightly from Noetism. God and his divine

Christian doctrine, the profound mystery of the Saviour's Godhead, was not the only subject of collision between the adverse parties in the Church of Rome. The difficult reconciliation of Christian tenderness and Christian holiness could hardly fail to produce a milder and more austere party throughout Christendom. The first young influences of Monachism, the perfection claimed by celibacy over the less ostentatious virtue of domestic purity, the notion of the heroism of self-mortification, led to inevitable differences. Montanism, with its fanatic rigor, had wrought up this strife to a great height. The more severe, who did not embrace the Montanist tenets, would not be surpassed by heretics in self-abnegation. The lenity to be shown to penitents, the condescension to the weaknesses of flesh and blood, raised perpetual disputes. Callistus throughout, unlike those whose early lives demand indulgence, who are usually the most severe, was himself indulgent to others; and this was the dominant tone at the time in the Roman Church. The author of the Refutation, though uninfected by Montanist tenets, inveighs against the leniency of Callistus, as asserting that even a bishop, guilty of a deadly sin, was not to be deposed. The nature of this, according to Hippolytus, deadly sin, which Callistus treated with such offensive tenderness, appears from the next sentence:¹ it related

Controversy
on Christian
morals.

Word were one; together they were the Spirit, the one Spiritual Being. This Spirit took flesh of the Virgin; so the Father was in the Son, but he suffered not as the Son, but with the Son.

¹ Οὗτος ἐδογμάτισεν ὅπως εἰ ἐπίσκοπος ἁμάρτοι τι, εἰ καὶ πρὸς θάνατον, μὴ δεῖν κατατίθεσθαι. Ἐπὶ τούτου ἤρξαντο ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ δάκονοι δίγαμοι καὶ τρίγαμοι καθίστασθαι εἰς κλήρους. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τις ἐν κλήρῳ ὢν γαμοίη, μένειν τον τοιοῦτον ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὡς μὴ ἡμαρτήκοτα. ix. 12. p. 290.

to that grave question which had begun to absorb the Christian mind—the marriage of the clergy. That usage, which has always prevailed, and still prevails, in the Greek Church, as yet seems to have satisfied the more rigorous at Rome. Those who were already married when ordained, retained their wives. But a second marriage, or marriage after ordination, was revolting to the incipient monkery of the Church. But Callistus, according to his implacable adversary, went further, he admitted men who had been twice, even thrice married, to holy orders; he allowed those already in orders to marry. His more indulgent party appealed to the evangelical argument,¹ “Who art thou that judgest another man’s servant?” They alleged the parables of the tares and wheat, the clean and unclean beasts in the ark. This the more austere denounced as criminal flattery of the passions of the multitude; as the sanction of voluptuousness proscribed by Christ, with the base design of courting popularity, and swelling the ranks of their faction. There is a heavier charge behind. The widows, if they could not contain, were not only allowed to marry, but to take a slave or freedman, below their own rank, who could not be their legal husband.² Hence abortions, and child murders, to conceal these disgraceful connections. Callistus, therefore, is sanctioning adultery and murder. But even this is not the height of his offence, he had dared to administer a second baptism. So already had ecclesiastical offences become worse in the estimation of vehement religious

¹ R. H. p. 290.

² The widows, who had taken on themselves the office of deaconesses, and who, though not bound by vow, were under a kind of virtual engagement against second marriage.

partisans than moral enormities. Here, at least, it is fair to mistrust the angry adversary. But this conflict between a more indulgent and a more austere party in Rome, and some declaration of the Pope Zephyrinus, probably, rather than Callistus, — but Zephyrinus acting under the influence of Callistus — on the connection between the sexes, had already excited the indignation of Tertullian in Africa, now still more hardened by his Montanist tenets. “The Bishop of Bishops had promulgated an edict, that he would remit to penitents even the sins of adultery and fornication. This license to lust is issued in the stronghold of all wicked and shameless lusts.”¹

Persecution restored that peace to the Roman Church, which had been so much disturbed throughout her uninvaded prosperity, during the tolerant rule of Alexander Severus. In the sudden outburst of hostility, during the short reign of the brutal Thracian Maximin, Pontianus, who had followed Urban I., the A.D. 235. successor of Callistus, and with him a presbyter, Hippolytus, suffered sentence of deportation to the usual place of exile — Sardinia. There Pontianus is said (nor is there much reason to doubt the tradition) to have endured martyrdom. Hippolytus,² according to the poetic legend in Prudentius of two centuries later, suffered in the suburbs of Rome.³

¹ De Pudicitia. — Did the title *Episcopus Episcoporum*, which I think cannot but mean Rome, arise from his superiority to the suburbicarian bishops? See, however, on this title the note of Baluzius on the vii. Council. Carthag. — or in Routh, ii. 153.

² Compare Bunsen. The title of Presbyter assigned to Hippolytus, if, as is most probable, the same with the author of the Refutation and other works, even if he were Bishop of Portus, raises no difficulty. These bishops were members of the Roman Presbytery.

³ At this time, more likely than fifteen years afterwards, in the Decian persecution. Legend respects not dates.

The Decian persecution, about thirty years after the death of Callistus, was the birth epoch of Latin Christianity; Cyprian its true parent.¹ Rome, the recognized metropolis of the West, Carthage, the metropolis of the African churches, are in constant and regular intercourse.¹ There is first a Punic league, afterwards at least a threatened Punic war. In the persecution the churches are brought into close alliance by common sympathies, common perils, common sufferings, singularly enough by common schisms; slowly, but no doubt at length, by their common language. The same Imperial edict endangers the life of the Roman and of the Carthaginian Bishop; malcontents from Rome find their way to Carthage, from Carthage to Rome. The same man, Novatus, stirs up rebellion against episcopal authority in Rome and in Carthage; the letters of the churches to each other are promulgated in Latin, though at a period somewhat later those from the African churches sent into the East are distinguished from those which came from Rome, as written in the Roman tongue.² So too in Rome and in Carthage (in Carthage in the most mature and perfect form, from the master mind of Cyprian) appear the Roman strength and the Roman respect for law, the imperious assertion of hierarchical despotism. In the community there is trembling deference for hierarchical authority, though at first with a bold but short resistance. There is an anti-Bishop in Rome and in Carthage. But

¹ The intercourse between Carthage and Rome, on account of the corn trade alone, was probably more regular and rapid than in any other part of the empire—*mutatis mutandis*—like that between Marseilles and Algeria.

² Euseb. H. E. See above, p. 53, note.

in both Churches discipline becomes of equal importance with doctrine; the unity of the Church is made to depend on obedience to its outward polity; rebellion to episcopal authority becomes as great a crime as erroneous opinion; schism as hateful as heresy.

Fabianus, under Decius, is the first martyr Bishop of Rome, whose death rests on certain testimony.¹ The papal chair remained vacant for a short time; either the Christians dared not choose,

Cyprian of Carthage. or no one dared to assume the perilous rank. Cyprian of Carthage on the same occasion, not from timidity, but from prudent and parental regard for his flock, retired into a safe retreat. There were already divisions in the Church of Carthage.

Novatus. Novatus, a turbulent presbyter, with five others,² had been jealous of the elevation of Cyprian. Novatus, whose character is darkly drawn by Cyprian, had presumed to interfere with the bishop's prerogative (a crime hardly less heinous than peculation and licentiousness) and himself ordained a deacon, Felicissimus. This hostile party would no doubt heap contempt on the base flight of Cyprian; while they, less in danger, seemed to have remained to brave the persecutor. The party took upon themselves the episcopal functions.³ On their own authority, too, the faction of Novatus determined, in the more lenient way, the great question, the reception of the fallen, those who

¹ Perhaps that of Pontianus may be above suspicion. (See above.)

² It is doubtful whether Novatus was one of these five.

³ Cyprian, from his retreat, sent two bishops to collect and administer the alms, probably of great amount, in Carthage. Walch conjectures, with much probability, that Felicissimus may have resented this intrusion on his province as Deacon.

had denied the faith and offered sacrifice, and those who, with more pardonable weakness, had bought certificates of submission from the venal officers.¹ Cyprian in vain remonstrated from his retreat: he too had somewhat departed from his old sternness, when he had shut the doors of the Church against the renegades. He was not now for inflexible and peremptory rejection of those weak brethren, for whom he may have learned some sympathy; he insisted only on their less hasty, more formal reception, after penance, confession, imposition of hands by the bishop. Each case was to be separately considered before an assembly of the bishops, presbyters, deacons, the faithful who had stood,² and the laity; so popular still was Cyprian's view of episcopal authority. Cornelius, in Rome, ^{Cornelius Bishop of Rome.} had been elected bishop on the return of peace. The same question distracted his Church, but with more disastrous results. The same Novatus was now in Rome: true only to his own restlessness, he here embraced the severer party, at the head of which stood a leader, by some strange coincidence, almost of the same name with his own, Novatian.³ This Novatian man had been a Stoic philosopher. His hard nature, in the agony of wrestling after truth, before he had found peace in Christianity, broke down both body and mind. His enemies afterwards declared that he had

¹ They were called Libellatici. Compare Mosheim de Reb. Christian. ante Constant. M., pp. 482, 489.

² Throughout this is his language—*Viderint laici, hoc quomodo curent*. Ep. liii., also xi. xxix. xxxi. Compare Concil. Carthag. iii., where it is among the objections that a fallen had been received *sine petitu et conscientia plebis*. *Mansi* sub ann. 252, or Routh, vol. ii. p. 74.

³ The Greek writers all called Novatian, Novatus. We are on historical ground, or what a myth might be made out of these two *Innovators*!—Novatus and Novatian.

been possessed ; the demon was not completely exorcised. He had only received what was called Clinic baptism (an imperfect rite) on what was supposed his death-bed. The Stoic remained within the Christian ; he became a rigid ascetic. Novatian sternly declared that no mercy but that of God (from that he did not exclude the fallen) could absolve from the inexpiable sin of apostacy : the Church, which received such unabsolvable sinners into its bosom, was unclean, and ceased to be the Church. Novatian might have contented himself, like the Thraseas of old, with protesting against the abuse of episcopal despotism, no less abuse because it erred on the side of leniency. When charged with ambitious designs on the Bishopric of Rome, of having been the rival, and therefore having become the enemy, of Cornelius, he solemnly declared that he preferred the solitary virtue and dignity of the ascetic ; it was only by compulsion that he took upon himself the function of an Antipope. Cyprian attributes the schism to the malignant influence of Novatus : — “ In proportion as Rome is greater than Carthage, so was the sin of Novatus in Rome more heinous than that in Carthage. In Carthage he had ordained a deacon, in Rome he had made a bishop.”¹ Novatian was publicly but hastily and irregularly consecrated, as Bishop of Rome, by three bishops, it is said, of obscure towns in Italy. Novatian was in doctrine rigidly orthodox ; but in Cyprian’s view (who makes common cause with the Bishop of Rome against the common enemy) what avails orthodoxy of doctrine in one out

¹ Planè quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora et graviora commisit. Qui istic adversus ecclesiam diaconum fecerat illic episcopum fecit. Epist. xlix. The præminence of the Bishop of Rome arises out of the præminent greatness of Rome.

of the Church?¹ He is self-excluded from the pale of salvation. Cyprian had grounds, if not for his abhorrence, for his fears of Novatianism. It aspired itself to be the Church, to set up rival bishops throughout Christendom; the test of that Church was this uncompromising, inflexible severity. Even in Carthage arose another bishop, Fortunatus, who asserted himself to have been consecrated by twenty-three Numidian bishops. Cyprian, not without bitterness, while he admits that Cornelius had rejected his rebellious Deacon Felicissimus from communion, complains that he had been weakly shaken, and induced to waver, by the false representations of the partisans of Fortunatus.² This transient difference was soon lost in Cyprian's generous admiration for the intrepidity of Cornelius, in whose glorious Confession the whole Church of Rome, even the fallen, who had been admitted as penitents, now nobly joined. Cornelius was banished, it is said, by the Emperor Gallus, to Civit  Vecchia; he was followed by vast numbers of believers, who shared his exile, and his danger. The Church returned from banishment, but under a new bishop, Lucius; Cornelius had died, the words of Cyprian hardly assert by a violent death.³ The Novatians alone, during this

¹ Quod vero ad Novatiani personam pertinet, pater carissime, desiderasti tibi scribi quam h resin introduxisset, scias nos primo in loco non curiosos esse debere quid ille doceat, cum foris doceat. Quisquis ille est, et qualicumque est, Christianus non est, qui in Christi ecclesi  non est. Ad Anton. Epist. llii.

² Read the whole remarkable letter, lv. ad Corneli um — the strongest revelation of the views, reasonings, passions, fears, hatreds of Cyprian. I cannot consent, with a late writer, to the abandonment of all these documents as spurious. Forgery would not have left the argument so doubtful, or rather so decisive against the object imputed to the forgers.

³ Epist. ad Lucium P. R. reversum ab exilio — lviii. See, however, Epist. lxviii. — He is described as martyrio quoque dignatione Domini honoratus. Compare Routh's note, ii. 182.

new trial of the faith, stood aloof in sullen hostility. A.D. 253. They were too obscure, Cyprian suggests, to provoke the jealousy of the rulers. But Cyprian miscalculated that strength and vitality of Novatianism. It spread throughout Christendom: even in the East, Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, was hardly restrained from joining the party. Dionysius of Alexandria treated their advances with greater wisdom; he earnestly urged Novatian, now that Cornelius was dead and the question laid almost at rest by the cessation of persecution, to return into the bosom of the Church. On Novatian's stubborn refusal, he condemned in strong terms his harsh Christianity, as depriving the Saviour of his sacred attribute of mercy. But Novatianism endured for above two centuries; it had its bishops in Constantinople, Nicea, Nicomedia, Citiaëus in Phrygia, in Cyzicum and Bithynia; even in Alexandria, in Italy, in Gaul, in Spain. It had its saints, its hermits, its monks. St. Ambrose in Italy, Pacianus, Bishop of Barcelona, and towards the end of the fourth century Leo the Great, thought it necessary to condemn or to refute the doctrines of Novatian. The two Byzantine ecclesiastical historians, Socrates and his follower Sozomen, have been accused of leaning to Novatianism.¹

Novatianism, like all unsuccessful opposition, added Cyprian's unity of the Church. strength to its triumphant adversary. It was not so much by its rigor, as by its collision with the Hierarchical system, that it lost its hold on the Christian mind. It declared that there were sins be-

¹ Compare Walch *Ketzer-Geschichte*. Walch has collected every passage relating to Novatianism with his usual industry, accuracy and fairness, ii. pp. 185, 283.

yond the absolving power of the clergy. By setting up rival bishops in Rome, Carthage, and other cities, it only evoked more commandingly the growing theory of Christian unity, and caused it to be asserted in a still more rigid and exclusive form. Within the pale of the Church, under the lawful Bishop, were Christ and salvation; without it, the realm of the Devil, the world of perdition. The faith of the heretic and schismatic was no faith, his holiness no holiness, his martyrdom no martyrdom.¹ Latin Christianity, in the mind of Cyprian, if not its founder, its chief hierophant, had soared to the ideal height of this unity. This Utopia of Cyprian placed St. Peter at the head of the College of coequal Apostles, from whom the Bishops inherited coequal dignity. The succession of the Bishop of Rome from St. Peter was now, near 200 years after his death, an accredited tradition. Nor, so long as Carthage and Rome were in amity and alliance, did Cyprian scruple to admit (as Carthage could not but own her inferiority to Imperial Rome) a kind of primacy, of dignity at least, in the Metropolitan Bishop.²

¹ The second Council of Carthage touches on this absolving power of the priesthood — "Quando permiserit ipse, qui legem dedit ut ligati in terris etiam in coelis ligati essent, solvi autem possent illa quæ hic prius in ecclesiâ solverentur." The decree of this Council anticipates another instant persecution, and urges, with great force and beauty, the necessity of strengthening all disciples against the coming trial — quos excitamus et hortamur ad prælium non inermes et nudos relinquamus, sed protectione corporis et sanguinis Christi muniamus. Mansi, sub ann. 252, or Routh, Rel. Sacræ, v. iii. p. 70.

² Hoc erant utique et cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis: sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, et primatus Petro datur, ut una Christi ecclesia et cathedra una monstretur. De unit. Eccles. There is little doubt that this famous passage is an interpolation; it is not found in the best manuscripts. The whole passage without these words seems to me to bear out the guarded assertion of the text.

The Punic league suddenly gives place to a Punic war. A new controversy has sprung up in the interval between the Decian and Valerian persecutions, on the rebaptism of heretics. Africa, the East, Alexandria with less decision, declared the baptism by heretics an idle ceremony, and even an impious mimicry of that holy rite, which could only be valid from the consecrated hands of the lawful clergy. Lucius of Rome had ruled but a few months: he was succeeded by Stephen. This pope adopted a milder rule. Every baptism in the name of Christ admitted to Christian privileges. He enforced this rule, according to his adversaries (his own letters are lost), with imperious dictation. At length he broke off communion with all the churches of the East and of Africa, which adhered to the more rigorous practice.¹ But the Eastern hatred of heresy conspired with the hierarchical spirit of Africa, which could endure no intrusion on the prerogatives of the clergy. Cyprian confronts Stephen not only as an equal, but, strong in the concurrence of the East and of Alexandria, as his superior. The primacy of Peter has lost its authority. He condemns the perverseness, obstinacy, contumacy of Stephen. He promulgates, in Latin, a letter of Firmilian, Bishop of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, still more unmeasured in its censures. Firmilian denounces the audacity, the insolence of Stephen; scoffs at his boasted descent from St. Peter; declares that, by his sin, he has excommunicated himself: he is the schismatic, the apostate from the unity

¹ He denounced Cyprian, according to Firmilian, as a false Christ, a false apostle, a deceitful workman. Firm. Epist. apud Cyprian. Opera.

of the Church.¹ A solemn Council of eighty-seven bishops, assembled at Carthage under Cyprian, asserted the independent judgment of the African Churches, repudiated the assumption of the title, Bishop of Bishops, or the arbitrary dictation of one bishop to Christendom.

Yet even during this internal feud, Latin Christendom was gathering into a separate unity. The Churches of Gaul and Spain appeal at once to Rome and to Carthage; Arles, indeed, in southern Gaul, may still have been Greek. But the high character of Cyprian, and the flourishing state of the African Churches, combined with their Latinity to endow them with this concurrent primacy in the West. Martianus, Bishop of Arles, had embraced Novatianism in all its rigor. The oppressed anti-Novatian party sent to Carthage as well as to Rome, to entreat their aid. Cyprian appears to acknowledge the superior right in the Bishop of Rome to appoint a substitute for the rebellious Novatianist. He urges Pope Stephen, by the memory of his martyred predecessors Cornelius and Lucius, not to shrink from this act of necessary rigor.² This, however, was but a letter from one bishop to another, from Cyprian of Carthage to Stephen of Rome.³ The answer to the Bishops of Spain is the formal act of a synod of African Bishops, assembled

¹ Excidisti enim temet ipsum; noli te fallere. Siquidem ille est verè schismaticus, qui se a communione Ecclesiasticæ unitatis apostatam fecerit. Firm. ad Cyprian. I see no ground to question, with *some* Roman Catholic writers, the authenticity of this letter. No doubt it is a translation from the Greek; if by Cyprian himself, it accounts for the sameness of style. A Donatist forgery would have been in a different tone, and directed against different persons. Compare Walch Ketzer-Geschichte, ii. 323, *et seqq.* Routh, note ii. p. 151.

² A.D. 256. Apud Mansi, sub ann. or Routh, Rel. Sac. iii. p. 91.

³ Cypriani Epist. lxxvii.

under the presidency of the Bishop of Carthage. It is a Latin religious state paper, addressed by one part of Latin Christendom to the rest.¹ The Spanish Bishops, Basilides and Martialis, of Leon and Astorga, had, during the Decian persecution, denied the faith, offered sacrifice, according to the language of the day, returned to wallow in the mire of paganism. Yet they had dared to resume, not merely their privileges as Christians, but the holy office of bishops. Whatever leniency might be shown to humbler penitents, that the immaculate priesthood should not be irrevocably forfeited by such defilement, revolted not only the more severe, but the general sentiment. Two other bishops, Felix and Sabinus, were consecrated in their place. Basilides found his way to Rome, and imposed by his arts on the unsuspecting Stephen, who commanded his reinstatement in his high office. Appeal was made to Carthage against Rome. Cyprian would strengthen his own authority by that of a synod. At the head of his thirty-five bishops, Cyprian approves the acts of the Presbyters and people of Leon and Astorga in rejecting such unworthy bishops; treats with a kind of respectful compassion the weakness of Stephen of Rome, who had been so easily abused; and exhorts the Spaniards to adhere to their rightful prelates, Felix and Sabinus.²

The persecution of Valerian joined the Bishops of Rome and of Carthage, Sixtus, the successor of Stephen, and the famous Cyprian, in the same glorious martyrdom.³

¹ The Decrees of the Council of Carthage are the earliest Latin public documents.

² Cyprian. Epist. lxvii.

³ On the martyrdom of Cyprian, Hist. of Christ. II. 251.

Dionysius, a Calabrian, is again a Greek Bishop of Rome, mingling with something of congenial A.D. 259. zeal, and in the Greek language, in the controversies of Greek Alexandria, and condemning the errors of the Bishop of the same name, who had the evil report of having been the predecessor of Arius in doctrine. Dionysius, of Alexandria, however, a prelate of great virtue, it should seem, was but incautiously betrayed into these doubtful expressions; at all events, he repudiated the conclusions drawn from his words. With all the more candid and charitable, he soon resumed his fame for orthodoxy. When the Emperor Aurelian¹ transferred the ecclesiastical judgment over A.D. 270. Paul of Samosata, a rebel against the Empire as against the Church, from the Bishops of Syria to those of Rome and Italy, a subtle Greek heresy, maintained by Syrian Greeks, could not have been adjudicated but by Greeks or by Latins perfect masters of Greek. Dionysius, as Bishop of Rome, passed sentence in this important controversy.

Towards the close of this third century, throughout the persecution of Diocletian, darkness settles again over the Bishops of Rome. The apostacy of Marcellinus, A.D. 296. Marcellinus is but a late and discarded fable, adopted as favoring the Papal supremacy. Legend assembles three hundred Bishops at Sinuessa, three hundred Bishops peaceably debating at such times in a small Neapolitan town. This synod refused to take cognizance of the crime of St. Peter's successor. Marcellinus was forced to degrade himself.

The legend, that his successor, Marcellus, was re-

¹ Compare, on the act of Aurelianus, *Hist. of Christ.* ii. p. 257.

duced to the servile office of a groom, rests on ^{Marcellus,} no better authority. Had it any claim to ^{A.D. 304.} truth, the successors of Marcellus had full and ample revenge, when kings and emperors submitted to the same menial service, and held the stirrup for the Popes to mount their horses.

CHAPTER II.

ROME AFTER THE CONVERSION OF CONSTANTINE.

THUS, down to the conversion of Constantine, the biography of the Roman Bishops, and the ^{Conversion of Constantine.} history of the Roman Episcopate, are one ; the acts and peculiar character of the Pontiffs, the influence and fortunes of the See, excepting in the doubtful and occasional gleams of light which have brought out Victor, Zephyrinus, Callistus, Cornelius, Stephen, into more distinct personality, are involved in a dim and vague twilight. On the establishment of Christianity, as the religion if not of the Empire, of the Emperor, the Bishop of Rome rises at once to the rank of a great accredited functionary ; the Bishops gradually, though still slowly, assume the life of individual character. The Bishop is the first Christian in the first city of the world, and that city is legally Christian. The Supreme Pontificate of heathenism might still linger from ancient usage among the numerous titles of the Emperor ; but so long as Constantine was in Rome, the Bishop of Rome, the head of the Emperor's religion, became in public estimation the equal, in authority and influence immeasurably the superior, to all of sacerdotal rank. The schisms and factions of Christianity now become affairs of state. As long as Rome is the imperial residence, an appeal to the Emperor is an appeal to the Bishop of Rome. The

Bishop of Rome sits, by the imperial authority, at the head of a synod of Italian prelates, to judge the disputes with the African Donatists.

Melchiades held the See of Rome at the time of Constantine's conversion, but soon made room for Silvester, whose name is more inseparably connected with that great event. Silvester has become a kind of hero of religious fable. But it was not so much the genuine mythical spirit which unconsciously transmutes history into legend; it was rather deliberate invention, with a specific aim and design, which, in direct defiance of history, accelerated the baptism of Constantine, and sanctified a porphyry vessel as appropriated to, or connected with, that holy use: and at a later period produced the monstrous fable of the Donation.¹

Melchiades.
A.D. 312-314,
Jan. 31.
Silvester.

Melchiades,
Silvester.
A.D. 312-314.
Jan. 31.

¹ This document—the Imperial Edict of Donation—a forgery as clumsy as audacious, ought to be inspected by those who would judge of the ignorance which could impose, or the credulity which would receive it, as the title-deed to enormous rights and possessions. (Muratori ascribes the forgery of the act to the period between 755 and 766.)—*Palatium nostrum . . . et urbem Romam, et totius Italiam, et occidentalium regionum provincias, loca, civitates . . . prædicto beatissimo patri nostro Silvestro Catholico Papæ tradentes et cedentes hujus et successoribus, ejus Pontificatus potestate . . . divino nostro hoc pragmatico decreto administrari diffinimus, juri sanctæ Romanorum ecclesiæ subjicienda et in eo permansura exhibemus.* The Donation may be found, prefixed to Laurentius Valla's famous refutation. Read, too, the more guarded and reluctant surrender of Nicholas of Cusa, the feeble murmur of defence from Antoninus, archbishop of Florence,—*apud Brown, Fasciculus*, pp. 124, 161. Before the Reformation, the Donation had fallen the first victim of awakening religious inquiry. Dante, while he denounces, does not venture to question the truth of Constantine's gift. By the time of Ariosto it had become the object of unrebuked satire, even in Italy. Astolpho finds it among the chimeras of earth in the moon,

“or puma forte.

Questo era il don (se però dir lice)

Che Constantino al buon Silvestro fece.”

Orl. Fur. xxxiv. 80.

But that with which Constantine actually did invest the Church, the right of holding landed property, and receiving it by bequest, was Grant of Constantine. far more valuable to the Christian Hierarchy, and not least to the Bishop of Rome, than a premature and prodigal endowment, which would at once have plunged them in civil affairs; and, before they had attained their strength, made them objects of jealousy or of rapacity to the temporal Sovereign. Had it been possible, a precipitate seizure, or a hasty acceptance of large territorial possessions would have been fatal to the dominion of the Church. It was the slow and imperceptible accumulation of wealth, the unmarked ascent to power and sovereignty, which enabled the Papacy to endure for centuries.

The obscurity of the Bishops of Rome was not in this alone their strength. The earlier Pontiffs (Clement is hardly an exception) were men, who of themselves commanded no great authority, and awoke no jealousy. Rome had no Origen, no Athanasius, no Ambrose, no Augustine, no Jerome. Roman Bishops obscure.

The power of the Hierarchy was established by other master-minds: by the Carthaginian Cyprian, by the Italian Ambrose, the Prelate of political weight as well as of austere piety, by the eloquent Chrysostom.¹ The names of none of the Popes, down to Leo and Gregory the Great, appear among the distinguished writers of Christendom.² This more cautious and retired dignity was no less favorable to their earlier

¹ Chrysostom's book on the Priesthood throughout.

² Early Christianity, it may be observed, cannot be justly estimated from its writers. The Greeks were mostly trained in the schools of philosophy—the Latin in the schools of rhetoric; and polemic treatises could not but form a great part of the earliest Christian literature.

power, than to their later claim of infallibility. If more stirring and ambitious men, they might have betrayed to the civil power the secret of their aspiring hopes; if they had been voluminous writers, in the more speculative times, before the Christian creed had assumed its definite and coherent form, it might have been more difficult to assert their unimpeachable orthodoxy.

The removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople consummated the separation of Greek and Latin Christianity; one took the dominion of the East, the other of the West. Greek Christianity has now another centre in the new capital; and the new capital has entered into those close relations with the great cities of the East, which had before belonged exclusively to Rome. Alexandria has become the granary of Constantinople; her Christianity and her commerce, instead of floating along the Mediterranean to Italy, pours up the *Ægean* to the city on the Bosphorus. The Syrian capitals, Antioch, Jerusalem, the cities of Asia Minor and Bithynia, Ephesus, Nicea, Nicomedia, own another mistress. The tide of Greek trade has ebbed away from the West, and found a nearer mart; political and religious ambition and adventure crowd to the new Eastern Court. That Court becomes the chosen scene of Christian controversy; the Emperor is the proselyte to gain whom contending parties employ argument, influence, intrigue.

That which was begun by the foundation of Constantinople, was completed by the partition of the empire between the sons of Constantine. There are now two Roman worlds, a Greek,

and a Latin. In one respect, Rome lost in dignity, she was no longer the sole Metropolis of the empire; the East no longer treated her with the deference of a subject. On the other hand, she was the uncontested, unrivalled head of her own hemisphere; she had no rival in those provinces, which yet held her allegiance, either as to civil or religious supremacy. The separation of the empire was not more complete between the sons of Constantine or Theodosius, than between Greek and Latin Christianity.

In Rome itself Latin Christianity had long been in the ascendant. Greek had slowly and imperceptibly withdrawn from her services, her ^{Latin Christianity that of Rome.} Scriptures, her controversial writings, the spirit of her Christianity. It is now in the person of Athanasius, a stranger hospitably welcomed, not a member at once received into her community. Great part of the three years, during which Athanasius resided in Rome, must be devoted to learning Latin, before he can obtain his full mastery over the mind of the Roman Pontiff, perhaps before he can fully initiate the Romans in the subtle distinctions of that great controversy.¹

The whole West, Africa, Gaul, in which so soon as the religion spread beyond the Greek settlements, it found Latin, if not the vernacular, the dominant language (the native Celtic had been driven back into obscurity), Spain, what remained of Britain, formed a religious as well as a civil realm. In her Apostolical antiquity, in the dignity therefore of her Church, Rome stood as much alone and unapproachable among the young and undistinguished cities of the West, as in her civil majesty. After Cyprian,

¹ Gibbon, c. xxi. p. 380.

Carthage, until the days of Augustine, had sunk back into her secondary rank : Africa had been long rent to pieces by the Donatist schisms. Rome, therefore, might gather up her strength in quiet, before she committed herself in strife with any of her more formidable adversaries ; and those adversaries were still weakening each other in the turmoils of unending controversy ; so as to leave the almost undivided Unity of the West an object of admiration and envy to the rest of Christendom.

For throughout the religious and civil wars, which almost simultaneously with the conversion of Trinitarian controversy. Constantine distracted the Christian world, the Bishops of Rome and the West stood aloof in unimpassioned equanimity ; they were drawn into the Trinitarian controversy, rather than embarked in it by their own ardent zeal. So long as Greek Christianity predominated in Rome, so long had the Church been divided by Greek doctrinal controversy. There the earliest disputes about the divinity of the Saviour had found ready audience. But Latin Christianity, as it grew to predominance in Rome, seemed to shrink from these foreign questions, or rather to abandon them for others more congenial. The Quarto Deciman controversy related to the establishment of a common law of Christendom, as to the time of keeping her great Festival. So in Novatianism, the readmission of apostates into the outward privileges of the Church, the kindred dispute concerning the rebaptism of heretics, were constitutional points, which related to the ecclesiastical polity. Donatism turned on the legitimate succession of the African Bishops.

The Trinitarian controversy was an Eastern ques-

tion. It began in Alexandria, invaded the Syrian cities, was ready, from its foundation, to disturb the churches, and people the streets of Constantinople with contending factions. Until taken up by the fierce and busy heterodoxy of Constantius when sole Emperor, it chiefly agitated the East. The Asiatic Nicea was the seat of the Council; all but a very few of the three hundred and twenty Bishops, who formed the Council, were from Asiatic or Egyptian sees. There were two Presbyters only to represent the Bishop of Rome;¹ the Bishop by his absence happily escaped the dangerous precedent, which might have been raised by his appearance in any rank inferior to the Presidency. Besides these Presbyters, there were not above seven or eight Western Prelates. Hosius of Cordova, if, as some accounts state, he presided, did so as the favorite of the Emperor; if it may be so expressed, as the Court divine.²

During the second period of the Trinitarian controversy, when the Arian Emperor of the East, ^{2nd period.} Constantius, had made it a question which involved the whole world in strife; and, though it was not the cause of the fratricidal war between the sons of Constantine, yet no doubt it aggravated the hostility; Rome alone, except for a short time of compulsory

¹ Τῆς δὲ γε Βασιλευπόσης πόλεως ὁ μὲν πρόεδρος διὰ γῆρας ἑστέρας πρεσβύτεροι δὲ αὐτοῦ κύροντες τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἐπλήρωσαν. The expression "the royal city" is significant. Socrat. H. E., l. 8. The presbyters' names are reported, Vitus and Vincentius.

² Hosius is named by writers of the fifth century as the first among the bishops at Nicea to sign the decrees. (Gelas. Cyzicen. Act. Concil. sub ann. 325.) Theodoret assigns a kind of presidency to Eustathius of Antioch. In all the earlier accounts it is impossible to discern any president, certainly none when the emperor is present. Hosius, in later times, was taken up as the representative of the Bishop of Rome. Compare Shroock. C. K. v. p. 335.

submission, remained faithful to the cause of Athanasius. The great Athanasius himself, a second time an exile from the East,¹ the object of the Eastern Emperor's inveterate animosity, had found a hospitable reception at Rome. There, having acquired the knowledge of Latin, he laid the spells of his master-mind on the Pope Julius, and received the deferential homage of Latin Christianity, which accepted the creed, which its narrow and barren vocabulary could hardly express in adequate terms. Yet throughout, the adhesion of Rome and of the West was a passive acquiescence in the dogmatic system, which had been wrought out by the profounder theology of the Eastern divines, rather than a vigorous and original examination on her part of those mysteries. The Latin Church was the scholar, as well as the loyal partisan of Athanasius. New and unexpected power grew out of this firmness in the head of Latin Christianity, when so large a part of Eastern Christendom had fallen away into what was deemed apostacy. The orthodoxy of the West stood out in bold relief at the Council of Sardica.²

¹ On his first exile he had been received by the Emperor Constans at Treves.

² Even those Latin writers (for Latin Christianity could not altogether be silent on the controversy) who treated on the Trinity, rather set forth or explained to their flocks the orthodox doctrines determined in the East, than refuted native heresies, or proposed their own irrefragable judgment. Nor were the more important treatises written in the capital, or in the less barbarized Latin of Rome, but by Hilary, the Gallic bishop of Poitiers, in the rude and harsh Roman dialect of that province; and Hilary had been banished to the East, where he had become impregnated with the spirit, to his praise be it said, by no means with the acrimony of the strife. At the close of the controversy a Latin creed embodied the doctrines of Athanasius and of the anti-Nestorian writers; but even this was not so much a work of controversy, as a final summary of Latin Christianity, as to the ultimate result of the whole. It is the creed commonly called that of St. Athanasius.

At this Council, held under the protection, and within the realm of the orthodox Constans, the occupation of all the greater sees in the East by Arian or semi-Arian prelates, the secession of the Eastern minority from the Council, left Latin Christianity, as it were, the representative of Christendom. It assumed to itself the dignity and authority of a General A.D. 347.

Council, and it might seem that the suffrage of that Council awed the reluctant Constantius, and enforced the restoration of Athanasius to his see. By some happy fortune, by some policy prescient of future advantage, it might be unwillingness to risk his dignity at so great a distance from his own city, the trouble or expense of long journeys, or more important avocations at home, or the uncertainty that he would be allowed the place of honor, the Bishop of Rome (Julius I.) was absent from Sardica as from Nicea.

Council of Sardica.
Hosius of Cordova again presided in that assembly. Three Italian bishops appended their signatures after that of Hosius, as representing the Roman Pontiff. Unconsciously the representatives of these times prepared the way for the Legates of future ages. Western Christendom might seem disposed to show its gratitude to Rome for its pure and consistent orthodoxy, by acknowledging at Sardica a certain right of appeal to the Bishop of Rome from Illyricum and Macedonia. These provinces were still part of the empire of the West, and the decree might seem as if the Primacy of Rome was to be coextensive with the Western Empire. The metropolitan power of Latin Christianity thus gathered two large provinces, mostly Greek in race and in language, under its jurisdiction. The bishops of

Illyricum and Macedonia, in seeking a temporary protector (no doubt their immediate object) from the lawless tyranny of their Eastern and heterodox superiors, foresaw not that they were imposing on themselves a master who would never relax his claim to their implicit obedience.

Liberius, the successor of Julius I., had to endure the fiercer period of conflict with the Arian Emperor. Constantius was now sole master of the Roman world. From the councils of Arles and of Milan had been extorted by bribes, by threats, and by force, the condemnation of Athanasius. Liberius had commenced his pontificate with an act of declared hostility to Athanasius. He had summoned the Prelate of Alexandria to Rome: he had declared him cut off from the communion of the West.¹ But if, from fear of Constantius, he had rejected Athanasius, he soon threw off his timidity: he as suddenly changed his policy as his opinions. He disclaimed his feeble Legate, the Bishop of Capua, who in his name had subscribed at Arles the sentence against the great Trinitarian. Himself, at length, after suffering menace, persecution, exile, was reduced so far to compromise his principles as to assent to that condemnation. Yet nothing could show more strongly the different place now occupied by the Bishop of Rome, in the estimation of Rome and of the world. Liberius is no martyr, calmly laying down his life for Christianity, inflexibly refusing to sacrifice on an heathen altar. He is a prelate, rejecting the summary commands of an heretical sovereign, treating

Pope Liberius. A.D. 352, May 22.

Council of Arles, A.D. 355.

Council of Milan, A.D. 355.

¹ Liberii Epistol. apud Hilar. Fragm. v.

his messages, his blandishments, his presents, with lofty disdain. The Arian Emperor of the world discerns the importance of attaching the Bishop of Rome to his party, in his mortal strife with Athanasius. His chief minister, the Eunuch Eusebius, appears in Rome to negotiate the alliance, bears with him rich presents, and a letter from the Emperor.¹ Liberius coldly answers that the Church of Rome A.D. 355 having solemnly declared Athanasius guiltless, he could not condemn him. Nothing less than a Council of the Church, from which the Emperor, his officers, and all the Arian prelates shall be excluded, can reverse the decree. Eusebius threatens, but in vain; he lays down the Emperor's gifts in the Church of St. Peter. Liberius orders the infected offerings to be cast out of the sanctuary. He proceeds to utter a solemn anathema against all Arian heretics. Thus Roman liberty has found a new champion. The Bishop stands on what he holds to be the law of the Church; he is faithful to the Prelate, whose creed has been recognized as exclusive Christian truth by the Senate of Christendom. He disfranchises all, even the Emperor himself, from the privileges of the Christian polity. Constantius, in his wrath, orders the seizure of his rebellious subject; but the Bishop of Rome is no longer at the head of a feeble community; he is respected, beloved by the whole city. All Rome is in commotion in defence of the Christian prelate. The city must be surrounded, and even then it is thought more prudent to apprehend Liberius by night, and to convey him secretly out of the city. He is sent

¹ Athanas. *Hist. Arian.* ad Monach. p. 764, *et seqq.* Theodoret, *H. E.* li. c. 15 16. Sozomen, iv. c. 11. Ammian. Marcell. xv. c. 7.

Liberius at Milan. to the Emperor at Milan. He appears before Constantius, with the aged Hosius of Cordova, and all the more distinguished orthodox prelates of the west, Eusebius of Vercelli, Lucifer of Cagliari, Hilary of Poitiers. He maintains the same lofty tone. Constantius declares that Athanasius has been condemned by a Council of the Church; he insists on the treason of Athanasius in corresponding with the enemies of the Emperor. Liberius is unshaken: "If he were the only friend of Athanasius, he would adhere to the righteous cause." The Bishop of Rome is banished to cold and inhospitable Thrace. He scornfully rejects offers of money, made by the Emperor for his expenses on the way. "Let him keep it to pay his soldiers." To the eunuch who made the like offer, he spoke with more bitter sarcasm. "Do you, who have wasted all the churches of the world, presume to offer me alms as a criminal? Away, first become a Christian!"¹

Two years of exile in that barbarous region, the dread of worse than exile, perhaps disastrous news from Rome, at length broke the spirit of Liberius; he consented to sign the semi-Arian creed of Sirmium, and to renounce the communion of Athanasius.²

Felix Antipope. For the Emperor had attempted to strike a still heavier blow against the rebellious exile. A rival bishop, as though the See were vacant, had usurped the throne. Felix was elected, it was

¹ Athanas. Apolog. Contra Arian. p. 205. Ad Monach. p. 363. Theodoret, ii. c. 16, 17.

² The jealousy of Felix, according to Baronius (sub ann. 357), was the Dalila which robbed the Episcopal Samson (Liberius) of his strength and fortitude.

said, by three eunuchs, who presumed to represent the people of Rome, and consecrated by three courtly prelates, two of them from the East. But the clergy of Rome, and the people with still more determinate resolution, kept aloof from the empty churches, where Bishop Felix, if not himself an Arian, did not scruple to communicate with Arians.¹ The estrangement continued through the two years of the exile of Liberius; the Pastor was without a flock. At the close of this period, the Emperor Constantius A.D. 357. visited Rome; the females, those especially of the upper rank, (history now speaks as if the whole higher orders were Christians,) had most strenuously maintained the right of Liberius, and refused all allegiance to the intrusive Felix. They endeavored to persuade the Senators, Consulars, and Patricians, to make a representation to the Emperor; the timid nobles devolved the dangerous office on their wives. The female deputation, in their richest attire, as befitting their rank, marched along the admiring streets, and stood before the Imperial presence; by their fear-

¹ Theodoret (H. E. ii. 16) and Sozomen (H. E. iv. 15) plainly assert that Felix adhered to the creed of Nicea. Socrates (H. E. ii. 37) condemns him as infected by the Arian heresy. By Athanasius (ad Monach., p. 861) he is called a monster, raised by the malice of Antichrist, worthy of, and fit to execute, the worst design of his wicked partisans. This prelate of questionable faith, this usurper of the Roman See, has stolen, it is difficult to conjecture how, into the Roman Martyrology. It seems clear that he retired from Rome, and died a few years after in peace. Gregory the Thirteenth, when searching investigations into ecclesiastical history became necessary, startled by the perplexing difficulty perhaps of a canonized Arian, certainly of an antipope, with the honors of a martyr, ordered a regular inquiry into the claims of Felix. (Baron. Ann. sub ann. 357.) The case looked desperate for the memory of Felix: he was in danger of degradation, when, by a seasonable miracle, his body was discovered with an ancient inscription, "Pope and Martyr." Baronius wrote a book about it, which was never published.

less pertinacity they obtained a promise for the release of Liberius. Even then Constantius was but imperfectly informed concerning the strength of the factions which himself having exasperated to the utmost, he now vainly attempted to reconcile. His Edict declared that the two Bishops should rule with conjoint authority, each over his respective community. Such an edict of toleration was premature by nearly fourteen centuries or more. In that place, the uncongenial atmosphere of which we should hardly have expected Christian passions to have penetrated, the Circus of Rome, the Edict was publicly read. "What!" exclaimed the scoffing spectators, "because we have two factions here, distinguished by their colors, are we to have two factions in the Church?" The whole audience broke forth in an overwhelming shout, "One God! one Christ! one Bishop!"

Liberius returned, in the course of the next year, to Rome. His entrance was an ovation; the people thronged forth, as of old to meet some triumphant Consul or Cicero on his return from exile. The rival bishop, Felix, fled before his face;¹ but Felix and his party would not altogether abandon the coequal dignity assigned him by the decree of Constantius, and confirmed by the Council of Sirmium. He returned; and, at the head of a body of faithful ecclesiastics, celebrated divine worship in the basilica of Julius, beyond the Tiber. He was expelled, patricians and populace uniting against this, one of the earliest Antipopes who resisted armed force.²

Liberius in
Rome.
A.D. 368,
Aug. 1.

¹ Hieron. Chron. Marc. et Faust. p. 4.

² This curious passage in the Pontifical Annals (apud Muratori *III. sub an.*) is evidently from the party of Felix;—it asserts his Catholicity

A tradition has survived in the Pontifical Annals, of a proscription, a massacre.¹ The streets, the baths, the churches ran with blood, — the streets, where the partisans of rival bishops encountered in arms ; the baths, where Arian and Catholic could not wash together without mutual contamination ; the churches, where they could not join in common worship to the same Redeemer. Felix himself escaped, and lived some years in peace, on an estate near the road to Portus.² Liberius, Rome itself, sinks back into obscurity ; the Pope mingled not, as far as is known, in the fray, which had now involved the West as well as the East, Latin as well as Greek Christianity ; he was absent from the fatal Council of Rimini,³ which de- A.D. 359.
luded the world into unsuspected Arianism.⁴

The Emperor Julian, during his short and eventful reign, might seem to have forgotten that there A.D. 361-363.
was such a city as Rome. Paris, Athens, Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, perhaps Alexandria, might seem to be the only Imperial cities worthy of his regard. It was a Greek religion which Julian Emperor.
he aspired to restore ; his philosophy was Greek ; his writings Greek ; he taught, ruled, worshipped, perished in the East.⁵ Under his successors (after Jovian), Valentinian, and Valens, while Valens af- Valentinian. Sept. 23 or 24, 365.
flicted the East by his feeble and frantic zeal

¹ Gibbon (who for once does not quote his special authority, nevertheless accepts it), c. xxi. v. iii. p. 385. It is rejected by Bower (v. i. p. 141) and by Walch, "Lives of Popes," in *loc.*

² He died the year before Liberius, 365.

³ Hist. of Christ. iii. p. 48.

⁴ Liberius had already subscribed, during his banishment, the creed of Sirmium. Constantius and his semi-Arian or Arian counsellors may have been content with that act of submission, which had not been formally revoked.

⁵ On Julian, Hist. of Christ. vol. iii. c. vi.

for Arianism, Valentinian maintained the repose of the West by his rigid and impartial toleration.¹

On the death of Liberius, the factions, which had smouldered in secret, broke out again with fatal fury. The Pontificate of Damasus displays Christianity now Strife on the death of Liberius. not merely the dominant, it might almost seem the sole religion of Rome; and the Roman character is working as visibly into Christianity. The election to the Christian bishopric arrays the people in adverse factions; the government is appalled; churches become citadels, are obstinately defended, furiously stormed; they are defiled with blood. Men fall in murderous warfare before the altar of the Prince of Peace. In one sense it might seem the reanimation of Rome to new life; ancient Rome is resuming her wonted but long-lost liberties. The iron hand of despotism, from the time of the last Triumvirate, or rather from the accession of Augustus to the Empire, had compressed the unruly populace, which only occasionally dared to break out, on a change in the Imperial dynasty, to oppose, or be the victims of, the Prætorian soldiery. Now, however, the Roman populace appears quickened by a new principle of freedom; of freedom, if with some of its bold independence, with all its blind partisanship, its headstrong and stubborn ferocity. The great offices, which still perpetuated in name the ancient Republic, the Senatorship, Quæstorship, Consul-ate, are quietly transmitted according to the Imperial mandates, excite no popular commotion, nor even interest; for they are honorary titles, which confer neither influence, nor authority, nor wealth. Even the Prefecture of the city is accepted at the will of the

¹ Compare Hist. of Christ. iii. p. 111.

Emperor, who rarely condescends to visit Rome. But the election to the bishopric is now not merely an affair of importance — *the* affair of paramount importance it might seem — in Rome ; it is an event in the annals of the world. The heathen historian,¹ on whose notice had already been forced the Athanasian controversy, Athanasius himself, and the acts and the exile of Liberius, assigns the same place to the contested promotion of Damasus which Livy might to that of one of the great consuls, tribunes, or dictators. He interprets, as well as relates, the event : ² — “ No wonder that for so magnificent a prize as the Bishopric of Rome, men should contest with the utmost eagerness and obstinacy. To be enriched by the lavish donations of the principal families of the city ; to ride, splendidly attired, in a stately chariot ; to sit at a profuse, luxuriant, more than imperial, table — these are the rewards of successful ambition.”³ The honest historian contrasts this pomp and luxury with the abstemiousness, the humility, the exemplary gentleness of the provincial prelates. Ammianus, ignorant or regardless as to the legitimacy of either election, arraigns both Damasus and his rival Ursicinus⁴ as equally guilty authors of the tumult.

¹ I assume, without hesitation, the heathenism of Ammianus, though, with regard to him, as to other writers of the time, there is as much truth as sagacity in the observation of Heyne — *Est obvia res in lectione scriptorum istius temporis, prudentiorum plerisque nec patrias religiones abjicere, nec novas damnasce, sed in his quoque pro suorum ingeniorum facultate probanda probasse.* Heynii Prolus. in Wagner's edit. p. cxxxv.

² Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvii. 3, sub ann. 367.

³ Compare — it is amusing and instructive — the Cardinal Baronius writing in the splendid Papal court, and the severe Jansenist Tillemont, on this passage.

⁴ On the side of Ursicinus (Ursinus) is the remarkable document published by Sirmond (*Opera*, i. p. 127), the petition of Marcellinus and Faustinus to the Emperor Theodosius, who, in his answer, though they were

Of the Christian writers (and there are, singularly enough, contemporary witnesses, probably eye-witnesses, on each side), the one asserts the priority and legality of election in favor of Damasus, the other of Ursicinus; the one aggravates, the other extenuates the violence and slaughter. But that scenes occurred of frightful atrocity is beyond all doubt. So long and obstinate was the conflict, that Juventinus, the Præfect of the city, finding his authority contemned, his forces

afterwards Luciferians (an unpopular sect), testifies to their character by his gracious promises of protection. According to the Preface (is it quite certain that the Preface is of the same date?) to this *Libellus Precum*, Damasus was supported by the party of Felix; he was the successor of Felix, the reputed Arian, Ursicinus of Liberius.* The Presbyters, Deacons, and faithful people, who had adhered to Liberius in his exile, met in the Julian Basilica, and duly elected Ursicinus; who was consecrated by Paul, bishop of Tibur. Damasus was proclaimed by the followers of Felix, in S. M. Lucina. Damasus collected a mob of charioteers and a wild rabble, broke into the Julian Basilica, and committed great slaughter. Seven days after, having bribed a great body of ecclesiastics and the populace, and seized the Lateran Church, he was elected and consecrated bishop. Ursicinus was expelled from Rome. Damasus, however, continued his acts of violence. Seven Presbyters of the other party were hurried prisoners to the Lateran: their faction rose, rescued them, and carried them to the Basilica of Liberius (S. Maria Maggiore). Damasus, at the head of a gang of gladiators, charioteers, and laborers, with axes, swords, and clubs, stormed the church: a hundred and sixty of both sexes were barbarously killed; not one on the side of Damasus. The party of Ursicinus were obliged to withdraw, vainly petitioning for a synod of bishops to examine into the validity of the two elections. Ursicinus returned from exile more than once, but Damasus had the ladies of Rome in his favor; and the council of Valentinian was not inaccessible to bribes. New scenes of blood took place. Ursicinus was compelled at length to give up the contest.

On the other hand Damasus had on his side the great vindicator—success. Rufinus, and Jerome (then at Rome, afterwards the secretary of Damasus) assert, with the same minuteness and particularity, the priority and the lawfulness of his election: they treat Ursicinus as a schismatic; but they cannot deny, however they may mitigate, the acts of violence and bloodshed.

* Damasus, from other authority, is said to have sworn as Presbyter to own no bishop but Liberius, to have accompanied him in exile, but speedily deserted him, returned to Rome, and at last submitted to Felix.

unequal to keep the peace, retired into the neighborhood of Rome. Churches were garrisoned, churches besieged, churches stormed and deluged with blood. In one day, relates Ammianus, above one hundred and thirty dead bodies were counted in the basilica of Sisinianus. The triumph of Damasus cannot relieve his memory from the sanction, the excitement of, hardly from active participation in, these deeds of blood.¹ Nor did the contention cease with the first discomfiture and banishment of Ursicinus: he was more than once recalled, exiled, again set up as rival bishop, and re-exiled. Another frightful massacre took place in the church of St. Agnes. The Emperor was forced to have recourse to the character and firmness of the famous heathen Prætextatus, as successor to Juventius in the government of Rome, in order to put down with impartial severity these disastrous tumults. Some years elapsed before Damasus was in undisputed possession of his see.

The strife between Damasus and Ursicinus was a prolongation or rival of that between Liberius ^{Damasus} and Felix, and so may have remotely grown ^{Pope} out of the doctrinal conflict of Arianism and Trinitarianism.² No doubt too it was a conflict of personal ambition, for the high prize of the Roman Episcopate. But there was another powerful element of discord among the Christians of Rome. The heathen historian

¹ Baronius ingeniously discovered a certain Maximus, a man of notorious cruelty, who afterwards held a high office, and might, perhaps, have been accessory to the late scenes of tumult; and so quietly exculpates Damasus, by laying all the carnage upon Maximus, who was not in authority, possibly not in Rome at the commencement of the strife.

² Jerome, Epist. xv. t. i. p. 39, asserts the orthodoxy of Damasus, the Arianism of Ursicinus: but Jerome is hardly conclusive authority against the enemy of Damasus.

saw and described the outward aspect of things, the tumults which disturbed the peace of the city, the conflagrations, the massacres, the assaulted and defended churches, the two masses of believers striving in arms for the mastery. So too he saw the more notorious habits, the public demeanor of the bishops and of the clergy, their pomp, wealth, ceremony. The letters of Jerome, while they confirm the statements of Ammianus, reveal the internal state, the more secret workings, in this new condition of society. Athanasius had not merely brought with him into the West the more speculative controversies which distracted Greek Christianity, he had also introduced the principles and spirit of Eastern Monasticism: and this too had been embraced with all the strength and intensity of the Roman character. That which during the whole of the Roman history had given a majesty, a commanding grandeur to the virtues and to the vices of the Romans, to their patrician pride and plebeian liberty, to their frugality and rapacity, to their courage, discipline, and respect for order; to their prodigality, luxury, sensuality; to their despotism and their servility; now seemed to survive in the force and devotion with which they threw themselves into Christianity, and into Christianity in its most extreme, if it may be so said, excessive form. On the one hand the Bishop and the clergy are already aspiring to a sacerdotal power and preëminence hardly attained, hardly aimed at, in any other part of Christendom; the Pontiff cannot rest below a magnificence which would contrast as strongly with the life of the primitive Bishop, as that of Lucullus with that of Fabricius. The prodigality of the offerings to the Church and to

Monasticism
in Rome.

the clergy, those more especially by bequest, is so immoderate, that a law¹ is necessary to restrain the profuseness on one hand, the avidity on the other, a law which the statesman Ambrose² and the Monk Jerome approve, as demanded by the abuses of the times. "Priests of idols, mimes, charioteers, harlots may receive bequests; it is interdicted, and wisely interdicted, only to ecclesiastics and monks." The Church may already seem to have taken the place of the emperor as universal legatee. As men before bought by this posthumous adulation the favor of Cæsar, so would they now that of God. Heredipety, or legacy hunting, is inveighed against, in the clergy especially, as by the older Satirists. Jerome in his epistles is the Juvenal of his times, without his grossness indeed, for Christianity no doubt had greatly raised the standard of morals. The heathen, as represented by such men as Prætextatus (they now seem to have retired into a separate community, and stood in relation to the general society, as the Christians had stood to the heathen under Vespasian or the Antonines), had partaken in the moral advancement. But with this great exception, this repulsive license, Jerome, both in the vehemence of his denunciations, and in his description of the vices, manners, habits of Rome, might seem to be writing of pre-Christian times.³

¹ The law of Valentinian (A.D. 370), addressed to Damasus, bishop of Rome, and ordered to be read in all the churches of the city. Cod. Theodos. xiv. 2, 20.

² Ambros. Epist. xxii. l. 5, p. 200. Hieronym. Epist. ii. p. 13. Solis clericis et monachis hæc lege prohibetur, et prohibetur non a persecutoribus, sed a principibus Christianis. Nec de lege conqueror, sed doleo cur meruerimus hanc legem. Hieronym. ad Nepotian.

³ Prudentius, with poetic anachronism, throws back the jealousy of the heathens of the enormous wealth offered on the altars of the Christians, and

But the Roman character did not interwork into the general Christianity alone, it embraced monastic Christianity, in all its extremest rigor, its sternest asceticism, with the same ardor and energy. Christian Stoicism could not but find its Catos; but it was principally among the females that the recoil seemed to take place from the utter shamelessness, the unspeakable profligacy of the Imperial times, to a severity of chastity, to a fanatic appreciation of virginity as an angelic state, as a kind of religious aristocratical distinction, far above the regular virtues of the wife or the matron. Pope Damasus, though by no means indifferent to the splendor of his office, was the patron, as his secretary Jerome was the preacher, of this powerful party; and between this party and the priesthood of Rome there was already that hostility which has so constantly prevailed between the Regulars, the observants of monastic rule, and what were called in later times the secular clergy. The Monastics inveighed against the worldly riches, pomp, and luxury of the clergy; the clergy looked with undisguised jealousy on the growing, irresistible influence of the monks, especially over the high-born females.¹ Jerome hated, and was hated

the alienation of estates from their right heirs, into the third century. The Prefect of Rome reproaches the Deacon Laurentius, before his martyrdom (about 258), with the silver cups and golden candlesticks of the service:—

“Tum summa cura est fratribus — Ut sermo testatur loquax,
Offerre, fundis venditis — Sestertiorum millia.
Addicta avorum prœdia — Fœdis sub auctionibus,
Successor exhaeres gemit — Sanctis egens parentibus.
Hæc oculuntur abditis — Ecclesiarum in angulis,
Et summa pietas creditur — Nudare dulces liberos.”

Peristeph. Hymn 11.

Compare Paolo Sarpi delle Materie Beneficarie, c. vi. v. iv. p. 74.

¹Jerome spared neither the clergy nor the monks. On the clergy, see the passage (*ad Eustochium*): *Sunt alii, de hominibus loquor, mei ordinis,*

with the most cordial reciprocity. The austere Jerome was accused, unjustly no doubt, of more than spiritual intimacy with his distinguished converts; his enemies brought a charge of adultery against Pope Damasus himself.¹

Nor was this a question merely between the superior clergy and a man in the high and invidious position of Jerome, renowned for his boundless learning, and holding the eminent office of secretary under Pope Damasus. It was a dispute which agitated the people of Rome. Among the female proselytes who crowded to the teaching of Jerome, and became his most fervent votaries, were some of the most illustrious matrons, widows, and virgins. Marcella had already, when Athanasius was at Rome, become enamoured of the hard and recluse life of the female Egyptian anchorites. But she was for some time alone. The satiric Romans laughed to scorn this new and superstitious Christianity. A layman, Helvidius, wrote a book against it, a book of some popularity, which Jerome answered with his usual controversial fury and con-

qui ideo presbyteratum et diaconatum ambiunt ut mulieres licentius videantur. Then follows the description of a clerical coxcomb. His whole care is in his dress, that it be well perfumed; that his feet may not slip about in a loose sandal; his hair is crisped with a curling-pin; his fingers glitter with rings; he walks on tiptoe lest he should splash himself with the wet soil; when you see him, you would think him a bridegroom rather than an ecclesiastic. Jerome ends the passage. Et isti sunt sacerdotes Baal. Then on the monks (ad Nepot.): Nonnulli sunt ditiores monachi, quam fuerant seculares et clerici, qui possident opes sub Christo paupere, quas sub locuplete et fallaci Diabolo non habuerant, et seqq. Compare, throughout, the account of Jerome, in the Hist. of Christianity, vol. iii. p. 323, et seqq.

¹ Quem in tantum matrones diligebant, ut matronarum auriscalpius diceretur. So says the preface to the hostile petition, the *Libellus Precum*. Apud Sirmond. i. p. 136. The charge of adultery is in Anastasius Vit. Damasus.

temptuousness. Marcella was a widow of one of the oldest patrician houses, connected with all the consular families and with the prefect of the city. She was extremely rich. She became the most ardent of Jerome's hearers; her example spread with irresistible contagion. The sister of Marcella, Paula, with her two daughters, Blesilla and Eustochium,¹ threw themselves passionately into the same devotion. Paula, like her sister, was very wealthy; she possessed great part of Nicopolis, the city founded by Augustus to commemorate the battle of Actium. Blesilla, her younger daughter, was a widow at the age of twenty. She rejected the importunate persuasions of her friends to contaminate herself with a second marriage. She abandoned herself entirely to the spiritual direction of Jerome; her tender frame sank under the cruel penances and macerations which he enjoined. The death of the young and beautiful widow was attributed to these austerities. All Rome took an indignant interest in her fate; her mother, for her unnatural weakness, became an object of general reprobation, and the public voice loudly denounced Jerome as guilty of her death. A tumult broke out at the funeral; there was a loud cry,—“Why do we tolerate these accursed monks? Away with them, stone them, cast them into the Tiber!”

The pontificate of Damasus, with those of his two immediate successors, Siricius and Anastasius, is an epoch in the history of Latin Christianity, distinguished

¹ Among the other names of Jerome's female admirers, one sounds Hebrew,—Lea; some Greek,—Eustochium, Melanium; besides these are Principia, Felicitas, Felician, Marcellina, Asella. On Asella and the whole subject, see *Hist. of Christianity*, iii. p. 328, *et seqq.* Compare also a later work Gfrörer, *Kirchen-Geschichte*, ii. p. 631, *et seqq.*

by the commencement of three great changes:—I. The progress towards sovereignty, at least over the Western Church: the steps thus made in advance will find their place in the general view of the Papal power on the accession of Innocent I. II. The rapidly increasing power of monasticism. III. The promulgation of a Latin version of the Scriptures, which became the religious code of the West, was received as of equal authority with the original Greek or Hebrew, and thus made the Western independent of the Eastern churches, superseded the original Scriptures for centuries in the greatest part of Christendom, operated powerfully on the growth of Latin Christian literature, contributed to establish Latin as the language of the Church, and still tends to maintain the unity with Rome of all nations whose languages have been chiefly formed from the Latin.

Of both these events, the extension of monasticism, and the promulgation of the Vulgate Bible, Jerome was the author; of the former principally, of the latter exclusively. This was his great and indefeasible title to the appellation of a Father of the Latin Church. Whatever it may owe to the older and fragmentary versions of the sacred writings, Jerome's Bible is a wonderful work, still more as achieved by one man, and that a Western Christian, even with all the advantage of study and of residence in the East. It almost created a new language. The inflexible Latin became pliant and expansive, naturalizing foreign Eastern imagery, Eastern modes of expression and of thought, and Eastern religious notions, most uncongenial to its own genius and character; and yet retaining much of its own peculiar strength, solidity, and majesty. If the

Northern, the Teutonic languages, coalesce with greater facility with the Orientalism of the Scriptures, it is the triumph of Jerome to have brought the more dissonant Latin into harmony with the Eastern tongues. The Vulgate was even more, perhaps, than the Papal power the foundation of Latin Christianity.

Jerome cherished the secret hope, if it was not the avowed object of his ambition, to succeed Damasus as the Bishop of Rome. He was designated, he says, almost by unanimous consent for that dignity.¹ Is the rejection of an aspirant so singularly unfit for the station, from his violent passions, his insolent treatment of his adversaries, his utter want of self-command, his almost unrivalled faculty of awakening hatred, to be attributed to the sagacious and intuitive wisdom of Rome? Or, as is far more probable, did the vanity of Jerome mistake outward respect for general attachment, awe of his abilities and learning for admiration, and so blind him to the ill-dissembled, if dissembled, hostility which he had provoked in so many quarters? It is difficult to refrain from speculating on his elevation. How signally dangerous would it have been to have loaded the rising Papacy with the responsibility of all, or even a large part of the voluminous works of Jerome! The station of a Father of the Church, one of the four great Latin Fathers, committed Christendom to a less close adhesion to all his opinions, while at the same time it placed him above jealous and hostile scrutiny. It was not till two centuries later, when speculative subjects had ceased to agitate the Christian mind, and the creed and the discipline had settled down

¹ *Omnium pœne judicio, dignus summo sacerdotio decernebatur. Epist. xlv. ad Asellam, 3.*

to a mature and established form, that a Father of the Church, a voluminous writer, could safely appear on the episcopal throne of Rome. Gregory the Great was at once the representative and the voice of the Christianity of his age. Nor could the great work of Jerome have been achieved at Rome, assuredly not by a Pope. It was in his cell at Bethlehem, meditating and completing the Vulgate, that Jerome fixed for centuries the dominion of Latin Christianity over the mind of man. Siricius was the successor of ^{Pope Siricius.} Damasus.¹ Jerome left ungrateful Rome, ^{A.D. 384-398.} against whose sins the recluse of Palestine becomes even more impassioned, whose clergy and people become blacker and more inexcusable in his harsher and more unsparing denunciations.

The pontificate of Siricius is memorable for the first authentic Decretal, the first letter of the Bishop of Rome, which became a law to the Western Church, and the foundation of the vast system of ecclesiastical jurisprudence. It betrays the Roman tendency to harden into inflexible statute that which was left before to usage, opinion, or feeling. The East enacted creeds, the West discipline.

The Decree of Siricius was addressed to Himerius, Bishop of Tarragona.² Himerius had writ- ^{The Decretal.} ten before the death of Damasus to consult ^{A.D. 386.} the Bishop of Rome on certain doubtful points of usage, the validity of heretical baptism, the treatment of apostates, of religious persons guilty of incontinence, the steps which the clergy were to pass through to the higher ranks, and the great question of all, the celi-

¹ Damasus died Dec. 11.

² Apud Mansi, sub ann. 385, or Constant. Epist. Pontificum.

bacy of the clergy. The answer of Siricius is in the tone of one who supposes that the usages of the Church of Rome were to be received as those of Christendom. It was to be communicated beyond the province of Tarragona, throughout Spain, in Carthagera, Bætica, Lusitania, Galicia: it appears, by an allusion in a writing of Pope Innocent I., even in Southern Gaul. The all-important article was on the marriage of the clergy; this was peremptorily interdicted, as by an immutable ordinance, to all priests and deacons. This law, while it implied the ascendancy of monastic opinions, showed likewise that there was a large part of the clergy who could only be controlled into celibacy by law. Even now the law was forced to make some temporary concessions. Those who confessed that it was a fault, and could plead ignorance that celibacy was an established usage of the Church, were exempted from penalties, but could not hope for promotion to a higher rank.

This unrepealed law was one of the characteristics of Latin Christianity. Her first voice of authority might seem to utter the stern prohibition.

*Celibacy of
the Clergy.*

This, more than any other measure, separated the sacerdotal order from the rest of society, from the common human sympathies, interests, affections. It justified them to themselves in assuming a dignity superior to the rest of mankind, and seemed their title to enforce acknowledgment and reverence for that superior dignity. The monastic principle admitting, virtually at least, almost to its full extent, the Manichean tenet of the innate sinfulness of all sexual intercourse as partaking of the inextinguishable impurity of Matter, was gradually wrought into the general

feeling. Whether marriage was treated as in itself an evil, perhaps to be tolerated, but still degrading to human nature, as by Jerome¹ and the more ascetic teachers; or honored, as by Augustine, with a specious adulation, only to exalt virginity to a still loftier height above it;² the clergy were taught to assert it at once as a privilege, as a distinction, as the consummation and the testimony to the sacredness of their order. As there was this perpetual appeal to their pride (they were thus visibly set apart from the vulgar, the rest of mankind),³ so they were compelled to its observance at once by the law of the Church, and by the fear of falling below their perpetual rivals, the monks, in the general estimation. The argument of their greater usefulness to Christian society, of their more entire devotion to the duties of their holy function by being released from the cares and duties of domestic life: the noble Apostolic motive, that they ought to be bound to the world by few, and those the most fragilities, in order more fearlessly to incur danger, or to sacrifice even life more readily in the cause of the Cross; such low incentives were disdained as beneath consideration. Some hardy opponents, Helvidius, Jovinian, Vigilantius, and others of more obscure name, endeavored to stem the mingling tide of authority and popular sentiment; they were swept away by its resistless

¹ On Jerome's views see quotations Hist. of Christianity, iii. §20, *et seqq.*

² *Gaudium virginum Christi*—de Christo, in Christo, cum Christo, post Christum, per Christum, propter Christum. Sequantur itaque agnum qui virginitatem corporis amiserunt, non quocunque ille ierit, sed quousque ipsi potuerint. De Sanct. Virgin. cap. 27.—The virgin and her mother may both be in heaven, but one a bright, the other a dim star. Serm. 354, ad Continent.

³ Quid interesset inter populum et sacerdotem, si iisdem ad stringerentur legibus. Ambros. Epist. lxxiii. ad Eccl. Vercell.

force.¹ They boldly called in question the first principles of the new Christian theory, and in the name of reason, nature, and the New Testament, denied this inherent perfection of virginity, as compared with lawful marriage. Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, lifted up at once their voices against these unexpected and mistimed adversaries. Jerome went so far in his disparagement of marriage, as to be disclaimed by his own ardent admirers: but still his adversaries have been handed down to posterity under the ill-omened name of heretics, solely, or almost solely on this account. They live, in his vituperative pages, objects of scorn more than of hatred. So unpopular was their resistance to the spirit of the age. The general feeling shuddered at their refusal to admit that which had now become one of the leading articles of Latin Christian faith. Yet, notwithstanding this, the law of the Celibacy of the Clergy, even though imposed with such overweening authority, was not received without some open and more tacit resistance. There were few, perhaps, courageous or far-sighted enough to oppose the principle itself, though even among bishops Jovinian was not without followers. Others, incautiously admitting the principle, struggled to escape from its consequences. In some regions the married clergy formed the majority, and, always supporting married bishops by their suffrages and influence, kept up a formidable succession. Still Christendom was against them; and in most cases, those who were conscientiously opposed to these austere restrictions, had recourse to evasions or secret violations

¹ I have entered somewhat more at length into this controversy in the *Hist. of Christianity*.

of the law, infinitely more dangerous to public morals. Throughout the whole period, from Pope Siricius to the Reformation, as must appear in the course of our history, the law was defied, infringed, eluded. It never obtained anything approaching to general observance, though its violation was at times more open, at times more clandestine.

The Pontificates of Damasus and Siricius beheld almost the last open struggles of expiring Roman paganism, the dispute concerning the Statue of Victory in the Senate, the secession of a large number of the more distinguished senators, the pleadings of the eloquent Symmachus for the toleration of the religion of ancient Rome. To such humiliation were reduced the deities of the Capitol, the gods, who, as was supposed, had achieved the conquest of the world, and laid it at the feet of Rome. But in this great contest the Bishop of Rome filled only an inferior part; it was Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan, who enforced the final sentence of condemnation against paganism, asserted the sin, in a Christian Emperor, of assuming any Imperial title connected with pagan worship, and of permitting any portion of the public revenue to be expended on the rites of idolatry. It was Ambrose who forbade the last marks of respect to the tutelary divinities of Rome in the public ceremonies.

Latin Christianity, in truth, in all but its monarchical strength, in its unity under one Head, and under one code of ecclesiastical law, enacted and executed in its last resort by that Head, was established in its dominion over the human mind without the walls of Rome. It was Jerome who sent forth the Vulgate from his retreat in Palestine; it was Ambrose of Milan who raised the sacerdotal power to more than independence, limited

the universal homage paid to the Imperial authority, protected youthful and feeble Emperors, and in the name of justice and of humanity rebuked the greatest sovereign of the age. It was Augustine, Bishop of the African Hippo, who organized Latin theology; wrought Christianity into the minds and hearts of men by his impassioned autobiography; and finally, under the name of the "City of God," established that new and undefined kingdom, at the head of which the Bishop of Rome was hereafter to place himself as Sovereign; that vast polity, which was to rise out of the ruins of ancient and pagan Rome; if not to succeed at once to the temporal supremacy, to superinduce a higher government, that of God himself. This divine government was sure eventually to fall to those who were already aspiring to be the earthly representatives of God. The Theocracy of Augustine, comprehending both worlds, Heaven as well as earth, was far more sublime, as more indefinite, than the spiritual monarchy of the later Popes. It established, it contemplated no such external or visible autocracy, but it prepared the way for it in the minds of men; the spiritual City of God became a secular monarchy ruling by spiritual means.

It may be well here to close the fourth century of Christianity, which ended in the uneventful pontificate *Anastasius I.* of Anastasius I. Four hundred years had now elapsed since the birth of the Redeemer. The gospel was the established religion of both parts of the Roman Empire; Greek and Latin Christianity divided the Roman world. Most of the barbarians, who had settled within the frontiers of the Empire, had submitted to her religion. With Christianity the hierarchical system had embraced the world.

BOOK II

CHAPTER I.

INNOCENT I.

THE fifth century of Christianity has begun, and now arises a line of Roman prelates, some of them from their personal character, as well as from the circumstances of the time, admirably qualified to advance the supremacy of the See of Rome, at least over Western Christendom.

Christianity, in its Latin form, which for centuries was to be its most powerful, enduring, prolific development, wanted, for her stability and unity of influence, a capital and a centre ; and Rome might seem deserted by her emperors for the express purpose of allowing the spiritual monarchy to grow up without any dangerous collision against the civil government. The emperors had long withdrawn from Rome as the royal residence. Of those who bore the title, one ruled in Constantinople, and, more and more absorbed in the cares and calamities of the Eastern sovereignty, became gradually estranged from the affairs of the West. Nor was it till the time of Justinian that any attempt was made to revive his imperial pretensions to Rome. The Western Emperor lingered for a time in inglorious obscurity among the marshes of Ravenna,

Rome centre
of the West.

till at length the faint shadow of monarchy melted away, and a barbarian assumed the power and the appellation of Sovereign of Italy. Still, of the barbarian kings, not one ventured to fix himself in the ancient capital, or to inhabit the mouldering palaces of the older Cæsars. Nor could Ravenna, Milan, or Pavia, though the seats of monarchs, obscure the greatness of Rome in general reverence: they were still provincial cities; nor could they divert the tide of commerce, of concourse, of legal, if not of administrative business, which, however more irregular and intermitting, still flowed towards Rome. The internal government of the city retained something of the old republican form which had been permitted to subsist under the despotism of the emperors. Above the consuls or Senate, the shadows of former magistracies, the supreme authority was vested in a delegate, or representative of the Emperor, the prefect, or governor; but, with the empire, that authority became more and more powerless. The aristocracy, as we shall ere long see, were scattered abroad after the capture of the city by Alaric, and were never after reorganized into a powerful party. Some centuries elapsed before that feudal oligarchy grew up, which, at a later period, were such dangerous enemies to the Papacy, degrading it to the compulsory appointment of turbulent or immoral prelates, or by the personal insult, and even the murder, of popes. During the following period, therefore, the Bishop of Rome, respected by the barbarians, even by the fiercest pagans, none of whom were quite without awe of the high priesthood of the Roman religion, and, by that respect, commended still more strongly to the reverence of all Latin Christians; alone hallowed,

as it were, and permitted to maintain his serene dignity amid scenes of violence, confusion, and bloodshed ; grew rapidly up to be the most important person in the city ; if not in form the supreme magistrate, yet dominant in influence and admitted authority, the all-venerated Head of the Church ; and where the civil power thus lay prostrate, assuming, without awakening jealousy and for the public advantage, many of its functions, and maintaining some show of order and of rule.

It was not solely as a Christian bishop, and bishop of that city, which was still, according to the prevailing feeling, the capital of the world, but as the successor of St. Peter, of him who was now
Succession to St. Peter. acknowledged to be the head of the apostolic body, that the Roman pontiff commanded the veneration of Rome and of Christendom. The primacy of St. Peter, and the primacy of Rome, had been long reacting upon each other in the minds of men, and took root in the general sentiment. The Church of Rome would own no founder less than the chief Apostle ; and the distance between St. Peter and the rest of the Apostles, even St. Paul himself, was increased by his being acknowledged as the spiritual ancestor of the Bishop of Rome. At the commencement of the fifth century, the lineal descent of the Pope from St. Peter was an accredited tenet of Christianity. As yet his pretensions to supremacy were vague and unformed ; but when authority is in the ascendant, it is the stronger for being indefinite. It is almost a certain sign that it is becoming precarious, or has been called in question, when it condescends to appeal to precedent, written statute, or regular jurisdiction.

Everything tended to confirm, nothing to impede or weaken the gradual condensation of the supreme ecclesiastical power in the Supreme Bishop. The majesty of the notion of one all-powerful ruler, to which the world had been so long familiarized in the emperors; the discord and emulation among the other prelates, both of the East and West, and the manifest advantage of a supreme arbiter; the Unity of the visible Church, which was becoming, ^{Unity of the Church.} — or had, indeed, become — the dominant idea of Christendom; all seemed to demand, or at least, had a strong tendency to promote and to maintain the necessity of one Supreme Head. As the unity in Christ was too sublimely spiritual, so the supremacy of the collective episcopate, which endowed each bishop with an equal portion of apostolic dignity and of power, was a notion too speculative and meta-physical for the common mind. Councils were only occasional diets, or general conventions, not a standing representative Senate of Christendom. There was a simplicity and distinctness in the conception of one visible Head to one visible body, such as forcibly arrests and fully satisfies the less inquiring mind, which still seeks something firm and stable whereon to repose its faith. Cyprian, in whom the unity of the Church had taken its severest form, though practically he refused to submit the independence of the African churches to the dictation of Rome, did far more to advance her power by the primacy which he assigned to St. Peter, than he impaired it by his steady and disdainful repudiation of her authority, whenever it was brought to the test of submission.¹

¹ Qui cathedram Petri, super quem fundata est Ecclesia, deserit, in eo
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In the West, throughout Latin Christendom, the Roman See, in antiquity, in dignity, in the more regular succession of its prelates, stood alone and unapproachable. In the great Eastern bishoprics the holy lineage had been already broken and confused by the claims of rival prelates, by the usurpation of bishops, accounted heretical, at the present period Arians or Macedonians or Apollinarians, later Nestorians or Monophysites. Jerusalem had never advanced that claim to which it might seem entitled by its higher antiquity. Jerusalem was not universally acknowledged as an Apostolic See; at all events it was the capital of Judaism rather than of Christianity; and the succession, at the time of the Jewish war, and during the period of desolation to the time of Hadrian, had been interrupted at least in its local descent. At one period Jerusalem was subordinate to the Palestinian Cæsarea. Antioch had been perpetually contested; its episcopal line had been vitiated, its throne contaminated by the actual succession of several Arian prelates.¹ In Alexandria the Arian prelates had been considered lawless usurpers: the orthodox Church had never voluntarily submitted to their jurisdiction; and Alexandria had been hallowed as the episcopal seat of the great Athanasius. But Athanasius himself, when driven from his see, had

clesiâ se esse confidit? This was a plain and intelligible doctrine. *Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*—was a conception far more vague and abstract, and therefore far less popular. *De Unit. Eccl.* See for the dispute with Stephen, Bishop of Rome, ch. i.

¹ The obvious difficulty of the Primacy of Antioch as the first See of St. Peter, which, it might seem, had been, if not objected, at least suggested, was thus met by Innocent I. *Quæ urbis Romæ sedi non cederet, nisi quod ipsa in transitu meruit, ista susceptum apud se, consummatumque gaudet.*—Innocent. *Epis. xix. ad Alexand.*

found a hospitable reception at Rome, and constant support from the Roman Bishops. His presence had reflected a glory upon that see, which, but for one brief period of compulsory apostacy, had remained rigidly attached to the orthodox Trinitarian opinions. Constantinople was but a new city, and had no pretensions to venerable or apostolic origin. It had attained, indeed, to the dignity of a patriarchate, but only by the decree of a recent council; in other respects it owed all its eminence to being the prelacy of new Rome, of the seat of empire. The feuds and contests between the rival patriarchates of the East were constantly promoting the steady progress of Rome towards supremacy. Throughout the fierce rivalry between Alexandria and Constantinople, the hostilities which had even now begun between Theophilus and Chrysostom, and which were continued with implacable violence between Cyril and Nestorius, Flavianus and Dioscorus, the alliance of the Bishop of Rome was too important not to be purchased at any sacrifice; and if the independence of the Eastern churches was compromised, if not by an appeal to Rome, at least by the ready admission of her interference, the leaders of the opposing parties were too much occupied by their immediate objects, and blinded by factious passions, to discern or to regard the consequences of these silent aggressions. From the personal or political objects of these feuds the Bishop of Rome might stand aloof; in the religious questions he might mingle in undisturbed dignity, or might offer himself as mediator, just as he might choose the occasion, and almost on his own terms. At the same time, not merely on the great subject

of the Trinity, had Rome repudiated the more obnoxious heresy, even on less vital questions, the Latin capital happy in the exemption from controversial bishops had rarely swerved from the canon of severe orthodoxy; and if any one of her bishops had been forced or perplexed into a rash or erroneous decision, as Liberius, during his short concession to semi-Arianism; or, as we shall see before long, Zosimus to Pelagianism; and a still later pope, who was bewildered into Monophytism; their errors were effaced by a speedy, full, and glorious recantation.

Thus the East, agitated by furious conflicts concerning the highest doctrines of Christianity, concerning the preëminence of the rival sees for dominant influence with the Emperor, was still throwing itself, as each faction was oppressed by its rival, at the feet of remote and more impartial Rome. In the West, at the same time, the disputes which were constantly arising about points of discipline, the succession of bishops, the boundaries of conflicting jurisdictions, still demanded and were glad to have recourse to a foreign arbitrator; and who so fitting an arbiter as the Bishop of that city, which, in theory at least, was still the centre of civil government, the seat of Cæsar's tribunal, to whom the Roman world had acquired a settled and inveterate habit of appeal? Rome the mother of civil, might likewise give birth to canonical jurisprudence.¹

For the great talisman of the Papal influence was

¹ Until the Roman Curia became inordinate in its exactions, and so utterly venal as it is universally represented in later centuries, this arbitration, when so much was yet unsettled, while the new society was yet in the process of formation, must have tended to peace and so to the strength of Christianity.

the yet majestic name of Rome. The bishops ^{Name of} gave laws to the city, which had so long ^{Rome.} given, and still to so great an extent, gave laws to the world. In the sentiment of mankind, at least in the West, Rome had never been dethroned from her supremacy. There were still Roman armies, Roman laws, Roman municipalities, Roman literature, in name at least a Roman Empire.¹ Constantinople boasted rather than disdained the appellation of New Rome. But while the Bishops of Rome retained much of the awe and reverence which adhered to the name, they stood aloof from all which desecrated and degraded it. It was the idolatrous and pagan Rome which fell before the barbarians, or rather was visited for its vices and crimes, its persecutions, and its still obstinate infidelity, by those terrible instruments of the divine vengeance. As our history will show, the discomfiture of the heathen Rhadagaisus, and the tutelary, though partial, protection which Christianity spread over the city during the capture by Alaric (to which Augustine triumphantly appealed), were not obliterated by the unawed and remorseless devastation of Genseric. The retreat of Attila, the most terrible of all the Northern conquerers, before the imposing sanctity, as it was universally believed, of Pope Leo, blended again in indissoluble alliance the sacred security of Rome with the authority of her bishop.

¹ See in Ausonius the curious ordo of the cities of the Empire.—1. Prima urbes inter, divum domus, aurea Roma.—2. Constantinople, before whom bows 3. Carthage—4. Antioch—5. Alexandria—6. Treves—7. Milan—8. Capua—9. Aquileia—10. Arles—11. Merida—12. Athens—13. 14. Catania, Syracuse—15. Toulouse—16. Narbonne—17. Bordeaux. The poet is a Gaul, a native of Bordeaux. Ravenna seems to have fallen into obscurity. Ausonii. Poem.

Leo himself, as will be hereafter seen, exalts St. Peter and St. Paul into the Romulus and Remus of the new universal Roman dominion.

It was at this period (the commencement of the fifth century), when the Imperial power was declining towards extinction in the hands of the feeble Honorius, and the Roman arms were for the last time triumphant, under Stilicho, over the Northern barbarians, that a prelate was placed on the episcopal throne of Rome, of a bolder and more imperious nature, of unimpeachable holiness, who held the pontifical power for a longer period than usual in the rapid succession of the bishops of Rome. Ambrose was now dead, and there was no Western prelate, at least in Europe, whose fame and abilities could obscure that preëminence, which rank and position, and in his case, commanding character, bestowed on the Bishop of Rome. Innocent, like most of the greater Popes, was by birth, if not a Roman, of the Roman territory. He was born at Albano.¹ The patriotism of a Roman might mingle with his holier aspirations for the spiritual greatness of the ancient mistress of the world. Upon the mind of Innocent appears first distinctly to have dawned the vast conception of Rome's universal ecclesiastical supremacy, dim as yet and shadowy, yet full and comprehensive in its outline.

Up to the accession of Innocent, the steps by which the See of Rome, during the preceding century, had advanced towards the legal recognition of a suprem-

¹ There is an expression in one of St. Jerome's letters, which, taken literally, asserts Innocent to have been the son of his predecessor Anastasius. *Qui apostolicæ cathedræ et supradicti viri successor et filius est.* Is it to be presumed that this is an incautious metaphor of St. Jerome?

acy, were few but not unimportant; the first had been made by the Council of Sardica, the renown of whose resolute orthodoxy gave it peculiar weight in all parts of Christendom, where the Athanasian Trinitarianism maintained its ascendancy. It is not difficult to trace the motives which influenced the Bishops at Sardica. Great principles are often established by measures which grow out of temporary interests. The Western orthodox Bishops at Sardica hardly escaped being out-numbered by their heretical adversaries; there were ninety-four on one side, seventy-six on the other. Had not the turbulent, but irresolute, minority withdrawn to Philippopolis, and there set up a rival synod, the issue might have been almost doubtful; at all events, where parties were so evenly balanced, intrigue, accident, activity on one part, supineness on the other, or the favor of the Emperor, Sardica 347. might summon an assembly, in which the pre- Rimini 359.ponderance would be in favor of Arianism (it was so a few years after at Rimini); and thus might heresy gain the sanction of a Council of Christendom. But Rome had, up to this time, before the fall of Liberius, so firmly, so repeatedly, so solemnly, embraced the cause of Athanasius, that it might seem to be irrevocably committed to orthodoxy; an appeal to Rome, therefore, would always give an opportunity to an orthodox minority, to annul or to suspend the decrees of an heretical Church. In all causes, therefore, of bishops (and not merely were the bishops in general the chief members of Councils, but the first proceeding of all the Councils, at this period, was to depose the prelates of the opposite party) an appeal to Rome would both secure a second hearing, by more favorable

judges, of the subject under controversy, and might maintain, notwithstanding adverse decrees, all the orthodox bishops upon their thrones. The Council of Sardica, therefore, in its canons, established the law, that on an appeal to the Bishop of Rome, he might decide whether the judgment was to be reconsidered, and appoint judges for the second hearing of the cause; he might even, if he thought fit, take the initiative; and delegate an ecclesiastic "from his side," to institute a commission of inquiry.¹

The right of appeal to Rome, thus established by ecclesiastical, was confirmed by Imperial authority during the reign of Valentinian III. Up to that time the Emperors, if they did not possess by the constitution of the Church, exercised nevertheless by virtue of their supreme and indefeasible authority, and by the irresistible, and, as yet rarely contested, tenure of power, the right of summary decision in religious as in civil causes. A feeble emperor would willingly devolve on a more legitimate court these troublesome and perplexing affairs. To a monarch, another spiritual Monarch would appear at once the most natural and the most efficient delegate to relieve him from these burdens; he would feel no jealousy of such useful and unconflicting autocracy; and the Western Emperor would of course invest in this part of the Imperial prerogative the Bishop of the Imperial City.

Now too the temporal power, the Empire, was sinking rapidly into the decrepitude of age, the Papacy

¹ Et si judicaverit renovandum esse judicium, renovetur, et det iudices; si autem probaverit, talem causam esse, ut non refricetur, ea quæ acta sunt, quæ decreverant, confirmata erant. Can. 3. — Can. 5 permits him to send this presbyterum a latere. Mansi, sub ann.

rising in the first vigor of its youthful ambition. Honorius was cowering in the palace of Ravenna from the perils which were convulsing the empire on all sides, while the provinces were withdrawing their doubtful allegiance, or in danger of being dis severed from the Roman dominion. Innocent was on the episcopal throne of Rome, asserting his almost despotic spiritual control over those very provinces.

Innocent, in his assertion of supremacy, might seem to disdain the authority of Council or Emperor. He declares, in one of his earliest epistles, that all the churches of the West, not of Italy alone, but of Gaul, Spain, and Africa, having been planted by St. Peter and his successors, owe filial obedience to the parent See, are bound to follow her example in all points of discipline, and to maintain a rigid uniformity with all her usages.¹ To the minutest point Rome will again be the legislator of the world; and it is singular to behold a representative, as it were, of each of these provinces bringing the first fruits of that deference, which was construed into unlimited allegiance, to the feet of the majestic Pontiff. The Bishop of Rouen requests from the Bishop of Rome, the rules of ecclesiastical discipline observed within his See.²

¹ Cum sit manifestum in omnem Italiam, Gallias, Hispanias, Africam atque Siciliam insulasque intervenientes nullum instituisse ecclesias nisi eos quos venerabilis Apostolus Petrus ejusque successores constituerint sacerdotes. Epist. ad Decent. Episcop. Eugubin.

Jaffe dates this Epist. 416. March 19. Labbe, ii. p. 1249.

² In the third rule, which gives the provincial synods of bishops supreme authority in their own province, the words "sine prejudicio tamen Romanæ ecclesiæ, cui in omnibus causis debet reverentia custodiri," are rejected as a late interpolation. Epist. ad Victricium. Labbe, ii. p. 1249.

Dilectio tua institutum secuta prudentium, ad sedem apostolicam referre maluit, quid de rebus dubiis custodiri deberet, potius quam usurpatione

Innocent approves the zeal of the Gaulish Bishop for uniformity, so contrary to the lawless spirit of innovation, which prevailed in some parts of the Christian world; and sends him a book containing certain regulations of peculiar severity, especially as to the
404. Feb. 15. celibacy of the clergy. Exuperius, Bishop of Toulouse, is commended in a still more lofty and protecting tone of condescension for his wise recourse to the See of Rome, rather than the usurpation of undue authority. To the Spanish Synod of Toledo, the Bishop of Rome speaks something in the character of an appellant judge. The province of Illyricum, including Macedonia and Greece, on the original division
405. Feb. ion, had been adjudged to the Western Empire. The Bishop of Rome exercised a certain jurisdiction, granted or recognized by the Council of Sardica, as the Metropolitan of the West. Damasus had appointed the Bishop of Thessalonica, as a kind of legate or representative of his authority. Innocent, in his epistle to the Bishops of Macedonia, expresses a haughty astonishment that his decisions are not admitted without examination, and gravely insinuates that some wrong may be intended to the dignity of the Apostolical See.¹ More doubtful was the allegiance
A.D. 414. of Africa. At the commencement of Innocent's pontificate, his influence with the Emperor was

præsumptâ, quæ sibi viderentur, de singulis obtinere. Ad Exup. Episc. Tol. Labbe, ii. p. 1254.

¹ In quibus (epistolis) multa posita pervidi quæ stuporem mentibus nostris inducerent, facerentque nos non modicum dubitare utrum aliter putaremus an ita esse posita, quemadmodum personabant. Quæ cum sæpius repeti fecissem, adverti, sedi apostolicæ ad quam relatio, quasi ad caput ecclesiarum missa esse debebat, aliquam fieri injuriam, cujus adhuc in ambiguum sententia duceretur. *Epist. xxii. ad Episc. Macedon. Labbe, ii. 1272.*

solicited for the suppression of the obstinate Donatists. Towards the close of his life, a correspondence took place concerning Pelagius and his doctrines. The African Churches, even Augustine himself, did not disguise their apprehension, that Innocent might be betrayed into an approbation of those tenets; they desired to strengthen their own stern and peremptory decrees with the concurrence of the Bishop of Rome. The language of Innocent was in A.D. 417. his wonted imperious style; the African Churches seem to have treated his pretensions to superiority with silent disregard.

In the East, Constantinople, Alexandria, and even Antioch, were driven by their own bitter feuds and hostilities, to court the alliance of Innocent and Chrysostom Rome; it could hardly be without some com- A.D. 404. promise of independence.

In espousing the cause of Chrysostom against his rival Theophilus of Alexandria, Innocent took that side which was supported by the better and wiser, as well as by the popular voice of Christendom. He was the fearless advocate of persecuted holiness, of eloquence, of ecclesiastical dignity, against the aggressions of a violent foreign prelate, who was interfering in an independent diocese, and against the intrigues of a court notoriously governed by female influence. The slight asperities of Chrysostom's character, the monastic austerities which seemed to some ill suited to the magnificence of so great a prelate, the aggressions on the privileges of some churches not strictly under his jurisdiction, but which were notoriously ventured for the promotion of Christian holiness by the suppression of simony and other worse vices; these less obvious

causes of Chrysostom's unpopularity hardly transpired beyond the limits of his diocese, were lost in the dazzling splendor of his talents and his virtues, or forgotten among his cruel wrongs.¹ Chrysostom appeared before the more distant Christian world as the greatest orator who had ever ascended the pulpit of the church. His name, the Golden Mouth, expressed the universal admiration of his powers.

After having held Antioch under the spell of his oratory for many years, he had been called to the episcopal throne of the Eastern Metropolis by general acclamation. Now, notwithstanding the fond attachment of the greater part of Constantinople, and the manifest interposition, as it was supposed, of heaven, which on his banishment had shaken the guilty city with an earthquake and compelled his triumphant recall, he was again driven from his see, degraded by the precipitate decree of an illegal and partial council, and exposed to the most merciless persecution. The one crime, which could have blinded into hatred the love and admiration of the Christian world, heterodoxy of opinion, was not charged against him by his most malicious enemies. His only ostensible delinquency was the uncompromising rebuke of vice in high places, and disrespect to the Imperial Majesty, which, even if true to the utmost, however it might astonish the timidity, or shock the servility of the East, in the West, to which the dominion of Arcadius and Eudoxia did not extend, would be deemed only a bold and salutary assertion of episcopal dignity and Christian courage. The letter addressed by Chrysostom, according to the

¹ Compare Hist. of Christianity, b. iii. c. ix

copies in the Greek writers, to the three great prelates of the West, the Bishops of Rome, Milan, and Aquileia, in the Roman copies to Innocent alone,¹ was written with all his glowing fervor and brilliant perspicuity. After describing the scenes of outrage and confusion in the church at Easter, the violation of the sanctuary, and the insults inflicted on the sacred persons of priests and dedicated virgins and bishops, the Bishop of Constantinople entreats the friendly interposition of the Western prelates to obtain a general and legitimate Council empowered to examine the whole affair. The answer of Innocent is calm, moderate, dignified, perhaps artful. He expresses his awful horror at these impious scenes of violence, deep interest in the fate of Chrysostom; he does not however prejudge the question, he does not even refuse to communicate with Theophilus, till after the solemn decree of a council. Yet the sympathies of Innocent, as of all the better part of Christendom, were with the eloquent, oppressed, and patient exile. The sentiments as well as the influence of the Roman prelate were ere long proclaimed to the world, by an Imperial letter in favor

¹ There is great variation in different parts of the Roman copy: it is sometimes addressed to persons in the plural number, sometimes to an individual in the singular. This appears to me no very important argument, though adduced by the most candid Protestant writers, *e. g.* Shroeck. This cry of distress would not be carefully or suspiciously worded, so as to provide against any incautious admission of superiority, of which Chrysostom, under such circumstances, thought little, even if any such claims had been already made. But the strongest proof (if I must enter into the controversy) that Chrysostom and his followers addressed themselves to the bishops of Italy, as well as to that of Rome, seems to me the very passage in the Epistle of the Emperor Honorius, which is adduced, even by Pagi, to prove the contrary. *Missi ad sacerdotes urbis æternæ atque Italici utriusque ex parte legati; expectabatur ex omnium auctoritate sententia* Nanque hi, quorum expectabatur auctoritas

of Chrysostom, which no persuasion but that of Innocent could have obtained from the Emperor of the West. Honorius openly espoused the cause of the A.D. 406. exile: and though, throughout the whole of the transaction, the East, with something of the irritable consciousness of wrong and injustice, resented the interference of the West, and treated the messengers of the Italian prelates with studied neglect and contumely, the defenders of Chrysostom were so clearly on the side of justice, humanity, generous compassion for the oppressed, as well as of ecclesiastical order, that the Bishop of Rome, the Head at least of the Italian prelates, could not but rise in the general estimation of Christendom. The fidelity of Innocent to the cause of Chrysostom did not cease with the death of the persecuted prelate: he refused to communicate with Atticus, his successor, or the usurper, according to the conflicting parties, of the See of Constantinople, unless Atticus would acknowledge Chrysostom to have been the rightful bishop until his death.¹ Common reverence for Chrysostom, and common hostility to Atticus, brought Innocent into close alliance with

¹ There is a regular act of excommunication, in some of the Latin writers — (it was brought to light by Baronius) — in which Innocent boldly excludes the Emperor Arcadius from the communion of the faithful. It is expressed with all the proud humility, the unctuous imperiousness of a later period. It is given up, by all the more sensible writers of the Roman Catholic church, principally on account of a fatal blunder. It includes the Dalila, the Empress Eudoxia, under the anathema. Eudoxia had been dead several years. (See Pagi, sub ann. 407.) I am in constant perplexity; fearing, on one hand, to omit all notice of, on the other feeling something like contempt for, these forgeries, which are always so injurious to the cause they wish to serve. As an impartial historical inquirer, I continually rise from them with my suspicion, even of better attested documents, so much sharpened, that I have to struggle vigorously against a general skepticism.

Alexander, Bishop of Antioch. During his correspondence with Alexander, Innocent is disposed to attribute a subordinate primacy to Antioch, as the temporary See of St. Peter. Rome now chose to rest her title to supremacy on the succession from the great Apostle. Peter could hardly have passed through any see, without leaving behind him some inheritance of peculiar dignity; while Rome, as the scene of his permanent residence and martyrdom, claimed the undoubted succession to almost monarchical supremacy.

That which might have appeared the most fatal blow to Roman greatness, as dissolving the spell of Roman empire, the capture, the conflagration, the plunder, the depopulation of Rome by the barbarian Goths, tended directly to establish and strengthen the spiritual supremacy of Rome. It was pagan Rome, the Babylon of sensuality, pride, and idolatry which fell before the triumphant Alaric; the Goths were the instruments of divine vengeance against paganism, which lingered in this its last stronghold. Christianity hastened to disclaim all interest, all sympathy in the fate of the "harlot that sat on the seven hills." Paganism might seem rashly to accept this desperate issue, girding itself for one final effort, and proclaiming, that as Rome had brought ruin on her own head by abandoning her gods, so her gods had forever abandoned the unfaithful capital. The eternal city was manifestly approaching one of the epochs in her eternity. Three times during the first ten years of the fifth century and of the pontificate of Innocent, the first time under Alaric, the second under Rhadagaisus, the third again under

Alaric, the barbarians crossed the Alps with overwhelming forces. Twice the valor and military abilities of one man, Stilicho, diverted the storm from the walls of Rome. In his first expedition 400 to 408. Battle of Pollentia. Alaric, after his defeat at Pollentia,¹ endeavored to throw himself upon the capital. He was recalled by the skilful movements of Stilicho, to suffer a final discomfiture under the walls of Verona. The poet commemorates the victories of Stilicho, the triumph of Honorius in Rome for these victories. In the splendid verses on the ovation of Honorius, it is no wonder that Pope Innocent finds no place. Claudian maintains his invariable and total silence as to the existence of Christianity. From his royal mansion on the Palatine Honorius looks down on no more glorious sight than the temples of his ancestors, which crowd the Forum in their yet inviolable majesty; the eye is dazzled and confounded with the blaze of their bronzed columns and their roofs of gold; and with their statues which studded the skies: they are the household gods of the emperor. That the emperor worshipped other gods, or was ruled by other priests, appears from no one word.² The Jove of the Capitol might seem still the tutelar god of Rome. Claudian had wound up his poem on the Gothic war, in which he equals the

¹ Gibbon, c. xxx.

² "Tot circum delubra videt, tantisque Deorum
 Cingitur excubitis. Juvat infra tecta Tonantis
 Cernere Tarpëa pendentes rupe Gigantas,
 Cœlataque fores, medisque volantia signa
 Nubibus, et densum stipantibus æthera templis
 Acies stupet igne metalli.
 Et circumfuso trepidans obtunditur auro.
 Agnosceas tuos, Princeps venerande, Penates?"
de VI. Cons. Hon. 48, 58.

Compare on Claudian note in Hist. of Christianity.

victory of Pollentia with that of Marius over the Cimbrians; he ends with that solemn admonition, "Let the frantic barbarians learn hence respect for Rome."

But three years after, the terrible Rhadagaisus, at the head of an enormous force of mingled barbarians, swept over the whole North of Italy, and encamped before the walls of Florence. Rhadagaisus was a pagan; he sacrificed daily to some deity, whom the Latin writers call by the name of Jove. The party at Rome, attached to their ancient worship, are accused of having contemplated with more than secret joy the approach of, it might seem, the irresistible barbarian. They did this, notwithstanding his terrible threats that he would sacrifice the senate of Rome on the altars of the gods which delight in human blood. The common enmity to Christianity, according to St. Augustine, quenched the love of their country, their proud attachment to Rome. But God himself, by the unexpected discomfiture of Rhadagaisus, A.D. 406. crushed their guilty hopes, and rescued Rome from the public restoration of paganism.

The consummate generalship of Stilicho,¹ by which he gradually enclosed the vast forces of Rhadagaisus among the mountains in the neighborhood of Florence, himself on the ridge of Fæsulæ, till they died off by famine and disease, was utterly incomprehensible to his age. Christianity took to itself the whole glory of Stilicho, the relief of Florence, the dispersion and reduction to captivity of the barbaric forces, and the death of Rhadagaisus, who was ordered to summary execution. A vision of St. Ambrose had predicted

¹ Gibbon, *loc. cit.*, will furnish the authorities.

the relief of Florence, and nothing less than the immediate succor of God, or of his Apostles, could account for the unexpected victory: and this strong religious feeling no doubt mingled with the common infatuation which seized all parties. Rome, it was thought, with a feeble emperor at a distance, with few troops, and those mostly barbarians, was safe in the majesty of her name and the prescriptive awe of mankind. Christ, or her tutelar Apostles, who had revealed the discomfiture of Rhadagaisus, had protected, and would to the end protect, Christian Rome against all pagan invaders, baffle the treasonable sympathy, and disperse the sacrilegious prayers, of those who, true to the ancient religion, were false to the real greatness of Rome. So often as heathen forces should menace the temples, not of the Capitoline Jove, or those yet uncleansed from the pollutions of their idolatries, but those, if less splendid, more holy fanes protected by the relics of Apostles and Martyrs, Rome would witness, as she had already witnessed, the triumph of her Christian emperor, the consecration of the spoils of the defeated barbarians on the altars of St. Paul, St. Peter, and of Christ.¹

The sacrifice of Stilicho² to the dark intrigues of the court of Ravenna was the last fatal sign
Disgrace and death of Stilicho. of this pride and security. Both Christian and pagan writers combine to load the memory of Stilicho with charges manifestly intended to exculpate the court of Honorius from the guilt and folly of his

¹ Paulinus in vit. Ambrosii, c. 50. Augustin. de Civ. Dei, v. 23. Orosius, vii. 37.

² Stilicho was married to Serena, the sister of Honorius. Honorius had married in succession Maria and Thermantia, the daughters of Stilicho

disgrace, and his surrender by a Christian bishop after he had sought, himself a Christian, sanctuary at the altar of the church of Ravenna, and his perfidious execution. The Christians accuse him of a design to depose the emperor, who was both his brother-in-law and his son-in-law, and to elevate his own heir Eucherius to the Imperial throne. Eucherius, it is asserted, but with no proof, and with all probability against it, was a pagan; the public restoration of paganism, as the religion of the Empire, was to be the first act of the new dynasty.¹ The ungrateful pagans seem to have been ignorant of this magnificent scheme in their favor; they too brand Stilicho with the name of traitor, and ascribe to his perfidious dealings with Alaric the final ruin of Rome.² They hated him as the enemy, the despoiler of their religion; as having robbed the temples of their treasures, burned the Sibylline books, stripped from the doors of the Capitol the plates of gold. Stilicho knew the weakness as well as the strength of Rome; that may have been but wise and necessary policy, in order, by timely concession and tribute under the honorable name of boon or largess, to keep the formidable barbarian beyond the frontiers of Italy, which may have seemed treasonable degradation to the haughty court, blind to its own impotence.

¹ Orosius, vii. 38.

² So Rutilius Numatianus, who hated Christianity—

“Quo magis est facinus diri Stilichonis iniquum,
Proditor arcani qui fuit imperii.
Romano generi dum nititur esse superstes,
Crudelis summis miscuit ima furor.
Dumque timet, quicquid se fecerat ante timeri,
Immittit Latine barbara tela nece.”
Rutil. Itin. li. 61.

³ Compare Gibbon, c. xxx.

The death of Stilicho was the signal for the reappearance of Alaric again in arms in the centre of Italy. His pretext for this second invasion was the violation of the treaties entered into by Stilicho. At all events, the unanswerable testimony to the abilities of Stilicho, if not to his fidelity, is that which seemed to be the immediate, inevitable consequence of his disgrace and execution. No sooner was Stilicho dead, than Rome lay open to the barbarian conqueror. Unopposed, almost without a skirmish, laughing to scorn the slow and inefficient preparations of the emperor and of Olympius who ruled the emperor, and who had misguided him to the ruin of Stilicho, Alaric advanced from the Alps to the walls of Rome. The first act of defence adopted by the senate of Rome was the judicial murder of Serena, the widow of Stilicho. She was accused of a design to betray the city to the Goth. Both parties seem to have consented to this deed. The heathens remembered that when Theodosius the Great had struck the deadly blow against the rites and the temples of paganism, by prohibiting all public expenditure on heathen ceremonies, Serena had stripped a costly necklace from the statue of Rhea, the most ancient and venerable of Rome's goddesses, and herself ostentatiously wore the precious spoil; that neck was now given up to strangulation, a righteous and appropriate punishment for her impiety. The historian seems to intimate¹ that the Romans were surprised that the death of Serena produced no effect on the remorseless Goth. The siege of Rome was formed; the vast population, accustomed to live, the wealthy

Alaric's
second
invasion.

A.D. 408.

Siege of Rome.
A.D. 408.

¹ Zosimus — Sozomen, ix. 6.

in luxury perhaps to no great extent moderated by Christianity, the poor by gratuitous distributions at the expense of the public or of the rich, to which Christian charity had now come in aid,¹ were suddenly reduced to the worst extremities of famine. The public distributions were diminished to one half, to one third. The heaps of dead bodies, which there wanted space to bury, produced a pestilence. In vain the Senate endeavored to negotiate an honorable capitulation. Alaric scorned alike their money, their despair, their pride. When they spoke of their immense population, he burst out into laughter, — "The thicker the hay, the easier it is mown." On his demand of an exorbitant ransom, the Senate humbly inquired, "What, then, do you leave us?" "Your lives!" replied the insulting Goth.

During this first siege Innocent was in Rome. The strange story of the desperate proposition to deliver the city by the magical arts of certain Etrus-^{Etruscan} can diviners, who had power, it was sup-^{diviners.}posed, to call down and direct the lightnings of heaven, appears, in different forms, in the pagan and Christian historians.² Innocent himself is said, by the heathen Zosimus, to have assented to the idolatrous ceremony. If this be true, it is possible that the mind of the Christian Prelate may have been so entirely unhinged by the terrors of the siege and the dreadful sufferings of the people, that he may have yielded to any hope, however wild, of averting the ruin. It is possible,

¹ Leta, the wife of Gratian, and her mother, were distinguished by their abundant charities, which at least mitigated the sufferings of multitudes.

² Compare Hist. of Christianity, iii. 181. Zosimus, v. 41. Sozomen, iv. 6.

though less probable, that he may have known or supposed the Etruscans to be possessed of some skilful, and in no way supernatural, means of producing apparent wonders,¹ which might awe the ignorant barbarians, and of which the use might be justified by the dreadful crisis; and if these arts were thought supernatural, it was not for him to expose, at least for the present, the useful delusion. At all events, to judge the conduct of Innocent, we must throw ourselves completely back into the terror and affliction, the confusion and prostration of that disastrous time. The whole history is obscure and contradictory. The Christian writer asserts that the ceremony did take place, but that the Christians (he does not name Innocent) stood aloof from the profane and ineffectual rite. The heathen aver, that the Senate, after grave deliberation, refused to sanction its public performance, and that, in fact, it did not take place. The barbarian, at length, condescended to accept a ransom, in some proportion to the wealth of the city — 5000 pounds of gold, 30,000 of silver, four thousand silken robes, 3000 pieces of scarlet cloth, 3000 pounds of pepper. To make up the deficiency of the precious metals, the heathen temples, to the horror of that party, were despoiled; the time-honored statues of gods were melted to make up the amount demanded by the barbarian. The last fatal sign and omen of the departure of Roman greatness was, that the statue of Fortitude, or Virtue, was thrown into the common mass.²

¹ See Eusebe Salverte, on the knowledge possessed by the ancients in conducting lightning. — *Sciences Occultes*.

² Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐχώνευσάν τινα τῶν ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένων, ὡς

Alaric retired from Rome, his army increased by multitudes of slaves from the city and the neighborhood, who, it is said, to the number of 40,000, had found refuge in his camp. The infatuated pride, the insincerity, the treachery of the court of Ravenna, rendered impracticable all negotiations for peace. The minister Olympius, the chief agent in the assassination of Stilicho, has found favor, of which he seems to have been utterly unworthy, from Christian writers, on account of some letters addressed to him by St. Augustine. Even his fall produced no great change. Honorius, indeed, seems to have occupied his time at this crisis in framing edicts against Jews and heretics, and other decrees, as if for a peaceful and extensive empire. Under Olympius, he had promulgated the Imperial rescript, which deprived the heathen temples of their last revenue; it was confiscated for the use of the devout soldiers. The statues of the gods were ordered to be thrown down; the temples in the cities were seized for public uses, others were to be destroyed; the banquets (*epulæ*) prohibited.¹ But he was compelled to repeal a law which deprived him of the services of all heathens. Generides, a valiant and able pagan, was permitted to resume the military belt, and to take the command of part of the Imperial forces. A second time Alaric appeared before Rome. He seized upon the port of Ostia, and this cut off at once almost

*ην καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀνδρίας, ἣν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Οὐρτούτεμ· οὐκ ἐπεὶ διαφθάρειντος
δοσα τῆς ἀνδρίας ἦν καὶ ἀρετῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐπίσβη. . . .* Zosimus
v. 41.

¹ This law is dated the 17th of the calends of December, 408. *Templorum detrahantur annonæ et rem annonariam jubent, expensis devotissimorum militum profuturæ, &c.* Compare Beugnot, ii. p. 49, *et seqq.* Cod Theodos. xvi. 10, 19.

all the supplies of the city.¹ Rome opened her gates, and Alaric set up a pageant emperor, Attalus, as a rival to the emperor in Ravenna. The Christians beheld the elevation of Attalus, a pagan, who submitted to Arian baptism, but openly attempted to restore the party of paganism, with undisguised aversion. Lampadius, the Senator, at the head of this party, was Prætorian Præfect, Tertullus Consul. Tertullus boldly declared that to the Consulate he should add the High Priesthood.² The Pagan historian describes the universal joy of Rome at the elevation of such just and noble magistrates. The Christians³ looked eagerly to the court of Ravenna. Alaric was encamped between the Christian and pagan cities, between Ravenna and Rome. The feeble government of Attalus had to encounter an enemy even more formidable than the Christians. The Count Heraclian closed the ports of Africa: a famine even more terrible than during the former siege, and even that had reduced men to the most loathsome and abominable food, afflicted the enfeebled and diminished population. A strange and revolting anecdote illustrates at once Roman manners and this dire calamity. The Romans, though they had no bread, had still their Circensian games. In the midst of the excitement, the ears of the Emperor were assailed with a wild cry — Fix the tariff for human flesh.⁴ All these calamities the Christians ascribed to the restoration of heathen rites.

¹ As usual, the dealers in grain were accused of hoarding their stores, in order to possess themselves of all the remaining wealth of the city.

² Sozom. ix. 9.

³ Oros. vii. 42.

⁴ Zosimus inserts the words in Latin — *Pone pretium carni humanae*. The price of bread, as of all other articles, was fixed by the government. Zosimus, vi. 11.

Attalus, at the word of his Gothic master, descended from his throne, and sank back to his former insignificance. But Rome, when Alaric ap-^{Third siege of Rome.}peared a third time under its walls, prepared to close her gates, and to act on the defensive (the Emperor Honorius had received the scanty succor of six cohorts from the East, and Rome was in frantic hope of rescue from Ravenna). Weakness or treachery baffled this desperate, if courageous, determination. At the dead of night, the Salarian gate was opened; the morning beheld Rome in the possession of the conqueror; but the conqueror, though a barbarian and a heretic, was a Christian. Over the fall of Rome, history might seem, in horror, to have dropped a veil.¹

However the first appalling intelligence of this event shook the Roman world to the centre, and the fearful scene of pillage, violation, and de-^{Capture of Rome. A.D. 410. Aug. 24.}struction by fire and sword, was imagined to surpass in its horrors everything recorded in profane or sacred history, yet the shock passed away; and Rome quietly assumed her second, her Christian empire. When the first stunning tidings of the fall of the Imperial City reached Jerome in his retirement in Palestine, even some time after, when he had held intercourse with fugitives from Rome, the capture represents itself to his vivid fancy as one dark and terrific mass of havoc and ruin. It was accompanied by no mitigating or relieving circumstances; by none of those striking incidents of Christian piety and mercy, which, in

¹ Rome may be said to have fallen without an historian. Her ruin was indeed described by the Greek Zosimus, but his sixth book is lost. Orosius cannot be dignified by the name—his work is but a summary of Augustine's City of God.

the pages of Augustine and Orosius, are thrown across the general gloom. The sudden horror, as well as consternation, joined with the gloomy temperament of Jerome to deepen the darkness of the scene.¹ He asserts that the famine had already so thinned the population, that few remained in the city to be taken. He heaps together the awful passages in the Old Testament, on the capture of Jerusalem and other eastern cities, and the noble lines of Virgil on the sack of Troy, as but feebly descriptive of the night in which fell the Moab of the West. Nor can it be supposed that, whatever the disposition or even the orders of Alaric, the capture of a city so wealthy, so luxurious, so populous, by a vast and ill-disciplined host of barbarians, at least at their first irruption, could be more than a wild tumult of fury, license, plunder, bloodshed, and conflagration. Multitudes of that host, no doubt, still held their old warlike Teutonic faith. In those who were called Christians the ferocity of the triumphant soldier was hardly mitigated by the softening influences of the Gospel. The forty thousand slaves said to have joined the army of Alaric, brought their revenge and their local and personal knowledge of the richest palaces, and of the most opulent families, which would furnish the most attractive victims to lust or to pillage. But the calamities that involved in ruin almost the whole pagan population and the palaces of the ancient families, which

¹ *Terribilis de Occidente rumor affertur . . . — Hæret vox et singultus interceptiunt verba dictantis. Capitur urbs, quæ totum cepit orbem, imo fame perit, antequam gladio, et vix pauci, qui caperentur, inventi sunt. Epist. xciv. Marcellæ Epitaph.* Yet, in the same letter, he writes to Marcella — *Sit mihi fas audita loqui; imo a sanctis viris visa narrare, qui interfuerint presentes. — Ibid.*

Nocte Moab capta est, nocte cecidit murus ejus. Hieronym. i. 121, ad Principiam.

still adhered to their ancestral gods, are lost in oblivion ; while Christianity has boastfully, or gratefully, preserved those exceptional incidents, in which through her influence, and in her behalf, the common disaster was rebuked, checked, mitigated. The last feeble murmurs of paganism arraigned Christianity as the ^{Extinction} cause of the desertion of the city by her an- ^{of paganism.} cient and mighty gods, and, therefore, of her inevitable fate. Christianity was now so completely the mistress of the human mind, as to assert that it was, indeed, the power of her God — her justly provoked and righteously avenging God — which had brought to its final close the Gentile sovereignty of Rome. Nothing pagan had escaped, but that which found shelter under Christianity. For Alaric, though an Arian, was a Christian. His conduct was strongly contrasted with what might have been feared from the heathen Rhadagaisus, if God had abandoned Rome to his fury. The Goth had been throughout under the awful control of Christianity.¹ He is said to have issued a proclamation, ^{Influence of} which, while it abandoned the guilty and lux- ^{Christianity.} urious city to plunder, commanded regard for human life ; and especially the most religious respect for the Churches of the Apostles. In obedience to these com-

¹ The great Christian argument is summed up in this noble passage of Augustine:—

Quicquid igitur vastationis, trucidationis, depredationis, concremationis, afflictionis in istâ recentissimâ Romanâ clade commissum est: facit hoc consuetudo bellorum. Quod autem more novo factum est, quod inusitatâ rerum facie immanitas barbara tam mitis apparuit, ut amplissimâ basilicâ implendâ populo, cui parceretur, eligerentur et decernerentur, ubi nemo feriretur, unde nemo raperetur, quo liberandi multi a miserantibus hostibus iucerentur, unde captivandi nulli, nec a crudelibus hostibus abducerentur: hoc Christi nomini, hoc Christiano tempori tribuendum, quisquis non videt, cæcus; quisquis videt, nec laudat, ingratus; quisquis laudantî reluctatur, insanus est. Augustin. Tract. de excid. Urbis.

mands, and under the especial control of the Almighty, among the smoking ruins, the plundered houses and temples, the families desolated by the sword, or by outrages worse than death, the Christian edifices alone commanded at least some reverence and security. Everywhere else was promiscuous massacre, peace and safety alone in the churches. The heathens themselves fled to these, the only places of refuge; they took shelter, in their terror and despair, under the altars which they despised or hated. The more solid and majestic structures of paganism would, no doubt, defy the injuries which might be wrought by barbarians, more intent on plunder than destruction, but their most hallowed sanctuaries were violated. Before the Christian Churches alone rapacity, and lust, and cruelty were arrested, and stood abashed. When the conflagration raged, as it did in some parts of the city, amid private houses, palaces, or temples, some of the sacred edifices of the Christians might be enveloped in the flames. But the more important churches — those of St. Peter and St. Paul — were respected by the spreading fires, as well as by the infuriated soldiery.¹ There the obedient sword of the conqueror paused in its work of death, and even his cupidity was overawed.² Of all the temple treasures, the public or private hoards of precious metals, which the owners were compelled to betray by the most excruciating tortures, the jewels, the plate, the spoils of centuries of conquest, the accumulated plunder of provinces, only the sacred

¹ Augustin. de Civ. Dei, li. 1. a. 7. Yet this was unknown to Jerome. He says, *In cineres ac favillas sacræ quondam ecclesiæ considerunt.* Epist. xciii.

² Perhaps the remote and even extramural situation of these churches might tend to their security.

vessels and ornaments of Christian worship remained inviolate. It was said that sacred vessels found without the precincts of the Church were borne with reverential decency into the sanctuary. Of this Orosius relates a remarkable and particular history. A fierce soldier entered in quest of plunder into the dwelling of an aged Christian virgin. He demanded, in courteous terms, the surrender of her treasures. She exposed to his view many vessels of gold, of great size, weight, and beauty; vessels of which the soldier knew neither the use nor the name. "These," she said, "are the property of the Apostle St. Peter. Take them, if you dare, and answer for your act to God. A defenceless woman, I cannot protect them from your violence; my soul, therefore, is free from sin." The soldier stood awe-struck. A message was sent to Alaric, and orders were instantly despatched that the virgin and her holy treasures should be safely conducted to the Church of the Apostle. The procession (for the virgin's dwelling was far distant from the Church) was led through the long and wondering streets. The people broke out into hymns of adoration, and amid the tumult of disorder and ruin, the tranquil pomp pursued its course; the name of Christ rose swelling above the wild dissonance of the captured city. Even more lawless passions yielded to the holy control. In the loathsome scenes of violation, the chastity of Protection of Females. Christian virgins alone — at least, in some instances — found respect from the lustful barbarian.¹ There is

¹ Demetrias escaped, according to St. Jerome. *Dudum inter barbaras tremuisti manus; avis et matris sinu et pallii tegebaris. Vidisti te captivam, et pudicitiam tuam non tue potestatis: horruisti truces hostium vultus: raptas virgines Dei gemitu tacite conspexisti.* Hieronym. *Epist.* 8 Compare Augustin. *de Civ. Dei*, i. 16.

an instance of a beautiful virgin who thus preserved her honor. Indignant at her resistance, the young soldier into whose power she had fallen, drew his sword and slightly wounded her. Though bleeding, she calmly held out her neck to the stroke of death. The soldier, though an Arian, observes the Catholic writer, could not but admire her fidelity to Christ her spouse. He led her to the Church, and, with a gift of six pounds of gold, surrendered her to those who were on guard over the sanctuary.¹ Marcella, the friend of Jerome, did not escape so easily the only dangers to which, on account of her age, she was exposed. As he had heard from eye-witnesses of the scene, it was not till she had been beaten and scourged,² to compel her to reveal her secret treasures, treasures long before expended in charity, that her admirable courage and patience enforced the respect of the spoiler, and induced him to lead her to the asylum of the Church of St. Paul.³

¹ Sozomen, H. E. ix. 10.

² *Cæsam fustibus flagellisq; aiant te non sensisse tormenta.* Hieronym. Epist. loc. cit.

³ The most extraordinary passage relating to the sack of Rome is in St. Jerome's next letter. All the horrors on which he has dwelt,—the capture of Rome, the massacre, rape, pillage, and conflagration,—are not merely mitigated, but amply compensated to Rome and to the world by the profession of virginity made by Demetrias. It was as great a triumph as the discomfiture of the Gothic army would have been. We can neither understand Jerome nor his age without considering these strange sentences. Her vows of chastity were against the wishes of her whole family; the greater, therefore, their merit. Hence "*invenisse eam quod præstaret generi, quod Romana urbis cineres mitigaret.*" After describing the rejoicing of Africa, he proceeds: *Tunc lugubres vestes Italia mutavit, et semirutæ urbis Romæ monia, pristinum in parte recepere fulgorem, propitium sibi existimantes Deum, sic alumna conversione perfectâ. Putares extinctam Gothorum manum, et colluviam perfugarum et servorum, Domini desuper intonantis fulmine cecidisse. Non sic post Trebiam, Thrasymenum, et Cannas, in quibus locis Romanorum exercituum cæsa sunt millia, Marcelli*

Innocent was happily absent from Rome during the last siege and sack of the city. After the ^{Innocent absent from} second retreat of Alaric from before the walls, ^{Rome.} he had accompanied a deputation to Ravenna, to seek, and seek in vain, from the powerless Emperor, some protection for the capital. He did not return, and the fate of the city was left to the resolutions of ^{A.D. 409.} the Senate. He thus escaped the horrors of that fatal night, and the three days' pillage of the city. If his presence did not contribute to the comparative security of the Christians, neither did his holy person endure the peril of exposure to insult, or the blind and indiscriminating fury of a heathen soldiery. Innocent returned to a city, if in some parts ruined and desolate, now entirely Christian; the ancient religion was buried under the ruins. Many of the noblest families of Rome were reduced to slavery by the Goths; some had anticipated the capture of the city by a shameful flight: many more abandoned forever their doomed and hopeless country. Alaric and his host, satiated with three days' plunder, at the end of six days broke up from Rome to ravage the rich and defenceless cities of southern Italy. The estates, which had so long maintained the enormous luxury of the Roman patricians, were

primum apud Nolam prælio, se populus Romanus erexit, &c. &c. Jerome has some notion that he is surpassing Tully and Demosthenes, whose eloquence would be unequal to this wonderful event. Compare with this letter the Epistle addressed to the same Demetrius, there is little doubt, by no less a person than the heresiarch Pelagius. Pelagius, in the spirit of his age, is an admirer of virginity. But throughout the Epistle there is a singular calmness as well as elegance of style, which forcibly contrasts with the passionate hyperboles of Jerome. Pelagius, too, alludes to the sack of Rome, and urges it as an image of the last day. *Eadem omnibus imago mortis, nisi quia magis eam timebant illi, quibus fuerat vita jucundior. Si ita mortales timemus hostes, et humanam manum, cum clangore terribilitate intouare de celo cæperit, &c.* In Oper. Hieronym. v. p. 29.

ravaged or confiscated: whole families swept away into bondage. Without the city, as within, almost all that remained of eminent and famous names, the ancestral houses, which kept up the tradition of the glory of the republic, or the wealth of the Empire, sank into obscurity or total oblivion. The fugitives from Rome were found in all parts of the world,¹ and among these no doubt were almost all the more distinguished heathens,² who, no longer combining into a powerful party, no longer held together by the presence of the old ancestral temples, or by the household gods of their race and family, reduced to poor and insignificant outcasts from descendants and representatives of the noblest houses in Rome, gradually melted into the general Christian population of the empire. Those, whom Jerome beheld at Bethlehem, were doubtless Christians; but the whole coasts, not only of Italy and its islands, of Africa, Egypt, and the East, swarmed with these unfortunate exiles.³ Carthage was full of those who, to the great indignation of Augustine, notwithstanding this visible sign of Almighty wrath, crowded the theatres, and raised turbulent factions concerning rival actors; they carried with them no doubt, and readily promulgated that hostile sentiment towards Christianity, which attributed all the calamities of the

*Dispersion of
pagans.*

¹ *Nulla est regio, quæ non exules Romanos habeat.* — Hieronym. *Epist.* xcvi.

² Compare *Prefat. ad Ezekiel.*

³ Honorius, in the mean time, was still issuing sanguinary edicts against heretics. *Oraculo penitus remoto, quo ad ritus suos hæreticæ superstitionis obrepserant, sciant omnes sanctæ legis inimici, plectendos se penâ et proscriptiōis et sanguinis, si ultra convenire per publicum execrandâ sceleris sui temeritate tentaverint.* To this law, addressed to Heraclian, count of Africa, (*Cod. Theodos. c. 51, de Hæret.*) Baronius ascribes the speedy deliverance of the city from Alaric, so highly was it approved by God! *Sub Ann. 410.*

times, consummated in the sack of Rome, to the new religion. It was this last desperate remonstrance of paganism which called forth Augustine's City of God, and the brief and more lively perhaps, but meagre and superficial work of Orosius. Babylon has fallen, and fallen forever; the City of God, at least the centre and stronghold of the City of God, is in Christian Rome.

Nor did Innocent return to rule over a desert. The wonder, which is expressed at the rapid res-^{Restoration} toration of Rome, shows that the general con-^{of Rome.} sternation and awe, at the tidings of the capture, had greatly exaggerated the amount both of damage and of depopulation. Some of the palaces of the nobles, who had fled from the city, or perished in the siege, may have remained in ruins; above all the temples, now without funds to repair them from their confiscated estates, from the alienated government, or from the munificence of wealthy worshippers, would be left exposed to every casual injury, and fall into irremediable dilapidation, unless seized and appropriated to its own uses by the triumphant faith. Now probably began the slow conversion of the heathen fanes into Christian churches.¹ It took many more sieges, many more irruptions of barbaric conquerors, to destroy the works of centuries in the capital of the world's wealth and power. If deserted temples were left to decay, churches rose; palaces found new lords; the humbler buildings, which are for the most part the prey of ruin and conflagration, are speedily repaired; it is hardly

¹ In Rome this was rare, till the late conversion of the Pantheon into a Christian church. Few churches stand even on the sites of ancient temples. The Basilica seems to have been preferred for Christian worship.

less labor to demolish than to build solid, massy and substantial habitations; and fire, which probably did not rage to any great extent, was the only destructive agent which, during Alaric's occupation, endangered the grandeur or majesty of the city.

If Christian Rome rose thus out of the ruin of the pagan city, the Bishop of Rome rose in proportionate grandeur above the wreck of the old institutions and scattered society. Saved, as doubtless it seemed, by the especial protection of God from all participation, even from the sight of this tremendous, this ignominious disaster, according to the phrase of the times, as Lot out of the fires of Sodom,¹ he alone could lift up his head, if with
Greatest of Bishop. sorrow without shame. Honorius hid himself in Ravenna, nor did the Emperor ever again, for any long time, make his residence at Rome. With the religion expired all the venerable titles of the religion, the Great High Priests and Flamens, the Auspices and Augurs. On the Pontifical throne sat the Bishop of Rome, awaiting the time when he should ascend also the Imperial throne; or, at least, if without the name, possess the substance of the Imperial power, and stand almost as much above the shadowy form of the old republican dignities, which still retained their titles and some municipal authority, as the Cæsars themselves. The capture of Rome by Alaric was one of the great steps by which the Pope arose to his plenitude of power. There could be no question that from this time the greatest man in Rome was the Pope; he alone was invested with permanent and real power; he alone

¹ Orosius.

possessed all the attributes of supremacy, the reverence, it was his own fault, if not the love of the people. He had a sacred indefeasible title; authority unlimited, because undefined; wealth, which none dare to usurp, which multitudes lavishly contributed to increase by free-will offerings; he is, in one sense, a Cæsar, whose apotheosis has taken place in his lifetime, environed by his Prætorian guards, his ecclesiastics, on whose fidelity and obedience he may, when once seated on the throne, implicitly rely; whose edicts are gradually received as law; and who has his spiritual Prætors and Proconsuls in almost every part of Western Christendom.

CHAPTER II.

PELAGIANISM.

THE Pelagian question agitated the West during the later years of Innocent's pontificate. This Pelagian controversy. has been the great interminable controversy of Latin, of more than Latin, of all Western Christianity. The nature of the Godhead and of the Christ was the problem of the speculative East: that of man, his state after the fall, the freedom or bondage of his will, the motive principle of his actions, that of the more active West. The East might seem to dismiss this whole dispute with almost contemptuous indifference. Though Pelagius himself, and his follower Celestius, visited Palestine and obtained the suffrages of a provincial council in their favor; though from his cell near Bethlehem, Jerome mingled in the fray with all his native violence, — there the controversy died rapidly away, leaving hardly a record in Grecian theology, none whatever in Greek ecclesiastical history.¹

So completely, however, throughout the Roman Pelagius. world is Christianity now an important part of human affairs, as to become a means of intercourse and communication between the remotest provinces.

¹ Walch has observed, that none of the Greek historians, neither Socrates, Sozomen nor Theodoret notice the Pelagian controversy. *Ketzergeschichte*, iv. p. 531.

On the one hand new, and, as they are esteemed, heretical opinions are propagated, usually by their authors or by their partisans, from the most distant quarters, and so spread throughout Christendom; on the other hand, the Christian world is leagued together in every part to suppress these proscribed opinions. A Briton, Pelagius, by some accounts two Britons, Pelagius and Celestius, leave their home at the extremity of the known earth, perhaps the borders of Wales, the uttermost part of Britain, to disturb the whole Christian world. Pelagius is said to have been a monk, and though no doubt bound by vows of celibacy, yet was under the discipline of no community. He arrives in Rome, from Rome he passes to Africa, from Africa to Palestine. Everywhere he preaches his doctrines, obtains proselytes, or is opposed by inflexible adversaries. The fervid religion of the African Churches repudiated with one voice the colder and more philosophic reasonings of Pelagius:¹ they submitted to the ascendancy of Augustine, and threw themselves into his views with all their unextinguishable ardor.

But in the East the glowing writings of Augustine were not understood, probably not known;² his predestinarian notions never seem to have Pelagius in the East. been congenial to the Christianity of the Greeks. In Palestine, however, Pelagius was encountered by two implacable adversaries, Heros and Lazarus, bishops of

¹ My history of the earlier period of Christianity entered into the general character of Pelagianism, especially as connected with the character and writings of Augustine. I consider it at present chiefly in its relation to Latin Christianity. — *Hist. of Christianity*, iii. pp. 264, 270.

² Except by Jerome, who, however, received his writings irregularly and with much delay. — The ordinary correspondence between the provinces

Gaul.¹ It is probable indeed, that the persecution was to be traced to the cell of Jerome,² with whose vehement and superstitious temperament his doctrines clashed as violently as with those of Augustine.

Council of
Diospolis. Pelagius was arraigned before a synod of fourteen prelates, at Diospolis (the ancient Lydda), and, to the astonishment and discomfiture of his adversaries, solemnly acquitted of all heretical tenets. It is asserted that the fathers of Diospolis were imposed upon by the subtle and plausible dialectics of Pelagius. Considering, indeed, that his accusers, the Gallic bishops (neither of whom personally appeared), and his third adversary, Orosius, the friend and disciple of Augustine, only spoke Latin, that the Palestinian bishops only understood Greek

seems now to have been slow and precarious. Nothing, writes Augustine to Jerome, grieves me so much as your distance from me—"ut vix possim meas dare, vel recipere tuas litteras, per intervalla non dierum non mensium, sed aliquot annorum.—August. Epist. xxviii. Were any of his works translated into Greek?

¹ Orosius too was in Palestine, it should seem, in search of relics. He had the good fortune to carry off the body of the protomartyr St. Stephen. Compare Baronius, sub ann.

² The letter to Demetrias, in the works of St. Jerome, seems admitted to be a genuine writing of Pelagius. That both Pelagius and his antagonist Jerome should have addressed an epistle to the same Demetrias suggests the suspicion of some strong personal rivalry. They were striving, as it were, for the command of this distinguished and still probably wealthy female.

The whole tenor of the letter of Pelagius confirms the position, that the opinions of Pelagius had no connection with monastic enthusiasm, and did not arise out of that pride "of good works" which may belong to the consciousness of extraordinary austerities. (Compare Neander, *Christliche Kirche*.) Pelagius arrives at his conclusions by a calm, it might seem cold, philosophy. Excepting as to the praise of virginity, the greater part of the letter might have been written by an ancient Academic, or by a modern metaphysical inquirer. Jerome traces the origin of Pelagianism to the Greek, particularly the Stoic philosophy. He quotes Tertullian's saying, *Philosophi, patriarchae haereticorum*.—Hieronym. Epist. ad Ctesiphont

(perhaps imperfectly any language but their own vernacular Syrian), and that Pelagius had the command of both languages; that these questions, which demanded the most exquisite nicety of expression and the strictest accuracy of definition, must have been carried on by the clumsy means of interpreters, — the council of Diospolis, to the dispassionate inquirer, cannot carry much weight. The usual consequences of religious controversies in those days, and in those regions, were not slow to appear. Jerome was attacked in his retirement, his disciples maltreated by their triumphant adversaries. Pelagius himself seems entirely exempted from any concurrence in these lawless proceedings; but his fanatic followers (and even his calm tenets in the East could for once kindle fanaticism) are accused of perpetrating every crime, pillage, murder, conflagration, on the peaceful disciples of Jerome, especially on some of the noble Roman ladies who shared his solitude.¹

While ignorance, or indifference, or chance, or personal hostility to the asserters of anti-Pelagian opinions

¹ Innocent Epist. ad Aurel. et ad Johannem, Episcop. Hierosolym. These revengeful violences against Jerome appear to me better evidence that he was at least supposed to be the head of the faction opposed to Pelagius, than the reasons alleged by P. Daniel, Hist. du Concile de Palestine, and Walch, p. 393. The strong expressions as to these acts are from Innocent's letter. *Direptiones, cædes, incendia, omne facinus extremæ dementiæ, generosissimæ sanctæ virgines deploraverunt in locis ecclesiæ tuæ perpetrasse diabolum, nomen enim hominis causamque reticuerunt.* — Apud Labbe, Concil., ii. p. 1315. If the odious Pelagius had been the man, they would hardly have suppressed his name. And it must be acknowledged that Jerome suffered only the natural results of his own principles. In his third dialogue against the Pelagians he introduces their advocate as scarcely daring to speak out, lest he should be stoned: *Statim in me populorum lapides conjicias, et quem viribus non potes, voluntate interficias.* To this the Catholic rejoins, *Ille hæreticum interficit, qui hæreticum esse patitur.* — Hieronym. Oper., iv. 2. p. 544.

decided the question in the East, the West demanded a more solemn and authoritative adjudication on this absorbing controversy. By the decrees of the Council of Diospolis, Africa and the East were at direct issue ; and where should the Africans seek the arbiter, or the powerful defender of their opinions, but at Rome ? Constantinople, and Alexandria, and Antioch, took no interest in these questions, or were occupied, especially the two former, by their own religious and political quarrels. The African Church, when such a cause was on the issue, stood not on her independence. As a Western monk, Pelagius was amenable, in some degree, to the patriarchal authority of the Bishop of Rome. Both parties seemed at least to acquiesce in the appeal to Innocent : the event could not be doubtful in such an age and before the representative of Latin Christianity.

All great divergences of religion, where men are really religious (and this seems acknowledged as to Pelagius himself, and still more as to some of his semi-Pelagian followers, Julianus of Eclana and the Monastic Cassian), arise from the undue dominance of some principle or element in our religious nature. This controversy was in truth the strife between two such innate principles, which philosophy despairs of reconciling, on which the New Testament has not pronounced with clearness or precision. The religious sentiment, which ever assumes to itself the exclusive name and authority of religion, is not content without feeling, or at least supposing itself to feel, the direct, immediate agency of God upon the soul of man. This seems inseparable from the divine Sovereignty, even from Providential gov-

Origin of
controversy.

ernment, which it looks like impiety to limit, and of which it is hard to conceive the self-limitation.' Must not God's grace, of its nature, be irresistible? What can bound or fetter Omnipotence? This seems the first principle admitted in prayer, in all intercourse between the soul of man and the Infinite: it is the life-spring of religious enthusiasm, the vital energy, not of fanaticism only, but of zeal.² On the other hand, there is an equally intuitive consciousness (and out of consciousness grows all our knowledge of these things) of the freedom, or self-determining power of the human will. On this depends all morality, and the sense of human responsibility; all conception, except that which is unreasoning and instinctive, of the divine justice and mercy. This is the problem of philosophy; the degree of subservience in the human will to influences external to itself, and in no way self-originated or self-controlled, and to its inward self-determining power.³ In Christianity it involved not merely the metaphysic nature, but the whole biblical history of man; the fall, and the sin inherited by the race of Adam; the redemption of Christ, and the righteousness communicated to mankind by Christ.

Pelagius came too early for any calm consideration of his doctrines, or any attempt to reconcile the difficulties which he suggested, with the sacred writings.

¹ The absolute abandonment of free will seems the highest point of true devotion. Prosper thus writes of Augustine:—

*Et dum nulla sibi tribuit bona, sit Deus illi
Omnia, et in sancto regnat Sapientia templo.*

² Compare this argument in another form, *Hist. of Christianity*, iii. p. 267.

³ Edwards on the Will throughout, which on this point coincides with the philosophy of Hume

In his age the religious sentiment was at its height, and to the religious sentiment that system was true which brought the soul most strongly and immediately under divine agency. To substitute a law for that direct agency, to interpose in any way between the Spirit of God and the spirit of man, was impiety, blasphemy, a degradation of God and of his sole sovereignty. This sentiment was at its height in Western Christendom. In no part had it grown to a passion so overwhelming as in Africa, in no African mind to such absorbing energy as in that of Augustine.

Augustine, after the death of Ambrose, was the one great authority in Latin Theology: St. Augustine. from him was now anxiously expected, if it had not appeared, the great work which was to silence the last desperate remonstrances of Paganism, the City of God.¹ His Confessions had become at once the manual of passionate devotion, and the history of the internal struggle of sin and grace in the soul of man. Augustine had maintained great influence at the court of Ravenna: of the ministers of Honorius some were his personal friends, others courted his correspondence. Africa, the only granary, held the power of life and death over Italy: and political and religious interests were now inseparably moulded together. But it was probably not so much either the authority or the influence of Augustine, which swayed the mind of Innocent to establish the Augustinian theology as the theory of Western Christianity; it was rather its full coincidence with his own views of Christian truth.

¹ On the City of God compare Hist. of Christianity, iii. p. 279 282.

Augustinianism was not merely the expression of the universal Christianity of the age as administering to, as being in itself the more full, fervent, continuous excitement of the religious sentiment, it was also closely allied with the two great characteristic tendencies of Latin Christianity.

Latin Christianity, in its strong sacerdotal system, in its rigid and exclusive theory of the church, ^{Latin Christianity anti-Pelagian.} at once admitted and mitigated the more repulsive parts of the Augustinian theology. Predestinarianism itself, to those at least within the pale, lost much of its awful terrors. The Church was the predestined assemblage of those to whom ^{causes.} and to whom alone, salvation was possible; the Church scrupled not to surrender the rest of mankind to that inexorable damnation entailed upon the human race by the sin of their first parents. As the Church, by the jealous exclusion of all heretics, drew around itself a narrower circle; this startling limitation of the divine mercies was compensated by the great extension of its borders, which now comprehended all other baptized Christians. The only point in this theory at which human nature uttered a feeble remonstrance¹ was the abandonment of infants, who never knew the distinction between good and evil, to eternal fires. The heart of Augustine wrung from his reluctant reason, which trembled at its own in-

¹ Julianus of Eclana put well the insuperable difficulty which has constantly revolted the human mind, when not under the spell of some absorbing religious excitement, against the extreme theory of Augustine and of Calvin. Deus, ais, ipse qui commendat caritatem suam in nobis, qui dilexit nos, et filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis illum tradidit, ipse sic judicat, ipse est nascentium persecutor, ipse pro malâ voluntate æternis ignibus parvulos tradit, quos nec bonam nec malam voluntatem scit habere

consistency, a milder damnation in their favor. But some of his more remorseless disciples disclaimed the illogical softness of their master.¹

Through the Church alone, and so through the hierarchy alone, man could be secure of that direct agency of God upon his soul, after which it yearned with irrepressible solicitude. The will of man surrendered itself to the clergy, for on them depended its slavery or its emancipation, as far as it was capable of emancipation. In the clergy, divine grace, the patrimony of the Church, was vested, and through them distributed to mankind. Baptism, usually administered by them alone, washed away original sin; the other rites and sacraments of which they were the exclusive ministers, were still conveying, and alone conveying, the influences of the Holy Ghost to the more or less passive soul. This objective and visible form as it were, which was assumed for the inward workings of God upon the mind and heart, by the certitude and security which it seemed to bestow, was so unspeakably consolatory, and relieved, especially the less reflective mind, from so much doubt and anxiety, that mankind was disposed to hail with gladness rather than examine with jealous suspicion these claims of the hierarchy. Thus the Augustinian theology coincided with the tendencies of the age towards the growth of the strong sacerdotal system; and the sacerdotal system reconciled Christendom with the

potuisee. — Apud Augustin. Oper. Imperf. i. 48. Augustine struggles in vain to elude the difficulty. Julianus as well as Pelagius himself strenuously asserted the necessity of infant baptism, not however as giving remission of sins, but as admitting to Christian privileges and blessings.

¹ Compare Hist. of Christ., iii. note, and quotation from Fulgentius.

Augustinian theology. But the invariable progress of the human mind, as to this question, is in itself remarkable; and necessary for the full comprehension of Christian history. All established religions subside into Pelagianism, or at least semi-Pelagianism. The interposition of the priest, or the sacrament, or of both, between the direct agency of God and the soul of man, for its own purposes, gradually admits a growing freedom of the will. Conformity to outward rites, obedience to orders or admonitions, every religious act is required on the one hand, as within the self-determining power of the will, and is in itself a more and more conscious exertion of that power. The sacerdotal system, in order that it may censure with more awfulness, and incite with more persuasiveness, admits a greater spontaneity of resistance to evil, and of inclination to good. It emancipates to a certain extent, that it may rule with a more absolute control. And as it was with Pelagius, so it is with his followers. No Pelagian ever has or ever will work a religious revolution. He who is destined for such a work must have a full conviction that God is acting directly, immediately, consciously, and therefore with irresistible power, upon him and through him. It is because he believes himself, and others believe him to be thus acted upon, that he has the burning courage to undertake, the indomitable perseverance to maintain, the inflexible resolution to die for his religion; so soon as that conviction is deadened, his power is gone. Men no longer acknowledge his mission, he himself has traitorously or timidly abandoned his mission. The voice of God is no longer speaking in his heart; men no longer recognize the voice of God from his lips.

The prophet, the inspired teacher, the all but apostle, was now sunk to an ordinary believer. He who is not predestined, who does not declare, who does not believe himself predestined as the author of a great religious movement, he in whom God is not manifestly, sensibly, avowedly working out his preëstablished designs, will never be Saint or Reformer.

But there was another part of the Augustinian theology, which has quietly dropped from it in all its later revivals, yet in his day was an integral, almost the leading doctrine of the system; and falling in, as it did, with the dominant feelings of Christendom, contributed powerfully to its establishment, as the religion of the Church. Augustine was not content to assert original sin, in the strongest language, against Pelagius, but did not scruple to dogmatize as to the mode of its transmission. This was by sexual intercourse,¹ which he asserts in arguments, which the modesty of our present manners will not permit us to discuss, would have been unknown but for the Fall; and was in itself essentially evil,² though an evil to be tolerated in the regenerate, for the procreation of children, themselves to be regenerate.³

¹ The whole argument of the Book de Concupiscentia et de Nuptiis. Intentio igitur hujus libri est ut . . . carnalis concupiscentiæ malum, propter quod homo qui per eam nascitur, trahit originale peccatum, discernamus a bonitate nuptiarum.

² Sed quia sine illo malo (carnalis concupiscentiæ) fieri non potest nuptiarum bonum, hoc est propagatio filiorum, ubi ad hujusmodi opus venitur, secreta queruntur. Hinc est quod infantes etiam, qui peccare non possunt, non tamen sine peccati contagione nascuntur, non ex hoc quod licet, sed ex hoc quod dedecet. — De Peccat. Origin., c. xxvii. His standing argument is from natural modesty, which he confounds with the shame of conscious guilt.

³ The doctrine of original sin, as it is explicated by St. Austin, had two parents; one was the doctrine of the Encratites and some other heretics.

Thus this great Oriental principle of the inherent evil of matter, as we have seen in the course of our Christian history, was the dominant and fundamental tenet of Gnosticism, lay at the root of Arianism, and will hereafter appear as the remote parent of Nestorianism; and this was the primary axiom of all Monasticism, and so became, almost imperceptibly, the first recognized principle of all Latin theology. Augustine, in this theory of the transmission of sin, betrays that invincible horror of the intrinsic evil of the material and corporeal, which had been infused into his mind by his youthful Manicheism.¹ Most of the other leading tenets of the Manicheans, the creation of man by the antagonistic malignant power, the unreality of the Christ, the whole mystic mythology of the imaginative Orientals, Augustine had rejected with indignation, and with the practical wisdom of the West; but, notwithstanding all his concessions on the dignity of marriage, he is, in this respect, an irreclaimable Manichean. Sin and all sensual indulgence, as it was called, all, however lawful, union between the sexes, were convertible terms, or terms so associated in human thought as to require some vigor of mind to discriminate between them. It was the vice of the theology

who forbade marriage, and supposing it to be evil, thought that they were warranted to say it was the bed of sin, and children the spawn of vipers and sinners; and St. Austin himself, and especially St. Hierome, speaks some things of marriage, which if they were true, then marriage were highly to be refused, as being the increaser of sin rather than of children, and a semination in the flesh and contrary to the spirit; and such a thing, which being mingled with sin, produces univocal issues; the mother and the daughter are so alike that they are worse again.—Jer. Taylor, *Answer to a Letter*.

¹ Augustine strongly protests against the charge which was even then made against him of Manicheism.—*De Concup. et Nupt.*, lib. ii.

of this period, and not, perhaps, of this period alone, that it seemed to make the indulgence of one passion almost the sole unchristian sin; a passion which is probably strengthened rather than suppressed by compelling the mind to dwell perpetually upon it. This (and on this the whole stress was laid throughout the controversy) was, the concupiscence of the flesh, inherited from Adam, which was not washed away in the sanctifying waters of baptism, but still clung to the material nature of man, and was to be kept under control only by the most rigid asceticism. Celibacy thus became not merely a hard duty, but a glorious distinction: the clergy, and those females who aspired to more perfect Christianity, not merely chose a more difficult, and therefore, if successful, a more noble career — but were raised far above those lower mortals, who, in the most legitimate and holy form, that of faithful marriage, submitted to be the parents of children.

Pelagius himself,¹ so completely was the human mind possessed with this notion, almost rivalled Augustine in his praises of virginity, which he considered the great test of that strength of free will which he asserted to be weakened only, if weakened, by the fall of Adam.

The Augustinian theology, exactly to the extent to which it coincided with Latin Christianity, would no doubt harmonize with the opinions of one so completely representing that Christianity as Innocent Augustinian. 417. Jan. 27. cent I. When the African Churches, in their councils at Carthage, and at Milevis in Numidia, addressed the Pontiff on this momentous subject, the character, as well as the station of Innocent, might

¹ Epist. ad Demetriad.

command more than respectful deference. Had they felt any jealousy as to their own independence, under the absorbing passion, the hatred of Pelagianism, they would have made any sacrifice to obtain the concurrence of the Bishop of Rome. The letters inform Innocent that the Africans had renewed the unregarded anathema pronounced against this wicked error, especially of Celestius, which had been issued five years before. They assert the power of Innocent to summon Pelagius to Rome to answer for his guilt, and to exclude him from the communion of the faithful.¹ They implore the dignity of the Apostolic throne, of the successor of St. Peter, to complete and ratify that which is wanting to their more moderate power.² Pelagius himself, even if he did not acknowledge the jurisdiction of the tribunal, endeavored to propitiate the favor of the judge: he addressed an explanatory letter, and a profession of faith, to the Bishop of Rome.³

*Both parties
appeal to
Rome.*

Yet Augustine and the Africans were not without solicitude as to the decision of Innocent. Since Pelagius, they knew, lived in Rome, undisturbed by the inquisitive zeal of the bishop, Augustine, in a private letter, signed by himself and four bishops, informed the Pope that some of these persons boasted that they had won him to their cause, or, at least, to think less unfavorably of Pelagius.⁴

¹ Aut ergo a tuâ veneratione accersendus est Romam, et diligenter interrogandus. — Epist. Conc. Milev. Labbe, ii., p. 1547.

² Ut statutis nostræ mediocritatis, etiam Apostolicæ sedis adhibeatur auctoritas, pro tuendâ salute multorum et quorundam etiam perversitate corrigendâ. — Epist. Conc. Carthag. ad Innocent. Labbe, ii. p. 1514.

³ Augustin. de Grat. Christ., cap. 30. De Pecc. Origin., 17, 21, &c.

⁴ Quidam scilicet quia vos talia persuasisse perhibent. — Ibid.

The answer of Innocent allayed their fears. He did not pass by the opportunity of asserting, as an acknowledged maxim, the dignity of the Apostolic See, the source of all episcopacy, and the advantage of an appeal to a tribunal, which might legislate for all Christendom.¹ On the Pelagian question he places himself on the broad, popular, and unanswerable ground, that all Christian devotion implies the assistance of divine grace; that it is admitted in every response of the service, in every act of worship. He pronounces the opinions anathematized by the African bishops to be heretical; and declares that the unsound limb must be severed without remorse, lest it should infect the living body.² Africa, and all those who held the opinions of Augustine, triumphed in what might seem the unqualified sentence of the Bishop of Rome. At this period in the controversy, and before the arrival of the letter from Pelagius, died Pope Innocent I.

Death of
Innocent
A.D. 417,
March 12.

So far the Bishop of Rome had floated onwards towards supremacy on the full tide of dominant opinion; his decrees were so acceptable to the general ear, that the tone of authority in which they began to be couched, jarred not on any quivering chord of jealousy

¹ Qui ad nostrum referendum approbastis esse judicium, scientes quid Apostolicæ sedi (cum omnes hoc loco positi ipsum sequi desideramus Apostolum) debeat, a quo ipse episcopatus et tota auctoritas nominis hujus emersit. — Innocent. Epist. ad Episc. Afric.

Ut per cunctas orbis totius ecclesias, quod omnibus prosit, decernendum una esse deposcitis. — Ibid.

² The lines of Prosper, who has written a long poem on this abstruse subject, have been referred to this decree of Innocent I. —

In causam fidei flagrantius Africa nostra
Exequetur; tecumque suum jungente vigorem
Juris Apostolici solio, fera viscera belli
Conficis, et lato prosternis limite victos.

or suspicion. The secret of that power lay in Rome's complete impregnation with the spirit of the age; and this lasted, almost unbroken, till the Reformation. It were neither just nor true to call this worldly policy, or to suppose that the Bishops of Rome dishonestly conformed, or bent their opinions to their age for the sake of aggrandizing their power. Their sympathy with the general mind of Christianity constituted their strength; from their conscious strength grew up, no doubt, their bolder spirit of domination; but they became masters of the Western Church by being the representative, the centre, of its feelings and opinions. It was not till a much later period that the claim to personal infallibility, to the sole dictatorship over the Christianity of the world, was either advanced or thought necessary; the present infallibility was but the expression of the universal, or at least predominant sentiment of mankind.

Once at this period, and but for a short time, the Bishop of Rome threw himself directly across the stream of religious opinion. Zosimus, the ^{Zosimus.} successor of Innocent, was by birth a Greek,¹ ^{417, Mar. 18.} and seemed disposed to treat the momentous questions agitated by the Pelagian controversy with the contemptuous indifference of a Greek. Whether from this uncongeniality of the Eastern mind with these debates; whether from the pride of the man, which was flattered by the submission of both these dangerous heresiarchs to his authority; whether from an earnest and well-intentioned, but mistaken hope, of suppressing what appeared to him a needless dispute, Zosimus annulled at one blow all the judgments of his predecessor, In-

¹ Anastasius Bibliothec., c. 42.

nocent; and absolved the men, whom Innocent, if he had not branded with a direct anathema, had declared deserving to be cut off from the communion of the faithful.

The address of Pelagius to Innocent had not arrived in Rome before the death of that prelate; it was accompanied with a creed elaborately and ostentatiously orthodox on all the questions which agitated the Eastern mind, and a solemn and minute repudiation of all the heresies relating to the nature of the Godhead. It might seem almost prophetically intended to propitiate the favor of a Greek Pope. He touched but briefly on the freedom of the will, and the necessity of divine grace; rejecting, as Manichean, the doctrine, that sin was inevitable; as a doctrine which he ascribes to Jovinian, the impeccability of the Christian.¹ Celestius, who had remained some time in peaceful retirement at Ephesus, had passed to Constantinople; from thence he is said to have been expelled by the Bishop Acacius. He now appeared in Rome, and throwing himself, as it were, at the feet of the Pontiff, declared that he was ready to submit to a dispassionate examination and authoritative judgment on his tenets.

A solemn hearing was appointed in the Basilica of St. Clement. Celestius was listened to with favor; if the positive sentence was delayed, his accusers Heros and Lazarus, the Gallic bishops, were denounced in the strongest terms to the Afri-

Pelagius
and Celestius
declared
orthodox.

¹ The creed apud Baronium—sub ann. 417—*Liberum sic esse confitemur arbitrium, ut dicamus nos semper Dei indigere auxilio, et tam illos errare qui cum Manicheis dicunt hominem peccatum vitare non posse, quam illos qui cum Joviniano asserunt, hominem non posse peccare: uterque enim tollit libertatem arbitrii.*—Was the first clause aimed at Augustine and the Africans?

can Council as vagabond, turbulent, and intriguing prelates, who had either abdicated or abandoned their sees, and travelled about sowing strife and calumny wherever they went.¹ The African prelates were summoned within a short period to make good their charges against Celestius, who in this first investigation had appeared unimpeachable.² Zosimus went further: he had warned Celestius and his accusers alike to abstain from these idle questions and unedifying disputes, the offspring of vain curiosity, and of the desire for the display of eloquence on subjects unrevealed.³ Such to Zosimus appeared these questions, which had wrought Africa into a frenzy of zeal and distracted the whole West. The trial of Celestius was followed by the public recital of a letter from Praylas, *Sept. xi.* Bishop of Jerusalem, asserting in the most unqualified terms the orthodoxy of Pelagius. It was read with joy, with admiration, almost with tears of delight. "Would," writes Zosimus to the African bishops, "that one of you had been present at the edifying scene. That such a man should be impeached, and impeached by a Heros and a Lazarus! There was no point in which the grace and assistance of God

¹ Zosimus Aurelio et univ. Episcop. Africæ. — Apud Labbe, ii., 1559.

Heros, according to Zosimus, had been Bishop of Arles, Lazarus of Aix. Their rise was owing entirely to the tyrant (probably the usurper Constantine); it was accompanied with tumult and bloodshed, persecution of the priesthood who opposed them. With Constantine they fell, driven out by the execrations of the people, and abdicating their sees. — So the Bishop of Rome. S. Prosper gives a high character of both. — S. Prosper, Chron.

² Innotescere sanctitati vestræ super absoluta Cœlestii fide nostrum examen. — Ib.

³ Admoneri, has tendiculas quæstionum, et inepta certamina quæ non edificant, sed magis destruunt, ex illâ curiositatis contagione profluere, dum unusquisque ingenio suo et intemperanti eloquentiâ supra scripta abutitur. — Ibid.

could be asserted by a faithful Christian, which was not fully acknowledged by them."¹

But the authority, which was received with deferential homage, so long as it concurred with their own views, lost its magic directly that it espoused the opposite cause. The African bishops inflexibly adhered to the condemnation of Pelagius, of Celestius, and their doctrines. Carthage obstinately refused to yield to Rome; it appealed to the sentence of Innocent, and disdainfully rejected the annulling power of Zosimus. Augustine, indeed, continued to speak with conciliating mildness of the Roman Prelate; but he let fall some alarming and significant expressions as to the prevarication of the whole Roman clergy.

To the long representation addressed to him by the Council of Carthage, Zosimus replied in a haughty tone, asserting that, according to the tradition, no one might dare to dispute the judgment of the Apostolic See. But the close of the epistle betrayed his embarrassment. Whether his natural sagacity had discovered that he had rashly attempted to stem the torrent of opinion; his brotherly love for the African Churches would induce him to communicate all his determinations to them, in order that they might act together for the common good of Christendom. He had stayed, therefore, all further proceedings in the affair of Celestius.²

It was time for Zosimus to retrace his precipitate course. Augustine and the African bishops had summoned to their aid a more powerful

Appeal to
the Emperor.

¹ Tales enim absolute fidei infamari posse? Est ne ullus locus in quo Dei gratia vel adiutorium prætermisum sit? Zosim. ad Episcop. Afric. Labbe, ii. p. 1561.

² Zosim. ad Episcop. Africæ.

ally than even the Bishop of Rome. While the Pope either still adhered to the cause of Pelagius, or but began to vacillate, an Imperial edict was issued from the court of Ravenna, peremptorily deciding on this abstruse question of theology.¹ This law was issued before the final sitting of the Council of Carthage, in which, on the authority of two hundred and twenty-three bishops, eight canons were passed, condemnatory of Pelagianism. There can be no doubt, that the law was obtained by the influence of the African bishops with the Emperor or his ministers; there is great likelihood by the personal authority of Augustine with the Count Valerius. Italy, indeed, could hardly refuse to listen to the voice of Africa. This appeal to the civil magistrate is but another instance, that the ecclesiastical power has no scruple in employing in its own favor those arms of which it deprecates the use, the employment of which it treats as impious usurpation, when put forth against it. By this law it became a crime against the state, to be visited with civil penalties, to assert that Adam was born liable to death.² The dangerous heresiarchs were condemned by name, and without hearing or trial, to banishment from Rome.³ Informers were invited or commanded to apprehend

¹ The law is dated April 30, A.D. 418. The final council was held early in May.

² *Hi parenti cunctorum Deo . . . tam trucem inclementiam sævæ voluntatis assignant . . . ut mortem præmitteret nascituro (Adamo, sc.), non hanc insidiis vetiti fluxisse peccati, sed exegisse penitus legem immutabilis constituti.*—Rescript. Honor. et Theodos. apud Augustin. Oper. x., Append., p. 106.

³ *Hos ergo repertos ubicunque de hoc tam nefando scelere conferentes a quibuscunque jubemus corripì, deductosque ad audientiam publicam promiscuè ab omnibus accusari . . . ipsis inexorati exilii deportationi damnati.*—Ibid.

and drag before the tribunals, and to accuse the maintainers of these wicked doctrines. In the order issued by the Prætorian Prefects of Italy and the East, to carry this law into effect, not merely were the heresiarchs banished, but their accomplices condemned to the confiscation of their estates, and to perpetual exile.¹

Zosimus threw off the dangerous tenderness with which he had hitherto treated Celestius and his party. Already, before the promulgation of the Imperial edict, he had demanded his unequivocal condemnation of certain errors, charged against him by Paulinus, a Carthaginian deacon, who had been sent to Rome to represent the African opinions. Celestius was now again summoned to render an account of his tenets; under the ban of the Imperial law, an object of hatred to the populace, certain that the Pope had withdrawn his protection, of course he dared not appear: he had quietly retired from Rome.² Zosimus proceeded to condemn the faith, to anathematize the doctrines of Pelagius and Celestius, to excommunicate them from the body of the faithful, if they did not renounce and abjure the venomous tenets of their impious and abominable sect. Nor was this all: the Bishop of Rome addressed a circular letter to all the bishops of Christendom, condemning the doctrines of Pelagius. To this anathema they were expected to subscribe.³

Eighteen bishops alone, of those who took this letter

¹ The convicted heretic, by the edict of Palladius, was to be *facultatum publicatione nudatus*.

² Augustin. de Pecc. Origin., c. 6. The gratulatory letter of Paulinus himself on the condemnation of Celestius, in Baronius, sub ann. 418.

³ Augustin. de Pecc. Orig., 3, 4; in Julian, 1, c. 4. Prosper in Chronic.

into consideration, refused to condemn their fellow Christians unheard. They turned ^{Eighteen} against Zosimus his own language to the African bishops, in which he had accused their precipitancy and injustice in condemning these very men without process or trial. They appealed to a General Council.

Of these eighteen, the most distinguished was Julianus, Bishop of Eclana, in Campania. His ^{recusants.} opinions did not altogether agree with those ^{Julianus of Eclana.} of Pelagius and Celestius;¹ he was the founder of what has been called Semi-Pelagianism. Julianus from his birth, his character, and the events of his life, was a remarkable man. He was of a noble family, the son of a bishop, Memor, for whom Augustine entertained the warmest friendship.² He was early admitted into the lower order of the clergy, and married a virgin of birth and virtue equal to his own. She was of the Æmilian family, daughter of the Bishop of Beneventum.

The epithalamium of Julianus and Ia was written by the holy Paulinus, Bishop of Nola. The poet urges upon the young and ardent couple not to break off their dangerous nuptials, but after their marriage to preserve their inviolate chastity. The pious bishop has, indeed, some misgivings as to the success of his poetic persuasions, and adds, that if they are betrayed into the weakness of having offspring, he trusts that they will make compensation to that state, which they have robbed of its brightest ornaments, by dedicating

¹ The great point of difference was that Pelagius held Adam to have been born mortal; Julianus admitted that the sin of Adam had brought death into the world.

² Augustin. contr. Julian., i. 12.

all their children, a sacerdotal family, to virginity.¹ Julianus was a man of great accomplishments, well read in the writers, especially the poets of Italy and Greece. But neither his illustrious descent, his Roman or his Christian kindred, nor his talents, nor his virtues, nor his station, availed in the least in this desperate conflict at once with power and popular opinion. There were now arrayed in formidable and irresistible confederacy, the three commanding influences in Western Christendom, the Pope, the Emperor, and Augustine. The Pope, indignant at the demand for a General Council, proceeded to involve Julianus and the rest of the eighteen remonstrants under the anathema pronounced against Pelagius, and to depose him from his see. Julianus had but the unsatisfactory consolation of asserting that Zosimus dared not meet him before a General Council. The Emperor was at first disposed to accede to the demand for a Council, but the influence of Augustine with the Count Valerius changed the impartial judge into an implacable adversary. He is even accused, and by his most respected adversary Julianus, of employing every means, even those of corruption, to inflame the minds of the powerful against the followers of Pelagius.² A new Imperial edict sentenced to exile Julianus and all the bishops who had fallen under the anathema of Zosimus. A second rescript followed, commanding all bishops not

¹ Ut sit in ambobus concordia virginitatis,
Aut sint ambo sacris semina virginibus.
Votum prior hic gradus est, ut nescia carnis
Membra gerant, quod si corpore congruerint,
Casta sacerdotale genus ventura propago,
Et domus Aaron sit tota domus Memoria.

Paul. Nolan. Epithalamium, circa finem.

² See note infra.

merely to subscribe the dominant opinions on these profound and abstruse topics, but to condemn their authors, Pelagius and Celestius, as irreclaimable heretics, and this under pain of deprivation and banishment. Justly might Julianus taunt his ecclesiastical brethren with this attempt to crush their adversaries by the civil power. With shame and sorrow we hear from Augustine himself that fatal axiom, which for centuries reconciled the best and holiest men to the guilt of persecution, the axiom which impiously arrayed cruelty in the garb of Christian charity—that they were persecuted in compassion to their souls;¹ that they ought to be thankful for the kind violence, which did them no real injury, but coerced them for their good; and that if for this end the secular power was called in, it was to restrain them from their sacrilegious temerity.²

Thus, then, on these men had fallen the ban of ecclesiastical and secular power, and in the West, at least, of popular opinion.³ Pelagius vanishes at this time from history; he had been condemned by a Council at Antioch, and driven, a second Catiline as he is called by Jerome, from Jerusalem: of his end nothing is known. The more courageous and active Celestius still kept up the vain strife.

¹ Non impotentia contra vos precamur auxilium, sed pro vobis potius ut ab usu sacrilego cohibeamini, Christiana potentia laudamus officium. — Oper. Imperf., l. ii., c. 14.

² Compare I. 10, where he says that Christian powers (he means the civil powers) are bound to use disciplinam coercionis against all opponents of the Catholic faith.

³ Julianus, it appears, objected to Augustine that all his authorities were Western bishops. This Augustine does not deny, but demands whether the authority of St. Peter and his successor, Innocent, is not enough. — Contr. Julian., l. c. 13. He quotes, however, Gregory of Nazianzum and Basil.

Twice he returned to Rome during the episcopacy of the successor of Zosimus, and twice again was banished. At length, with Julianus, he took refuge at Constantinople, where he obtained a more favorable hearing both from the reigning Emperor, the younger Theodosius, and from Nestorius, the bishop. But his enemies were watchful, and Constantinople refused to entertain the condemned heresiarch: of his death likewise history is silent. The accomplished Julianus,¹ exiled from his see, proscribed not merely by the harsh edicts of power, but hunted by popular detestation from town to town, wandered through Christendom, as if he bore a divine judgment upon him. His long and weary life was protracted thirty years after his exile.² At length he settled as teacher of a school, in an obscure town of Sicily. The last act of the proscribed heretic was to sacrifice all he had to relieve the poor in a grievous famine. Some faithful follower, it is said, whether in zeal for his tenets or admiration for his virtues, inscribed on his tomb, "Here sleeps in peace Julianus, the Catholic Bishop."

¹ The fragments of the writings of Julianus, especially those in the *Opus Imperfectum* of Augustine, show great acuteness and eloquence, and a facility and perspicuity of style which bears no unfavorable comparison with the great African father. His piety is unimpeachable.

² Julianus constantly taunts Augustine with this appeal to the passions of the rude and ignorant vulgar on such abstruse subjects, and with even worse means of persecuting his adversaries. *Cur seditioes Romæ conductis populis excitastis? Cur de sumptibus pauperum saginastis per totam pene Africam, equorum greges, quos prosequenti Olybrio, tribunis et centurionibus destinastis? Cur matronarum oblati hereditatibus potestates sæculi corrupistis, ut in nos stipula furoris publice ardeat? Cur dissipastis Ecclesiarum quietem? Cur religiosi principis tempora persecutionum impletate maculastis?*—*Oper. Imperfect.*, iii. 74.

Augustine contents himself by simply denying these charges, the last of which, by his own showing and by the extant edicts, was too true.

In another place Julianus says, *Ut erecto cornu dogma populare.*—*Oper. Imperfect.*, ii. 2.

While the West in general bowed before the commanding authority of Augustine; trembled ^{Semi-Pelagianism.} and shrunk from any opinion which might even seem to impeach the sovereignty of God; laid its free will down a ready sacrifice before divine grace, as contained in the sacraments of the Church and administered by the awful hierarchy; hesitated not to abandon the whole world, external to the Church, to that inevitable hell which was the patrimony of all the children of Adam; Semi-Pelagianism arose in another quarter, and under different auspices, and maintained an obstinate contest for considerably more than a century. This school grew up among the monasteries in the south of France. Among its partisans were some of the most eminent bishops of that province. The most distinguished, if not the first founder, of this Gallic Semi-Pelagianism was the monk Cassi- ^{controvers.} annus. The birthplace of Cassianus is uncertain, but if not Greek or Oriental by birth, he was either one or the other, or both, by education.¹ His youth was passed in the Eastern monasteries, first in Bethlehem, afterwards in Egypt. Eastern and Egyptian monachism, like its more remote ancestor in India, and its more immediate parent, the Essenism or Therapeutism of the Jews, was anything but a blind or humble Predestinarianism. It was the strength and triumph of the human will. It was the self-wrought victory over the bondage of matter; the violent avulsion and stern estrangement from all the indulgences, the pursuits,

¹ Notwithstanding the express words of Gennadius, Cassianus natione Scythæ, he has been supposed an African. He is called Afer in the list of ecclesiastical writers by Honorius (lxi. c. 84); an Egyptian (Pagi, Basnage, Fabricius); a Latin (Photius, c. 197); a Gaul (Card. Norris and the Benedictines, Hist. Lit. de la France).

the affections, the society of the world. The dreamy and passive state of the monk, in which he was surrendered to spiritual influences, began not till his own determination had withdrawn him into the austere and eremetical solitude. There man might be commingled, in absolute identity, with the Godhead. Every act of remorseless asceticism was a meritorious demand on the divine approbation. The divine influence was wrestled for and won by the resolute and prevailing votary, not bestowed as the unsought gift of God. Cassianus passed from Egypt to Constantinople, where he became the favored pupil of that Greek Father whose writings are throughout the most adverse to the Augustinian system. The whole theology of Chrysostom, in its general impression, is a plain and practical appeal to the free will of man. He addresses man as invested in an awful responsibility, but as self-dependent, self-determining to good or evil. The depravity against which he inveighs is no inherited, inherent corruption, to be dispossessed only by divine grace, but a personal, spontaneous, self-originating, and self-maintained surrender to evil influences; to be broken off by a vigorous effort of religious faith, to be controlled by severe self-imposed religious discipline. As far as is consistent with prayer and devotion, man is master of his own destiny. The Augustinian questions of predestination, grace, the foreknowledge of God, even, in general, the atonement and the extent of its consequences, lie without the sphere of Chrysostom's theology. Cassianus received at least the first holy orders from Chrysostom. During the disturbances in Constantinople relating to his deposal, Cassianus was sent to Rome on a mission to Pope Innocent I. To the

memory of Chrysostom he preserved the most fervent attachment. Chrysostom was to him a second John the Evangelist.¹

Probably after the fall of Chrysostom, Cassianus settled at Marseilles, and founded two mon-<sup>Cassianus
in Gaul.</sup>asteries, one of men and one of women, in which he introduced the severe discipline of the East. Marseilles was Greek; it retained to a late period the character and, to some degree, the language of a Grecian colony; no doubt, on that account, it was congenial to Cassianus. But Cassianus became so completely master of Latin as to write in that language his Monastic Institutes, the austere and inflexible code followed in most of the cœnobitic foundations north of the Alps; and it is chiefly from this work that posterity can collect the Semi-Pelagian opinions of its author.² Already, however, some of the faithful partisans of Augustine had given the alarm at this tendency towards rebellion against the dictatorship of their master. Prosper and Hilarius denounced this yet more secret defection of those who presumed to impugn with vain objections the holy Augustine on the grace of God.³ The last works which occupied

¹ *Adoptatus a beatissimæ memoriæ Joanne in ministerium sacrum atque oblatum Deo Mementote magistrorum vestrorum veterum sacerdotumque vestrorum Joannis fide ac puritate mirabilis: Joannis inquam, Joannis illius qui verè ad similitudinem Joannis Evangelistæ, et discipulus Jesu et Apostolus, quasi super pectus domini semper affectumque discubuit Qui communis mihi ac vobis magister fuit; cujus discipuli et institutio sumus, et seqq. — Cassianus de Incarn. c. 31.*

² There has been a controversy whether Cassianus was a Semi-Pelagian. With his works before them, even from the same passages of his works, grave and learned men have argued on both sides.

³ *Gratiani Dei, qua Christiani sumus, qui tam dicere audent a sanctæ memoriæ Augustino Episcopo non rectè esse defensam, librosque ejus contra errorem Pelagianum conditos immoderatis calumniis impetere non quiescunt. — Prosper contr. Collatorem, c. 1.*

Augustine were addressed to Prosper and Hilarius, in order to check this daring inroad, and to establish on irrefragable grounds the predestination of the saints and the gift of perseverance.¹

The partisans of Augustine continued to wage the war with all the burning zeal and imperious authority of their master. A school arose, not of theology alone, but of poetry. Prosper, in a long poem, compelled the reluctant language and form of Latin verse to condemn the "ungrateful," who in their wanton pride ascribed partly to themselves, not absolutely to the grace of God, the work of their salvation. Prosper and Hilarius were followed by a long line of assertors of the Augustinian Predestinarianism, of which Fulgentius was the most rigid and inexorable advocate.²

Cassianus, on the other side, handed down to a succession of more or less bold disciples the aversion to the extreme views of Augustine. It is doubtful whether the Vincentius, who espoused his opinions, was the celebrated Abbot of Lerins, the author of the 'Commonitory.' At a later period Faustus, Bishop of Riez, brought the sanction of learning, high character, and sanctity to the same cause.

Semi-Pelagianism aspired to hold the balance between Pelagius and Augustine;³ to steer a safe and middle course between the abysses into which each, on

¹ De Prædestinatione Sanctorum liber ad Prosperum et Hilarium . . . De dono perseverantiæ liber ad Prosperum et Hilarium secundus.

² Fulgentius was the predecessor of that modern divine who is said to have spoken of the *comfortable* doctrine of the eternal damnation of little children.

³ Sed nec cum hæreticis tibi, nec cum Catholicis plena concordia est . . . tu informe, nescio quid, tertium et utraque parte inconveniens reperisti, quo nec inimicorum consensum acquireres, nec in nostrorum permaneres.— Prosper, c. ii. p. 117.

either side, had plunged in desperate presumption.¹ It emphatically repudiated the heresy of Pelagius in the denial of original sin; it asserted divine grace, but it seemed to confine divine grace to the outward means, the Scriptures and the sacraments, rather than to its inward and direct workings on the soul itself.

But it condemned with equal resolution the system of Augustine, by which the grace of God was hardened into an iron necessity; it reproached him with that Manicheism which divided mankind into two hard antagonistic masses.²

But of all religious controversies this alone had the merit of not growing up into a fatal and implacable schism.³ The Semi-Pelagians, though condemned in several successive councils, were not cast out of the Church, and did not therefore form separate and hostile communities. This rare mutual respect, which now prevailed, is no doubt to be attributed to one important cause. The monasteries, which were held in such profound and universal veneration, were the chief schools of these doctrines; some

¹ Compare Walch, v. p. 56.

² Compare the letter of Prosper to Rufinus, in which Augustine is said to make *duas humani generis massas*, an error as bad as that of heathens or Manicheans.

³ No question has been more disputed in later days, or with less certain result, than whether there was a distinct sect of Predestinarians at this period. The controversy originated in the publication of a remarkable tract, the "*Prædestinatus*," by the Jesuit Sirmond. The great object was to clear the memory of Augustine, who was claimed both by Jesuits and Jansenists. Such a sect, if it existed, would carry off from St. Augustine all the charges heaped upon Predestinarianism at that time. If they were *heretics*, Augustine was of unimpeached orthodoxy, and therefore could not have held a condemnable Predestinarianism. Walch discusses the question at length, vol. v.

of the most austere and most admired of these Cœnobites were the chief assertors of the free will of man.¹

¹ Prosper himself betrays this enforced respect and its peculiar source:—

Nec tibi fallacis subrepat imago decoris,
Nullum ex his errare putes, licet in Cruce vitam
Ducant, et jugi afficiant sua corpora morte:
Abstineant opibus; sint casti; sintque benigni;
Terrenisque ferant animum super astra relictis;
Si tamen hæc propria virtute capessere quanquam
Posse putant, sive ut dignus labor iste juvari
Ingenium meruisse aiunt bona vera petentis;
Crescere quo cupiunt, minuuntur; proficundo
Deficiunt; surgendo cadunt, currendo recedunt;
Unde etenim vani frustra splendescere querunt,
Inde obscurantur: quoniam sua, laudis amore,
Non quæ sunt Christi querunt, nec fit Deus illis
Principium et capiti non dant in corpore regnum.

Prosper ad Agrestes, xxxvii.

CHAPTER III.

NESTORIANISM.

ZOSIMUS filled the See of Rome only a year and nine months. His short pontificate was agitated not only by the Pelagian controversy, but by disputes with the bishops of Southern Gaul and of Africa, hereafter to be considered when the relations of those provinces to the See of Rome shall take their place in our history.

Mar. 18, 417.
Dec. 26, 419.
Death of
Zosimus.

The death of Zosimus gave rise to the third contested election for the See of Rome.

The greater the dignity of the Bishop of Rome, and the more lofty his pretensions to supremacy, the more would ambition covet this post of power and distinction; the more, on the other hand, would holy and Christian emulation aspire to place the worthiest prelate in this commanding station; and men's opinions would not always concur as to the ecclesiastic best qualified to preside over Western Christendom. Thus while the most ungovernable worldly passions and interests would intrude themselves into the election, honest religious zeal, often the blindest, always the most obstinate of human motives, would esteem it a sacred duty to espouse, an impious weakness to abandon, some favorite cause.

Disputed
election,
Dec. 27, 28.

The unsettled form of the election, and the unde-

Unsettled
form of
election.

fixed rights of the electors, could not but increase the difficulty and exasperate the strife. The absolute nomination by the clergy would have been no security against contested elections ; for in every double election a large part of the clergy was ranged on either side, and formed the rival factions. A certain assent of the people was still considered necessary to ratify the appointment. At all events, the people looked on the election with such profound interest, during a contest with such violent excitement, that it was impossible to exclude them from interference : and both factions were so anxious for their support, that only the losing party would see the impropriety of their tumultuous mingling in the fray. The election of the Bishop was now as much an affair of the whole city as that of a consul or a dictator of old, without the ancient and time-honored regulations for collecting the suffrages by centuries or by tribes.

And who were the people? Was this right equally shared by all the members of the religious community, now almost coextensive in number with the inhabitants of the city? Had the Senate any special privilege, or were all these rights of the laity vested in the Emperor alone as the supreme civil power, and so in the Prefect of Rome, the representative of imperial authority? The popular universal suffrage, which, in a small primitive church, one pervaded with pure Christian piety, tended to harmony, became an uncontrolled democratic anarchy when the bishopric included a vast city. It is surprising that this difficulty, which was not removed until, at a comparatively recent period, the election was vested in the College of Cardinals, was not fatal to the supremacy

of Rome. But though the wild scenes of anarchy and tumult, which, especially from the eighth to the eleventh century, impaired the authority of the Pope in Rome itself, and desecrated his person; though the successful Pontiff was often only the head of a triumphant faction, and was either disobeyed, or obeyed with undisguised reluctance, by the defeated party; still distance seemed to soften off all this unseemly confusion, above which the Pope appeared seated on his serene and lofty throne in undiminished majesty. It constantly happened that at the very time at which in Rome the Pope was insulted, maltreated, wounded, imprisoned, driven from the city, the extreme parts of Christendom were bowing to his decrees in unshaken reverence.

Twice already — perhaps more than twice — had Rome been afflicted with a fierce and prolonged contest. The austere bigotry of Novatian had maintained his claim against the authority of Cornelius. Felix had been the antipope to Liberius. The streets of Rome had run with blood, the churches had been defiled with dead bodies, in the more recent strife of Damasus and Ursicinus.

On the death of Zosimus, some of the clergy chose the Archdeacon Eulalius in the Lateran Church; on the same, or the next day, a larger number met in the Church of S. Theodora, and elected the Presbyter Boniface. Three bishops, among whom was the Bishop of Ostia; either compelled, it was said, or, yielding through the weakness of extreme old age, consecrated Eulalius. Boniface was inaugurated by nine bishops, in the presence of seventy ^{Double} presbyters, in the Church of St. Marcellus. ^{election.}

Rome might apprehend the return of those terrible and bloody days which marked the elevation of Damasus. The Prefect of Rome was Symmachus, son of that eloquent orator who had defended with so much energy the lost cause of paganism. The outward conformity, at least, of Symmachus to Christianity may be presumed from the favor of Honorius; but it is curious to find a contest for the Papacy dependent for its decision on the son of such a father. Symmachus, in his report to the Emperor, inclines toward the party Eulalius. of Eulalius. Boniface was summoned to Ravenna. He delayed to obey the mandate, which reached him when he was performing his sacred functions without the city; the officers of the Prefect were maltreated by the populace of his party. The gates of Rome, therefore, were closed upon Boniface, and Jan. 8. Eulalius, in great state, amid the acclamations of part, at least, of the people, took possession of St. Peter's, the Capitol, as it were, of Christianity.

The party of Boniface were not inactive, or without influence at the court of Ravenna. The petition to the Emperor declared that all the Presbyters of Rome would accompany Boniface, to make known her will, or, rather, the judgment of God.¹ Honorius issued a rescript, with supercilious impartiality commanding both prelates to remain at a distance from the city, until the cause should be decided by a synod of bishops from Italy, Gaul, and Africa. In the mean time, as the Roman people could not be deprived of the solemn rites of Easter, Achilleus, Bishop of Spoleto, was ordered to officiate during the vacancy.

Edict of Honorius. ¹ *Prelectis singulis Titulis, presbyteri omnes aderunt, qui voluntatem suam, hoc est, judicium Dei proloquantur. — Apud Baronium, sub ann. 419.*

Eulalius would not endure this sacrilegious usurpation of the powers of his see. He surprised by night, at the head of that part of the populace which was on his side, the Lateran Church ; and in contempt of the Emperor's orders, celebrated the holy rites. But the days of successful conflict with the civil power were not yet come. The rashness of Eulalius estranged even Symmachus from his cause : ¹ this act was treated as one of rebellion. Eulalius was expelled from the city. He was threatened, as well as all the ^{Mar. 12-23.} clergy who adhered to him, with still more fearful penalties. The laity who communicated with Eulalius were to be punished, the higher orders with banishment and confiscation, slaves with death. The primates of the Regions of Rome were to be responsible for all popular tumults. Such was the commanding judgment of the Emperor.²

Boniface took possession without further contest of the Pontifical throne. He was the son of a ^{Boniface} presbyter ^{Pope} named Jocondus, a Roman by ^{Apr. 10.} birth ; he was an aged prelate, of mild and blameless character ; wisely anxious to prevent, as far as possible, the scandals, and even crimes, in which he had been so nearly involved. He addressed the Emperor, urging the enactment of a law, a civil law, which should restrain ecclesiastical ambition, and coerce those who aspired to obtain by intrigue, what ought to be the reward of piety and holiness. Honorius issued an edict, that in case of a contested election both the rival candidates should be excluded from the office, and a new appointment made. Thus the Imperial power

¹ Symmachi rescript. apud Baron.

² See the rescript of Honorius, apud Baronium

³ Platin. vit. Bonifac.

assumed, and was acknowledged to possess, full authority to regulate the election of Bishops of Rome.¹ During the three years of the pontificate of Boniface, the Pelagian controversy was still drawing out its almost interminable length.

On the death of Boniface,² Eulalius refused to leave the seclusion into which he had retired; the decline of life may have softened his ambition — for he died the Sept. 4, 422. following year. Celestine was elected, and ruled in peace the See of Rome. The Pontificates of

Nov. 10. Celestine I. Celestine I.³ and his successor Sixtus I.⁴ were occupied by the Nestorian controversy: occupied, but hardly disturbed. The East, as it has appeared, had stood aloof serene and unimpassioned throughout the Pelagian controversy; in Palestine, the Latin Jerome alone, and his partisans the two Western bishops of doubtful fame, would not endure the presence of Pelagius. In Alexandria and Constantinople, Predestination, Grace, Free Will, excited no tumults, arrayed against each other no hostile factions, demanded no councils. The Bishop of Constantinople pronounced his authoritative decrees, which no one desired to question; and expelled from his diocese Celestius, or Pelagius himself, whom no one cared to defend. They alone, of all powerful heresiarchs in Constantinople, neither distracted the Imperial court, nor maddened popular faction.

Latin Christianity contemplated with almost equal indifference Nestorianism, and all its prolific Indifference of the West. race, Eutychianism, Monophysitism, Mono-

¹ Rescriptum Honorii, apud Baronjum.

² Boniface died Nov. 4, 422.

³ Celestine I., Nov. 10, 422; died July, 432.

⁴ Sixtus I., 432; died 440.

thelitism. While in this contest the two great Patriarchates of the East, Constantinople and Alexandria, brought to issue, or strove to bring to issue, their rival claims to ascendancy ; while council after council promulgated, reversed, reënacted their conflicting decrees ; while separate and hostile communities were formed in every region of the East ; and the fears of persecuted Nestorianism, stronger than religious zeal, penetrated for refuge remote countries, into which Christianity had not yet found its way : in the West there was no Nestorian, or Eutychian sect. Some councils condemned, but with hardly an audible remonstrance, these uncongenial heresies : the doctrines are condemned, but there appears no body of heretics whom it is thought necessary to strike with the anathema.

In the East, religion ceased more and more to be an affair of pure religion. It was mingled up with all the intrigues of the Imperial court, ^{State of the East.} with all the furies of faction in the great cities. The council was the arena, not merely for Christian doctrine, but for worldly ascendancy. Secular ambition could no longer be distinguished, nor could the warring prelates themselves distinguish it, from zeal for orthodoxy. Religious questions being decided by the favor of the Emperor, the Empress, or the ruling minister, eunuch or barbarian, that favor was sought by the most unscrupulous means — by intrigue, by adulation, by bribery ; and these means became hallowed. There was no sacrifice with which Alexandria would not purchase superiority over Constantinople, or Constantinople over Alexandria : the rivalry of the sees darkened into the fiercest personal hostility.

In the mean time the Bishop of Rome, unembarrassed

with the intricacies of the question, which had no temptation for his more practical understanding, with the whole West participating in his comparative apathy, could sit, at a distance, a tranquil arbiter, and interfere only when he saw his own advantage, or when all parties, exasperated or wearied out, gladly submitted to any foreign or unpledged judgment. The Eastern prelates, too eager to destroy each other, were either blind to, or in the heat of mutual detestation disregarded this silent aggression, and admitted principles without suspicion fatal to their own independence.

On the nature of the Godhead the inexhaustible East had not yet nearly run the whole round of speculative thought; the Greek language still found new gradations on which it might employ its fine and subtle distinctiveness. All these controversies, which began anew with Nestorianism, sprang by lineal and unbroken descent from the great ancestral principle. The same Oriental tenet (however it may not, at first sight, be apparent) which gave birth to the various Gnostic sects, and to Manicheism, had lain at the root of Arianism,¹ now quickened into life Nestorianism and all its kindred race. Arianism had arisen out of that profound sense of the malignancy of matter, which in its grosser influence had led to

¹ Hist. of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 443. Add to the authorities there quoted this decisive passage from Arius himself, apud Athanas. xvi. de Syn. ei δὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἐκ γαστρὸς (Psalm, cx. 8) καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξηλθόν, καὶ ἦκω, ὡς μέρος αὐτοῦ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ὡς προβολὴ ὑπὸ τῶν νοεῖται, σύνθετος ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ καὶ διαπετὸς καὶ τρεπετὸς καὶ σῶμα κατ' αὐτοῦς. Arius accused his adversaries of destroying this pure spirituality of the Father, by asserting the *ὁμοούσια* of the Son. The Father became likewise composed of parts, divisible, mutable, corporeal, and to him this was an unanswerable argument.

the Manichean Dualism. The pure, primal, parental Deity must stand entirely aloof from all connection with that in which evil was inherent, inveterate, inextinguishable. This was the absolute essence of Deity ; this undisturbed, unattainted Spiritualism, which disdained, repelled, abhorred the contact, the approximation of the Corporeal, which once assimilating to, or condescending to assume any of the attributes of Matter, ceased to be the Godhead.

By the triumph of the Athanasian Trinitarianism, and by the gradual dominance which it had ob-^{Trinitarian-}tained over the general mind of Christendom,^{ism estab-} the coequal and consubstantial Godhead in the Trinity^{lished.} had become an article of the universal creed in the Latin Church. Arianism survived only among the barbarians. The East adhered almost as generally to the Creed of Nicea. The Son, therefore, had become, if the expression may be ventured, more and more divine ; he was more completely not merely assimilated, but absolutely identified, with the original, perfect, uncontaminated Godhead. Yet his descent into the material world, his admixture with the external, the sensible, the created—his assumption of the form and being of man (which all agreed to be essential to the Christian scheme, not in seeming alone, according to the Docetic notion, but actually and really)—must be guarded by the same jealousy of infecting his pure and spiritual essence by the earthly contagion : that which would have been fatal to the spirituality of the Father, might endanger the same prerogative of the Son. The divine and human nature could not indeed be kept separate, but they must be united with the least possible sacrifice of their essential at-

tributes. If (according to Nestorius) the Eternal and Coequal Word were *born*, this was a denial of his preëxistence; and to assert that he could be liable to passion or suffering,¹ in the same manner violated the pure spirituality of the Godhead. He proposed, therefore, that the appellation, Christ, should be confined, and, as it were, kept sacred, as signifying the Being, composed of the blended, yet unconfounded, God and man; and that the Virgin should be the mother of Christ, the God-man, not the mother of God, of the unassociated divinity.² This is the key to the whole controversy. Never was there a case in which the contending parties approximated so closely. Both subscribed, both appealed to the Nicene Creed; both admitted the preëxistence, the impassibility of the Eternal Word; but the fatal duty, which the Christians in that age, and unhappily in subsequent ages, have imposed upon themselves, of considering the detection of heresy the first of religious obligations, mingled, as it now was, with human passions and interests, made the breach irreparable. Men like Cyril of Alexandria, in whom religion might seem to have inflamed and embittered, instead of allaying, the worst passions of our nature, pride, ambition, cruelty, rapacity; and Councils like that of Ephesus, with all the tumult and violence without the dignity of a senate or popular assembly, convulsed the East, and led to a fierce and irreconcilable schism.

The stern repudiation of the term, the Mother of God, encountered another sentiment, which had been rapidly growing up, as one of the

Worship of
the Virgin.

¹ Patibilia.

² Χριστοτοκός, not Θεοτοκός.

dominant influences of the Christian mind. The worship of the Virgin had arisen from the confluence of many pure and gentle, and many natural feelings. The reverence for everything connected with the Redeemer, especially by ties so close and tender, would not with cold jealousy watch and limit its ardent language. The more absolute deification, if it may be so said, of Christ; the forgetfulness of his humanity induced by his investment in more remote and awful Godhead, — created a want of some more kindred and familiar object of adoration. The worship of the intermediate saints admitted that of the Virgin as its least dangerous, most affecting, most consolatory part. The exquisite beauty and purity of the images, the Virgin Mother and the Divine Infant, though not as yet embodied in the highest art, by painting or sculpture, appealed to the unreasoning and unsuspecting heart. To this was added, the superior influence with which Christianity had invested the female sex, and which naturally clave to this gentler and kindred object of adoring love. In one of the earliest documents relating to this controversy, the honor conferred on the female sex by the birth of the Lord from the Virgin Mary is dwelt upon in glowing terms: woman's glory is inseparably connected with that of the Virgin Mother. The power exercised by females at the court of Constantinople, now by the sisters and wives, the Pulcherias and Eudoxias, at other times, by the mothers of Emperors, the Helenas and Irenes, as in some degree springing from Christianity, was strengthened by, and in its turn strengthened, this adoration of the Virgin Mary, which interposed itself between that of Christ, and

still more that of God the Father, and the worshipping Christian.

With this view accords the whole course of the history. On the death of Sisinnius Bishop of Constantinople, the Emperor, the younger Theodosius, to terminate the intrigues and factions among the clergy of the city, summoned Nestorius from Antioch to the Episcopal Throne of the Eastern Rome.¹ Nestorius appeared, simple in his dress, grave in his demeanor, pale and meagre from ascetic observances, and with the fame of surpassing eloquence.² He revived to the expecting city the fond remembrance of Chrysostom, who, like him, had been called from Antioch to Constantinople.³ The Golden Mouth was again to appall and delight the city. But the religion of Chrysostom, from its strong practical character, had escaped that speculative tinge which seemed natural to the Syrian mind. The last lingering vestiges of Gnosticism survived in Syria. Arius, though not a Syrian Presbyter, found his most ardent adherents in that province; and now from the same quarter sprang this new theory, which, though it rested its claim to orthodoxy on its irreconcilable hostility to Arianism, grew out of the same principle.

Anastasius, a presbyter, who accompanied Nestorius from Antioch, first sounded the clarion of strife and confusion. He publicly preached that it was improper and even impious to

Promotion of
Nestorius,
A.D. 428.

Commence-
ment of Nes-
torianism,
A.D. 429.

¹ Nestorius was a Syrian, a native of Germanicia. — Socrat. vii. 29. Theodoret, Hæret. Fab. iv. 12. Simeon Batharsam. apud Assemani, Biblioth. Orient. i. 346.

² Tantâ antea opinione vixisti, ut tuis te aliena civitas invideret. Such is the honorable testimony borne to the character of Nestorius by Pope Celestine. — Epistol. ad Nestor., Mansi, iv. 1206.

³ Cassian De Incarn. vii. 30. Tillemont, page 286.

address the Virgin Mary as the Mother of God. The indignation and excitement of the city was heightened by fast-spreading rumors, that the Bishop not merely refused to silence the sacrilegious Presbyter, but openly avowed the same opinion.¹ As is usual, the subtle distinctions of Nestorius were unheard or unintelligible to the common ear. He proscribed an appellation to which the pulpits and the services of the Church had habituated the general mind. The tenet jarred upon the high-strung sensitiveness of an inveterate faith, and awoke resentment, on which the finest argument was lost. In the great Metropolitan Church the Bishop delivered a sermon on the Incar-^{Sermons of Nestorius.} nation of the Lord.² As an orator he placed his own theory in the most brilliant light.³ He dwelt on the omnipotence, the glory, and all the transcendent attributes of God the Creator, and of God the Redeemer. "And can this God have a mother?"⁴ "The heathen notion of a God born of a mortal mother is directly confuted by St. Paul, who declares the Lord without father and without mother. Could a creature bear the Uncreated? Could the Word which was with the Father before the worlds, become a new-born infant? The human nature alone was born of the Virgin: that which is of the flesh is flesh.⁴ The manhood was the instrument of the divine purposes, the outward and visible vesture of the Invisible. God was incarnate, indeed, but God died not; his death was but casting off the weeds of mortality, which he had assumed for a time." A second

¹ Socrates, H. E. vii. 29, 32.

² Socrates, H. E. vii. 32. Evagrius, i. 2. Liberatus, Breviar. c. 4

³ Socrates, ut supra.

⁴ Marius Mercator, edit. Garnier, ii. p. 5.

and a third sermon followed, in which Nestorius still further unfolded his opinions: "Like can but bear like; a human mother can only bear a human being. God was not born — he dwelt in that which was born; the Divinity underwent not the slow process of growth and development during the nine months of pregnancy." But the more perplexing and subtle are arguments addressed to those whose judgment is already ratified by their passions, they only inflame resentment instead of working conviction. The whole city was in an uproar; every ecclesiastical rule broken asunder. The presbyters, in every quarter, preached against their bishop; and a bold monk (the monks were always the faithful representatives of the religious passions of their age) forbade the Bishop, as an obstinate heretic, to approach the altar. Nestorius (and in all his subsequent afflictions it must be remembered that, when in power, he scrupled not to persecute) did not bear these insults with Christian equanimity, or repress them with calm dignity. The refractory priests and the tumultuous people were seized, tried, and scourged more cruelly than in a land of barbarians. Nestorius, it is said, with his own hand, struck the presumptuous monk, and then made him over to the officers, who flogged him through the streets, with a crier going before to proclaim his offence, and then cast him out of the city.¹

¹ This is the account indeed of a partisan — the report of Basilus to the Emperor Theodosius. Labbe, Concil. But his whole history shows the persecuting spirit of Nestorius:—"The fifth day after his consecration he endeavored to deprive the Arians of their church: they burned it down in despair. He was called by his enemies Nestorius the Incendiary." Socrat. vii. 29. He excited also a violent persecution against the Novatians, Quarto-decimans and Macedonians.—Ibid. et c. 31. The most damning fact against him, however, is his own boast that he procured

Nestorius found in Constantinople itself a more dangerous antagonist. On a festival in honor of the Virgin, Proclus Bishop of Cyzicum (an unsuccessful rival, it is said, of Nestorius for the Metropolitan See) delivered a passionate appeal to the dominant feeling. The worship of the Virgin, in the most poetic ages of Christianity, has hardly surpassed the images which Proclus poured forth in lavish profusion in honor of the Mother of God. "Earth and sea did homage to the Virgin, the sea smoothing its serene waters, earth conducting the secure travellers who thronged to her festival. Nature exulted, and womankind was glorified." "We are assembled in honor of the Mother of God" (the appellation condemned by Nestorius); "the spotless treasure-house of virginity; the spiritual paradise of the second Adam; the workshop, in which the two natures were annealed together; the bridal chamber in which the Word wedded the flesh; the living bush of nature, which was unharmed by the fire of the divine birth; the light cloud which bore Him which sate between the Cherubim; the stainless fleece, bathed in the dews of Heaven, with which the Shepherd clothed his sheep; the handmaid and the mother, the Virgin and Heaven;" — and so on through a wild labyrinth of untranslatable meta-

an imperial law of the utmost severity against all heretics: *Ego, certe legem inter ipsa mese ordinationis initia contra eos, qui Christum purum hominem dicunt, et contra reliquas hæreses innovavi.* Mansi, v. 781 or 783. For the Law, see Cod. Theodos. de Hæret. Vincentius Lirinensis writes of Nestorius, *Ut uni hæresi aditum patefaceret, cunctarum hæreseon blasphemias insectabatur.* — Commonit. c. 16. Nestorius was in character a monk, without humility. "Give me (such is the speech ascribed to him as addressed to the Emperor) a world freed from heresy, and I will give you the kingdom of heaven. Aid me in subduing the heretics, I will aid you in routing the Persians."

phor.¹ The cloudy opening cleared off into something like argument; it became an elaborate reply to Nestorius, the declaration of war from one who felt his strength in the popular feeling.

But the war was not confined to Constantinople; it involved the whole East. Now rushed forward an adversary far more formidable in station, in ability, in that character for Christian orthodoxy of doctrine which then hallowed every act, even every crime, but from which true Christianity would avert its sight in shame and anguish, that such a champion should be accepted as the representative of the Gospel of peace and love. Cyril of Alexandria, to those who esteem the stern and uncompromising assertion of certain Christian tenets the one paramount Christian virtue, may be the hero, even the saint: but while ambition, intrigue, arrogance, rapacity, and violence are proscribed as unchristian means — barbarity, persecution, bloodshed as unholy and unevangelic wickednesses — posterity will condemn the orthodox Cyril as one of the worst of heretics against the spirit of the Gospel. Who would not meet the judgment of the Divine Redeemer loaded with the errors of Nestorius, rather than with the barbarities of Cyril?

Cyril was the nephew of Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, the worthy successor to the see and to the character of that haughty and unscrupulous pre-

¹ This sermon of Proclus (to be found Labbe, Concil. sub ann.) is said, in the ancient preface, to have been delivered in the great church, in the presence of Nestorius. Nestorius appears to have answered this attack with moderation. In dieser ganzer Rede (the answer of Nestorius) herrschet so viel Bescheidenheit, als gewiss in andern polemischen Schriften dieses Zeitalters kaum angetroffen wird. — Walch, p. 376.

ate, the enemy of Chrysostom. Jealousy and animosity towards the Bishop of Constantinople was a sacred legacy bequeathed by Theophilus to his nephew, and Cyril faithfully administered the fatal trust. He inherited even the bitter personal hatred of Chrysostom; refused to concur in the general respect for his memory, and in the reversal, after his death, of the unjust sentence of deposition from his see. He scrupled not to call the eloquent, and in all religious tenets and principles absolutely blameless Christian orator, a second Judas.¹ The general voice of Christendom alone compelled him to desist from this posthumous persecution. Nor was Cyril content without surpassing his haughty kinsman in the pretensions of his archiepiscopate. From his accession, observes the ecclesiastical historian of the time, the bishops of Alexandria aspired, far beyond the limits of the sacerdotal power, to rule with sovereign authority.² They confronted, and, as will appear, contended on equal terms and with the same weapons, against the Imperial magistracy.³

The first act of Cyril's episcopacy was that of a persecutor. He closed the churches of the Novatians, seized and confiscated all their sacred treasures, and stripped the bishop of all his possessions. The war which he commenced against the heretics he continued against the Jews and heathens. But the numerous and wealthy Jews of Alexandria, who multiplied as fast as they

¹ Epist. ad Attic. apud Labbe, 204.

² Καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἐκείνου ἡ ἐπισκόπη Ἀλεξανδρείας, παρὰ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως καταδυναστεύειν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. Socrat. H. E. vii. 7.

³ Ibid. loc. cit.

were diminished by their own feuds or feuds with the Christians, were not to be oppressed so easily as a small and unpopular sect of Christians. Cyril must have been well acquainted with the fierce and violent temperament of the Alexandrian populace, and with their proverbial character, that their factions never ended without bloodshed.¹ But Cyril had himself too much of the hot Egyptian blood in his veins; and the bishop, instead of allaying this sanguinary propensity by the gentle and humanizing influences of Christianity, was rarely the last to raise the banner of strife, never the first to lay it down, never laid it down until his enemies were prostrate at his feet. Both Jews and Christians in Alexandria had so far departed from the primitive habits of their religion, that their most frequent and dangerous collisions took place in the theatre; and the drama, in its noblest form a part of the pagan religion, had now degenerated into such immodest or savage exhibitions, or in itself gave rise to such maddening factions that, instead of allaying hostile feelings by the common amusement and hilarity, it inflamed them to fiercer animosity.² The contested merits of a pantomimic actor now exasperated the mutual hatred of the religious parties. Orestes, the prefect of the city, determined to suppress these tumults, and ordered strict police regulations to that effect to be hung up in the theatre. Certain partisans of the archbishop entered the theatre, with the innocent design, it is said, of

¹ Δίχα γὰρ αἰμαρὸς οὐ πάτεραι τῆς ἐρημίας. Socrat. vii. 18.

² These entertainments usually took place on the Jewish Sabbath, and on that idle day the theatre was thronged with Jews, who preferred this profane amusement to the holy worship of their Synagogue. — Hist. of Jews, iii. 199.

reading this proclamation. Among these was one Hierax, a low schoolmaster, a man conspicuous as an admirer of Cyril, whom he was wont (according to common usage in the church) to applaud vehemently whenever he preached. From what cause is not quite clear, the Jews supposed themselves insulted by the presence of Hierax ;¹ they raised a violent outcry that the man was there only to stir up a tumult. Orestes, jealous, it is said, of the archbishop on account of his encroachments on the civil authority, sided with the Jews, ordered Hierax to be seized as a disturber of the peace and publicly scourged. The archbishop sent for the principal Jews, and threatened them with exemplary vengeance, if they did not cause all tumults against the Christians to cease. The Jews determined to anticipate the menace of their adversaries. Having put on rings of palm bark, in order to distinguish each other in the dark, they suddenly, at the dead of night, raised a cry that the great church, called that of Alexander, was on fire. The Christians rose and rushed from all quarters to save the church. The Jews fell upon them and massacred on all sides. When day dawned, the cause of the uproar was manifest. The archbishop placed himself at the head of a formidable force, attacked the synagogue of the Jews, expelled the whole race, no doubt not without much bloodshed, from the city, and allowed the populace to pillage all their vast wealth. The Jews, who from the time of Alexander had inhabited the city, were thus cast forth

¹ My suggestion, in a former work, that these regulations might have appointed different days for the different races of the people to attend the theatre, would make the story more clear. The excuse which Socrates suggests for the presence of Hierax implies that he had no business there.

naked and outraged from its walls. The strong part which Orestes took against the archbishop, and his regret at the expulsion of so many thriving and opulent Jews from the city, warrant the suspicion that their rising was not without great provocation. Both parties sent representations to the Emperor: in the interval Cyril was compelled by the people of Alexandria to make overtures of reconciliation.¹ On one occasion he went forth to meet Orestes with the Gospel in his hand: the prefect, probably supposing that he had not much of its spirit in his heart, refused his advances.

The monks of the Nitrian desert had already been employed in the persecutions by Theophilus.

Monks of
Nitria.

These fiery champions of the Church took arms, to the number of five hundred, and poured into the city to strengthen the faction of the patriarch. They surrounded the chariot of the prefect, insulted him, and heaped on him the opprobrious names of heathen and idolater. The prefect protested, but in vain, that he had been baptized by Atticus, Bishop of Constantinople. One of these monks, named Ammonius, hurled a great stone and struck him on the head; the blood gushed forth, and his affrighted attendants fled on all sides. But the character of Orestes stood high with the people. The Alexandrians rose in defence of their magistrate; the monks were driven from the city; Ammonius seized, tortured, and put to death. Cyril commanded his body to be taken up: the honors of a Christian martyr were prostituted on this insolent ruffian; his panegyric was pronounced in the Church, and he was named Thaumasius, the Won-

¹ Τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ λαὸς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων αὐτὸν ποιεῖν κατηνάγκασεν.
Socrat. loc. cit.

derful. But the more Christian of the Christians were shocked at the conduct of the Archbishop. Cyril was for once ashamed, and glad to bury the affair in oblivion.

But before long his adherents were guilty of a more atrocious and an unprovoked crime, of the guilt of which a deep suspicion attached to Cyril. All Alexandria respected, honored, took pride in the celebrated *Hypatia*. She was a woman of extraordinary learning; in her was centered the lingering knowledge of that Alexandrian Platonism cultivated by Plotinus and his school. Her beauty was equal to her learning; her modesty commended both. She mingled freely with the philosophers without suspicion to her lofty and unblemished character. Hypatia lived in great intimacy with the prefect Orestes; the only charge whispered against her was that she encouraged him in his hostility to the patriarch. Cyril, on the other hand, is said not to have been superior to an unworthy jealousy at the greater concourse of hearers to the lectures of the elegant Platonist than to his own sermons.¹ Some of Cyril's ferocious partisans seized this woman, dragged her from her chariot, and with the most revolting indecency tore her clothes off, and then rent her limb from limb.² The Christians of Alexandria did this, professing to be actuated by Christian zeal in the cause of a Christian prelate. No wonder, in the words of the ecclesiastical historian, that by such a deed a deep stain was fixed on Cyril and the Church of Alexandria.³

¹ Socrates, H. E. vii. 13.

² Damascius apud Suidam.

³ Τοῦτο δὲ μικρὸν μῶμον Κυρίλλῳ, καὶ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰργασετο. Socrat. loc. cit.

It was this man who now stood forth as the head and representative of Eastern Christendom, the assertor of pure Christian doctrine, the antagonist of heresy on the episcopal throne of Constantinople. Cyril against Nestorius. Cyril was not blind to the advantage offered by this opportunity of humiliating or crushing by this odious imputation the Bishop of the Imperial See, which aspired to dispute with Alexandria the primacy of the East. The patriarchs of Alexandria had seen the rise of Constantinople with undissembled jealousy. To this primacy Antioch, perhaps Jerusalem, might advance some pretensions. Ephesus boasted of her connection with St. John. But Byzantium had been a poor see under the jurisdiction of Heraclea; its claim rested entirely on the city having become the seat of empire. This jealousy had been, no doubt, the latent cause of the bitter and persevering hostility of Theophilus towards Chrysostom. The more ambitious Cyril might now renew the contest with less suspicion of unworthy motives; he was waging war, not against a rival, but against a heretic.

The intelligence of the disturbances in Constantinople and the unpopular doctrines favored at least by Nestorius spread rapidly to Alexandria; the monks of both regions probably maintained a close correspondence. Cyril commenced his operations by an Easter sermon, in which, without introducing the name of Nestorius, he denounced his doctrines. He followed up the blow with four epistles, at certain intervals: one addressed to his faithful partisans, the monks of Egypt; one to the Emperor; one to the Empress mother, the guardian of her son; the last to Nestorius himself. The address to the Emperor commences in

an Oriental tone of adulation, the servility of which would have been as abhorrent to an ancient Roman as its impiety to a primitive Christian. The Emperor is the image of God upon earth: as the Divine Majesty fills heaven and awes the angels, so his serene dignity the earth, and is the source of all human happiness. This emperor was the feeble boy, Theodosius II. To the Empresses, the mother and the sister of Theodosius, as more worthy auditors, and judges better qualified to enter on such high mysteries, Cyril pours out all the treasures of his theology. In the letter to Nestorius, who, it seems, had taken offence at the dissemination of the address to the Egyptian monks in Constantinople, Cyril states, with some calmness, that the whole Christian world, Rome, Syria, Alexandria, were equally shocked by the denial of the title "Mother of God" to the Blessed Virgin.¹ This epistle was followed by a second, which called forth an answer from Nestorius. This answer, as well as the whole of the controversy, more completely betrays the leading notions which had obtained such full possession of the mind of Nestorius. The Godhead, as immaterial, is essentially impassible. The coeternal Word must be impassible, as the coeternal Father.² The human

¹ Labbe, Concil. iii. p. 51.

² Καὶ τὸν θεῖον ἐκείνου τῶν πατέρων εὐρήσεις χορὸν, οὐ τὴν δημοσίῳθεν θεότητα παθητὴν εἰρήκοτα, οὐδὲ ἀναστᾶσαν τὸν λεγόμενον ναὴν ἀναστήσαστα. Epist. Nestor., apud Labbe, p. 321. Τὸν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀπαθῆ, κηρέχθεντα, καὶ δευτέρας γεννήσεως ἀδεκτον, πάλιν παθητὸν, καὶ νεκτικτον οὐκ ὡς ὅπως εἰσηγεν, p. 322. This is throughout the point at issue. Compare the third part (in the Concil. Labbe) containing the twelve chapters of Cyril, the objections of the Oriental prelates, and the apology of Cyril for each separate chapter. The one party contend against the passibility, the mutability of the Godhead; Christ being God, is ἀπαθής καὶ ἀαλλοίωτος. The flesh, which endured all the passion and the change,

nature was the temple in which dwelt the serene and impassive Divinity. To degrade the Divinity to the brute and material processes of gestation, birth, passion, death, the inalienable accidents of the flesh and the flesh alone, was pure heathenism, or a heresy worse than that of Arius or Apollinaris. Cyril himself is driven by this difficulty to the very verge of Nestorian opinions, and to admit that the Godhead cannot properly be asserted to have suffered wounds and death.¹ But throughout this age the strong repulsive power of religious difference subdues the feebler attractive force of conciliation and peace. The epistolary altercation between Cyril and Nestorius grew fiercer, and with less hope of reconciliation. Nestorius, though he might not foresee the formidable confederacy which was organizing itself against him, might yet have known on what dangerous ground he stood even in

State of Constantinople.

Constantinople. The clergy of both factions, who had engaged in the strife for the advancement of Philippus or of Proclus, the rivals of the ruling archbishop for the see, mutually indignant at the intrusion of a stranger, were already combined in hatred towards Nestorius. All the monks were furious partisans of the "Mother of God." Against

was intimately connected with the Deity; was its pavilion, its dwelling-place; and this may explain "The Word became Flesh." Compare pp. 844, 881, 892.

¹ Cyril was reduced to the expression *ἀπαθὺς ἐπαθε*. We find, too, this remarkable passage: *οὐχ ὅτι πάντως αὐτὸς ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ κατὰ φύσιν γεννηθεὶς λόγος ἀπέθανεν, ἢ ἐνύχθη τῇ λόγῃ εἰς τὴν πλευρὰν, ποίαν γὰρ ἔχει, εἶπε μοι, πλευρὰν τὸ ἀσώματον, ἢ πῶς ἂν ἀπέθανεν ἡ ζωὴ ἄλλ' ὅτι ἐνωθεὶς τῇ σαρκί, εἶτα πασχούσης αὐτῆς, ὡς τοῦ ἰδίου πάσχοντος σώματος, ἄνωγος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν οἰκειοῦται τὸ παθεῖν*. In the Alexandrian Liturgy of S. Gregory, this expression has been introduced, *καὶ παθὼν ἐκουσίως οὐκ ἐκ μείρας ἀπαθὺς ὡς θεός*. Apud Renaudot, I. p. 114.

this confederacy Nestorius could array only the precarious favor of the Emperor, the support of some of his Syrian brethren, his archiepiscopal authority, and the allegiance of some of his clergy. Nestorius rashly precipitated the strife. Dorotheus, a bishop of his party, in his presence pronounced a solemn anathema on all who should apply the contested appellation to the Virgin.¹ A fiery and injurious protest² was immediately issued, professing to speak the sentiments of the whole clergy of Constantinople, and peremptorily condemning the bishop, as guilty of heresy, and comparing his language to the unpopular and proscribed opinions of Paul of Samosata. It was read in most of the churches.³

Both parties, Nestorius and Cyril themselves, could not but look with earnest solicitude to Rome. ^{Both parties turn to Rome.} She held the balance of power. If the Bishop of Rome had been the most unambitious of mankind, he could hardly have declined the arbitration, which was almost an acknowledgment of his supremacy. Nothing tended more to his elevation in the mind of Christendom than these successive Eastern controversies, if considered only as affecting his dignity in the eyes of the world. The deeper the East was sunk in anarchy and confusion, the more commanding the stately superiority of Rome. While the episcopal throne of Constantinople had been held in succession

¹ The chronology of the events is not quite clear, but this seems to be the natural order.

² This protest preserves some of the expressions attributed to Nestorius. "How could a mother, born in time, give birth to him who was before the ages?" The word "birth," it occurred to neither party was used in directly opposite senses.

³ Compare the strong address of the monks to the emperor, p. 225.

by the persecuted Chrysostom, by the heretic Nestorius, as it was afterwards by Flavianus, who, if not murdered, died of ill usage in a council of bishops; that of Alexandria by Theophilus, and his nephew Cyril, whose violence disgraced their orthodoxy; a succession of able, at least blameless, Pontiffs of Rome was now about to close with Leo the Great.¹

Each, too, of these Eastern antagonists for ascendancy was disposed to admit one part of the claims on which rested the supremacy of Rome. Alexandria, that of the descent from St. Peter: ancient and apostolic origin was so clearly wanting to Constantinople, that on this point the Roman superiority was undeniable. On her side, Constantinople was content to recognize the title of Rome to superiority as the city of the Cæsars, from whence followed her own secondary, if not coequal dignity as New Rome.

Celestine, of Roman birth, who had held high language to the Churches of Africa and of Gaul, at this present period was bishop of Rome.

Pope
Celestine.

Nestorius was the first who endeavored to propitiate the Roman Pontiff. Some misunderstanding had already arisen between them concerning certain Pelagians, the only heretics whom Nestorius was slow to persecute; and whom, as if ignorant how obnoxious they were to Rome and the West, he had treated with something of Eastern indifference. He addressed to Celestine a letter, fully explaining the grounds of his aversion to the term "Mother of God." This he wrote in Greek; it was sent into Gaul, to be correctly translated by the famous monk Cassianus.²

¹ Not immediate succession, but the succession of the greater names.

² Celestinus ad Nestorium. Walch rather throws doubt on this translation by Cassian, p. 433.

In the mean time arrived the Deacon Posidonius from Alexandria, with an elaborate letter from Cyril,¹ which, with the Sermons of Nestorius, he had the forethought to send already translated into Latin. Thus the hostile representations of Cyril, though delivered last, obtained the advantage of preoccupying the minds of the Roman clergy.²

To them, indeed, the Nestorian opinions were utterly uncongenial, as to the whole of Western Christendom. They had not comprehended and could not comprehend that sensitive dread of the contamination of the Deity by its connection with Matter: they were equally jealous of any disparagement of the Virgin Mary. Already her name, with the title of Mother of God, had sounded in hymns ascribed to St. Ambrose, and admitted into the public service. The Latin language was not flexible to all the fine shades of expression by which Nestorius defined his distinctive differences from the common creed.

Still Nestorius was not entirely without hope of obtaining a favorable hearing from Celestine. The first reply of the Roman was not devoid of courtesy. But his hopes were in a short time utterly confounded. A synod of Western Bishops, presided over ^{A.D. 430.} by Celestine, met at Rome. The sentence ^{August.} was decisive, condemnatory, imperious. Celestine, in the name of the Synod, and in his own,³ ^{Mandate of Celestine.} commanded Nestorius to recant his novel and

¹ Posidonius was instructed not to deliver the letters of Cyril, if those of Nestorius had not been delivered to Celestine. — Statement of Peter the Presbyter, Concil. Ephes. in init.

² Nestorius bitterly complained of the misrepresentations of Cyril in this letter, by which he deceived Celestine, a man of too great simplicity to judge of religious doctrines with sufficient acuteness. — Irenæi Tragœd. in Synodic.

³ *ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐγγράφῳ ὁμολογία.* p. 361.

unauthorized opinions in a public and written apology within ten days from the arrival of the monition: in Aug. 11. case of disobedience, he was to hold himself under excommunication from the Church.¹

This haughty mandate to Nestorius was accompanied by an address to the clergy and people of Constantinople. It expressed the parental care of Celestine for their spiritual welfare, and announced the decree which had been issued against Nestorius by the Bishop of Rome. The Western Church would take no account of any anathema or excommunication pronounced by the Bishop of Constantinople; but having declared such anathema null and void, would continue to communicate with all persons under such interdict. And because the presence of Celestine in the East, however necessary, was impossible, on account of the distance by land and sea, he delegated his full power in the affair to his brother Cyril, in order to arrest the spreading pestilence.²

The Syrian bishops alone, of those who, from their station and character, had weight in the Christian world, were yet uncommitted in the strife, Acacius of Berea, the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and of Antioch. Each party courted their support. Cyril, with his usual activity, urged them to unite in the confederacy against Nestorius. Either from the sincere love of peace, or some clearer perception of the principles on which Nestorius grounded his opinions, or some secret sympathy with them,

¹ Epist. Cyrill. p. 396.

² Καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐν τηλικούτῳ πράγματι ἡ ἡμετέρα σχεδὸν παρουσία ἀναγκαία ἐφαίνετο, τὴν ἡμετέραν διαδοχὴν, διὰ τὰ κατὰ θαλάτταν καὶ γῆν διαστήματα, ἐν τῷ τῷ ἀγίῳ ἀδελφῷ μου Κυρίλλῳ ἀπενείμαμεν, μὴ αὐτῇ ἡ νόσος ἀφορμῇ τῆς μακρότητος ἐκίτρυβη. Epist. Cyril. p. 373.

these bishops endeavored to allay the storm. John of Antioch, in a letter full of Christian persuasiveness, entreated Nestorius not to plunge Christendom into discord on account of a word, and that word not incapable of being interpreted in his sense, but which had become familiar to the Christian ear: Rome, Alexandria, even Macedonia, had declared against him. John required no degrading concession, no disingenuous compromise or suppression of opinion. If his enemies were strong and violent before the correspondence had begun with Rome and Alexandria, how would their boldness increase after these unhappy letters¹ from Cyril and from Celestine! But the time for reconciliation was passed. Four bishops, Theopemptus, Daniel, Potamon, and Komarius, Celestine's envoys in Constantinople. arrived in Constantinople, with the ultimate demands of Rome and Alexandria. They entered, after divine service, the Bishop's chamber, where were assembled the whole clergy, and many of the most distinguished laity: they delivered the letters to Nestorius. Nestorius received them coldly, and commanded them to return the next day for the answer. The next day when they presented themselves, they were refused admission.² Nestorius ascended the pulpit, and preached in sterner and more condemnatory language than before. Celestine and Cyril had demanded unqualified submission: Cyril had declared that it was not enough to subscribe the

¹ Γραμμάτων τούτων τῶν ἀπεικτικῶν. Epist. Joan. Antioch. p. 293. Nestorius had almost consented to yield so far as to assert that it was not so much the word itself as the abuse of it which was irreconcilable with his views of the Godhead.

² The account of this transaction is given by the Bishops Theopemptus and the rest.

Creed of Nicea, without receiving the sense of that Creed according to the interpretation of the Bishops of the Church. The twelve articles of excommunication were promulgated, by the zeal of the Bishop's adversaries, throughout Constantinople. But Nestorius, unappalled, on his side launched forth his interdict; anathema encountered anathema. Nestorius excluded from salvation those who denied salvation to him. For in the awful meaning which the act of excommunication conveyed to the Christian mind of that age, it meant total exclusion, unless after humiliating penitence, and hard-wrung absolution, from the mercy of the Most High, — inevitable, everlasting damnation.

With stern serenity the enemies of Nestorius contemplate these awful consequences; those of worldly strife they behold almost with satisfaction. Cyril applies to these times the much misused words of the Saviour, — "*Think not that I am come to send peace upon earth: for I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother.*" If faith be infringed — faith even in these minutest points — away with idle and dangerous reverence for parents; cast off all love of children and of brethren. Death is better than life to the pious (those who adhere to the orthodox opinions), for to them alone is the better resurrection.¹

The anathemas of Nestorius are not less remorseless. They also aim at involving Cyril in the odious charge of heresy. Throughout is man-

Nestorius
excommunicated,
Cyril.

¹ Πίστεις γὰρ ἀδικουμένης * * * ἐρρέτω μὲν ὡς βυλὸς καὶ ἐπισφαλὴς ἡ πρὸς γονίας ἀιδὸς· ἡραμείτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς εἰς τέκνα καὶ ἀδελφοὺς φιλοστοργίας νόμος. Cyril. Epist. p. 396.

ifest the peculiar jealousy of Nestorius lest he should mingle up the Deity in any way with the material flesh of man. Christ was the Emmanuel, the God with us. The Divinity assumed at his birth the mortal form and attributes, and so became the Christ, the co-existent God and man. The Christ laid aside the manhood, which he had associated to his divinity, after his death and resurrection. Accursed is he who asserts that the Word of God was changed into flesh. Accursed is he who disparages the dignity of the divine nature by attributing to it the acts and passions of the human nature which it assumed for the display of its Godhead.¹

The secret of the undaunted courage shown by Nestorius was soon revealed. He had still un-^{His influence at Court.} shaken possession of the mind of the Imperial Court. The triumph of Cyril was arrested by an humiliating rescript from Theodosius. He was arraigned not merely for disturbing the peace of the world, but even that of the Imperial family. The rescript addressed to Cyril, in unambiguous language, relates his haughty and dictatorial demeanor, reproves him as the author of all the strife and confusion which disturbed the tranquillity of the Church. In order to sow dissension even in the palace, Cyril had written in different language to his august sister Pulcheria, and to the Empress and himself. The same curious, restless, insolent, and unpriestly spirit had led him to pry into the

¹ The anathemas of Nestorius are extant only in a bad Latin translation. It is curious to find the Syrian bishop, Acacius, urging that the poverty of the Latin language prevented it from forming expressions with regard to the Trinity equivalent to the Greek. *Τῷ ἐστενωσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν φωνὴν, καὶ μὴ δυνάσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέρων τῶν Γραικῶν φρασὶν τρεῖς ἕως τῶς λέγειν.* Epist. Acac. p. 384.

secrets and disturb the harmony of the Imperial family, as well as to confound the quiet of the Church, as though this confusion were his only means of obtaining fame and distinction.¹

Theodosius had already acceded to the universal demand for a General Council. This alone, according to the opinion of the time, could allay the intestine strife which had set Rome and Alexandria at variance with Constantinople, divided Constantinople into fierce and violent factions, and appeared likely to renew the fatal differences of the Arian and Macedonian contests. The Imperial summons was issued, and in obedience to that mandate assembled the first General Council of Ephesus.

It might have been supposed that nowhere would Christianity appear in such commanding majesty as in a Council, which should gather from all quarters of the world the most eminent prelates and the most distinguished clergy; that a lofty and serene piety would govern all their proceedings, profound and dispassionate investigation exhaust every subject; human passions and interests would stand rebuked before that awful assembly; the sense of their own dignity as well as the desire of impressing their brethren with the solemnity and earnestness of their belief would at least exclude all intemperance of manner and language. Mutual awe and mutual emulation in Christian excellence would repress, even in the most violent, all un-Christian violence. Their conclusions would be grave, mature, harmonious, for if not harmo-

¹ Καὶ μὴ γεγονὸς (hostility in the Imperial family) ποιῆσαι βούλεσθαι παντός, μᾶλλον ἢ ἱεροῦς· ὁρμῆς μέντοι μᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς προθεσίως τὰ τε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τὰ τε τῶν βασιλέων μέλλεν χωρίζεν βούλεσθαι, ὡς οὐκ εὐσεβούς ἀφορμῆς ἐτέρως ἐνδοκιμήσεως. *Sacr. Theodos. Imper. ad Cyrill.*

nious the confuted party would hardly acquiesce in the wisdom of their decrees ; even their condemnations would be so tempered with charity as gradually to win back the wanderer to the still open fold, rather than drive him, proscribed and branded, into inflexible and irreconcilable schism. History shows the melancholy reverse. Nowhere is Christianity less attractive, and, if we look to the ordinary tone and character of the proceedings, less authoritative, than in the Councils of the Church. It is in general a fierce collision of two rival factions, neither of which will yield, each of which is solemnly pledged against conviction. Intrigue, injustice, violence, decisions on authority alone, and that the authority of a turbulent majority, decisions by wild acclamation rather than after sober inquiry, detract from the reverence, and impugn the judgments, at least of the later Councils. The close is almost invariably a terrible anathema, in which it is impossible not to discern the tones of human hatred, of arrogant triumph, of rejoicing at the damnation imprecated against the humiliated adversary. Even the venerable Council of Nicea commenced with mutual accusals and recriminations, which were suppressed by the moderation of the Emperor ; and throughout the account of Eusebius¹ there is an adulation of the Imperial convert, with something of the intoxication, it might be of pardonable vanity, at finding themselves the objects of royal favor, and partaking in royal banquets. But the more fatal error of that Council was the solicitation, at least the acquiescence in the infliction of a civil penalty, that of exile, against the recusant Prelates. The degeneracy is rapid from the Council of Nicea to that

¹ Hist. of Christianity, ii. p. 440.

of Ephesus, where each party came determined to use every means of haste, manœuvre, court influence, bribery, to crush his adversary; where there was an encouragement of, if not an appeal to, the violence of the populace, to anticipate the decrees of the Council; where each had his own tumultuous foreign rabble to back his quarrel; and neither would scruple at any means to obtain the ratification of their anathemas through persecution by the civil government.

Some considerations will at least allay our wonder at this singular incongruity. A General Council is not the cause, but the consequence, of religious dissension. It is unnecessary, and could hardly be convoked, but on extraordinary occasions, to settle some questions which have already violently disorganized the peace of Christendom. It is a field of battle, in which a long train of animosities and hostilities is to come to an issue. Men, therefore, meet with all the excitement, the estrangement, the jealousy, the antipathy engendered by a fierce and obstinate controversy. They meet to triumph over their adversaries, rather than dispassionately to investigate truth. Each is committed to his opinions, each exasperated by opposition, each supported by a host of intractable followers, each probably with exaggerated notions of the importance of the question; and that importance seems to increase, since it has demanded the decision of a general assembly of Christendom. Each considers the cause of God in his hands: heresy becomes more and more odious, and must be suppressed by every practicable means. The essentially despotic character of the government, which entered into all transactions of life, with the deeply rooted sentiment in the human mind of the supreme

and universal power of the law, the law now centred in the person of the Emperor, who was the State ; the apparent identification of the State and Church by the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the Empire, altogether confounded the limits of ecclesiastical and temporal jurisdiction. The dominant party, when it could obtain the support of the civil power for the execution of its intolerant edicts, was blind to the dangerous and unchristian principle which it tended to establish. As the Council met under the Imperial authority, so it seemed to commit the Imperial authority to enforce its decisions. Christianity, which had so nobly asserted its independence of thought and faith in the face of heathen emperors, threw down that independence at the foot of the throne, in order that it might forcibly extirpate the remains of Paganism, and compel an absolute uniformity of Christian faith.

The Council of Ephesus was summoned to open its deliberations at Pentecost ; the fifty days from Easter were allowed for the assembling of the Prelates.

Meeting of
Council, A.D.
431. Easter,
April 19;
Whit-Sun-
day, June 7.

Candidianus, Count of the domestics, a statesman of high character, was appointed to represent the Emperor in the Council. His instructions were, not to interfere in the theological question, the exclusive province of the Bishops ; to expel all strangers, monks and laymen, from the city, lest they should disturb the proceedings ; to maintain order, lest the animosities of the Bishops should prevent the fair investigation of the truth ; to permit no one to leave the Council, even under pretence of going to the Court ; to permit no extraneous discussions to be introduced before the assembly. Candidianus did not arrive till after Pentecost.

Already, however, Ephesus had begun to be crowded with strangers from all quarters. Nestorius came accompanied by not more than sixteen Bishops of his party. Cyril arrived attended by fifty Egyptian Bishops; Memnon, the Bishop of Ephesus, a declared enemy of Nestorius, had summoned thirty Prelates from Asia Minor. Nor were these antagonists content with mustering their spiritual strength; each was accompanied by a rabble of followers of more unseemly character; Cyril by the bath-men and a multitude of women from Egypt; Nestorius by a horde of peasants, and some of the lower populace of Constantinople. The troops of Candidianus, after his arrival, begirt the city; Irenæus, with a body of soldiers, was intrusted, by the special favor of the Emperor, with the protection of the person of Nestorius.

The adverse parties could not await the opening of the Council without betraying their hostility; skirmishing disputes took place,¹ and no opportunity was passed of darkening the fame and the opinions of Nestorius in the popular mind. If Nestorius came under the fond hope of being heard on equal terms, and allowed to debate in a calm and dispassionate spirit the truth of his tenets, such were not the views of Cyril or of Celestine. To them the Bishop of Constantinople was already a condemned heretic; the business of the Council was only the confirmation of their anathema,

¹ Ἀκροθάλισμος τῶν λόγων. Socrat. vii. 34. Joanne Antiocheno remorante * * * Cyrillus deforationes quasdam librorum Nestorii faciebat, eum perturbare volens. Et quum plurimi Deum confiterentur Jesum Christum, ego, inquit Nestorius, qui fuit duorum vel trium mensium nunquam confiteor Deum; quâ gratiâ mundus sum a sanguine vestro, et ammmodo ad vos non veniam. Liberatus, Chron. c. 5. This is a good illustration of the Latin misconception of the opinions of Nestorius.

and the more authoritative deposition of the unorthodox Prelate. With them the one embarrassing difficulty was whether, in case Nestorius recanted his opinions, they were to annul the sentence of excommunication and of deposal, and admit him to a seat in the Council.¹

Memnon of Ephesus lent himself eagerly to all the schemes of Cyril. Nestorius was treated as ^{Memnon of Ephesus.} a man under the ban of excommunication: all intercourse, even the common courtesies of life were refused. All the Churches of Ephesus were closed against the outcast from Christian communion. When he expressed his solicitude, if not to attend the morning and evening service, at least to partake in the solemn mysteries of that season, not merely was he ignominiously repelled from the Churches, even from that of the Martyr St. John, but the avenues were beset by throngs of rude peasants brought in from the country, and prepared for any violence, and by the Egyptian sailors from the vessels of Cyril.²

Pentecost had passed; five days after arrived Juvenalis, Bishop of Jerusalem, a prelate known ^{Juvenal of Jerusalem.} to be hostile to Nestorius. But John of Antioch, with the greater part of the Eastern Bishops, did not appear. The Patriarchs of Constantinople and of Alexandria were arrayed as parties in the cause:

¹ *Et enim queris utrum sancta synodus recipere debet hominem a se prædicata damnantem; an quia induciarum tempus emensum est, sententia dum lata perduret.* This is from an answer to a letter of Cyril which is lost. Celestine's reply to this question is perhaps studiously ambiguous. But the letter, as extant, is probably a translation. The secret instructions of Celestine to his legates (apud Baluzium, p. 381) show his intimate alliance with Cyril. — Labbe, Conc. p. 622. Compare Walch, p. 466.

² *Epist. Nestorii*, p. 565. *Epist. ad Imper.* p. 602. *Epist. ad Senat.* 308.

each charged the other with heresy. The Roman Patriarch of the West was not present in person: the Patriarch of Antioch, therefore, might seem necessary, if not to the validity, to the weight and dignity of the Council. Cyril and his partisans were clamorous for the immediate opening of the Council; the Bishops had been already too long withdrawn from their dioceses. Nestorius insisted on awaiting the arrival of John of Antioch and his prelates; Candidianus gave the weight of the Imperial authority for delay. The Emperor had required the presence of John of Antioch and the Eastern Prelates at the Council.¹ Strong reasons were afterwards alleged by John of Antioch for his tardy arrival. His departure from Antioch had been arrested by a famine in the city, and daily insurrections of the people on that account; inundations had impeded his march.² Many of the Bishops of his vast province were ten or twelve long days' journey beyond Antioch; they could not leave their cities before Easter.³ Cyril himself had received a courteous letter from John of Antioch, stating that he had arrived within six stations of Ephesus; that he was travelling with the utmost speed, but that the roads were bad; they had lost many of their beasts of burden; and some of the more aged Bishops had been unable to proceed at that rapid rate.

Cyril, however, chose to consider the delay of the Bishop of Antioch intentional and premeditated, either in order to shield the guilty Nestorius from the anathema of the Council, or to escape any participation in

¹ *Defens. trium Capitulor.* Facundus, apud Sirmond Opera, ii. p. 607

² The epistle of John of Antioch to the Emperor.

³ Evagrius, H. E. i. 3, 4. Labbe, Concil. p. 443.

such a sentence against one so well known, and formerly at least so popular, in Antioch.¹

Only sixteen days were allowed to elapse by the impatient zeal (the noblest motive that can be assigned) of Cyril for the opening a Council which was to represent Christendom, to ^{Opening of Council, Monday, June, 22.} absolve or to condemn as an irreclaimable heretic the Bishop of the second capital of the world. On Monday the 22nd of June, in the Church of the Virgin Mary, (an ill-omened scene for the cause of Nestorius,) met the Council of Ephesus.²

The Count Candidianus, in a public report to his Imperial master, describes the violence, unfairness, even the treachery of the proceedings. No sooner had he heard that Cyril, Memnon, and their partisans were prepared to open the assembly, than he hastened to the Church. In the Emperor's name, he inhibited the meeting; he condescended to entreaties that they would await the arrival of the Eastern Bishops; he declared that they were acting in defiance of the Imperial Rescript. They answered that they were ignorant of the contents of that ordinance. Thus compelled, and lest he should be the cause of popular insur-

¹ Cyril's imputations against John of Antioch are inconsistent and contradictory. In one place he charges him with hypocrisy, and insinuates that he kept aloof to favor Nestorius (if the partisan of Nestorius, his presence would have been more useful than his absence); in another that, conscious of the badness of the cause of Nestorius, he kept aloof to avoid taking any part in his inevitable condemnation: "Do what you will (*πράττετε ἢ ἀπαύετε*), only let me not be personally involved in the business." Compare Cyril's Letter to the Clergy of Constantinople, p. 561, with the Epistol. Imper., p. 602.

² The effect of this arrangement may be conceived from the Sermon of Cyril (Labbe, p. 584), in which he lavishes all his eloquence in her praise, through whom (*ὁς ἦς*) all the wonders and blessings of the Gospel, which he recites, descended on man.

rection and rebellion, Candidianus read the Rescript; and concluded by solemnly warning them against their indecent precipitation. This was their object; the reading the Rescript they considered as legalizing the Council; it was followed by loud and loyal clamors. The Count fondly supposed that these cries intimated obedience to the Imperial command; instead of this, they instantly commanded Candidianus to withdraw from an assembly in which he had no longer any place; insultingly and ignominiously they cast out the representative of the Emperor. They proceeded summarily to eject the few Bishops attached to Nestorius; and then commenced their proceedings as the legitimate Senate of Christendom.¹

The council consisted of rather more than one hundred and fifty bishops—about forty from Egypt, thirty from Asia Minor, several from Palestine with Juvenalis of Jerusalem, the rest from Thrace, Greece, the islands Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus, and from some parts of Asia. Rufus of Thessalonica professed to represent the bishops of Illyricum.² The proceedings, according to the regular report, now that all opposition was expelled, flowed on in unobstructed haste and unprecedented harmony. Peter, an Alexandrian presbyter, who acted as chief secretary,³ opened the business with a statement of the dispute between Nestorius on one hand, Cyril and the Bishop of Rome on the other. On the motion of Juvenal of Jerusalem was then read the Imperial convocation of the bishops. It was asked

¹ See the statement of Candidianus, pp. 589–592. In another place he says, “A vobis injuriōse et ignominiosè ejectus sum.”—In Synodico.

² According to Nestorius, not only the Eastern bishops were expected but those of Italy and Sicily.

³ Πρωμυκήριος Νοταρίων. Primicerius Notariorum.

how long a period had elapsed since the day appointed by the Emperor for the meeting; Memnon of Ephesus replied "sixteen days." Cyril then rose, and asserting that on account of the long delay (of sixteen days!) some bishops had fallen ill, and some had died, declared that it was imperative to proceed at once to determine a question which concerned the whole sublunary world.¹ The Imperial Rescript itself had commanded the prelates to proceed without delay.

One citation had been already sent by four bishops, summoning Nestorius to appear before the council. Nestorius had declined, not uncour- ^{Citation of Nestorius.} teously, to acknowledge the validity of the assembly before the arrival of all the bishops. A second and a third deputation of the same number of bishops was sent. The first reported that they were not permitted by the guard to approach the presence of Nestorius, but received from his attendants the same answer; the third that they were exposed to the indignity of being kept standing in the heat of the sun, and not allowed to enter the palace.

The proceedings now commenced: the Nicene Creed was read, and then Cyril's letter to Nestorius. ^{Proceedings commence.} The bishops in succession declared their full faith in the creed, and the perfect concordance of Cyril's exposition with the doctrines of the Nicene Fathers. Then followed the answer of Nestorius to Cyril. Cyril put the question of its agreement with the creed of Nicea. One after another the bishops rose, and in language more or less vehement, pronounced the tenets of Nestorius to be blasphemous, and uttered the stern anathema. All then joined in

¹ Εἰς ὧφέλειαν ἀπάσης τῆς ἐκ' οὐρανοῦ. p. 458.

one tumultuous cry, "Anathema to him who does not anathematize Nestorius." The church rang with the fatal and reëchoed word, "Anathema, anathema! The whole world unites in the excommunication: anathema on him who holds communion with Nestorius!"

The triumph of Cyril ceased not here. The condemnatory letters of Celestine of Rome to Nestorius were read and inserted in the acts of the council. Certain bishops averred that of their personal knowledge Nestorius had not retracted his obnoxious doctrines. Then were read extracts from the works of the great theologians, Athanasius, Gregory, Basil, and others; many of these were of very doubtful bearing on the question raised by Nestorius; they were contrasted with large extracts from his writings. A letter was read from Capreolus, Bishop of Carthage, excusing the absence of the African clergy on account of the miserable desolation and the wars which afflicted the province, asserting in general terms their cordial adherence to the Catholic doctrine, and their abhorrence of heretical innovations.

The Council, it is said, compelled by the sacred canons and amid the tears of many bishops, proceeded to deliver its awful sentence;¹ Jesus Christ himself, blasphemed by Nestorius, (so ran the decree,) declares him deposed from his episcopal rank, and from all his ecclesiastical functions. All the bishops subscribed the sentence.² The whole of this solemn discussion, with its fearful conclusion, was crowded into one day! The impatient populace

Decree of
Council.

¹ Ἀναγκαίως κατεπειθέντες ὑπὸ τε τῶν κανόνων * * * δακρύσαντες πολλοί * * * σκυθρωπὴν ἀπόφασιν. Labbe, p. 533.

² Above two hundred names appear. Some perhaps were added as concurring in the sentence.

had been waiting from morn till evening the issue of the Council. No sooner had they heard the deposition of this new Judas, than they broke out into joyous clamors; escorted the Prelates with torches to their homes; women went before them burning incense. A general illumination took place. Thus did the Saviour, writes Cyril, proudly recounting these popular suffrages, show his Almighty power against those who blasphemed his name.¹

Five days after arrived John of Antioch, and the Eastern Prelates; they were received with great honor by Count Candidianus, by the ^{Arrival of Syrian Bishops.} other bishops not only with studied discourtesy, but with tumultuous and disorderly insult.² Nestorius kept aloof in judicious seclusion. These Prelates proceeded to instal themselves as a Council, under the sanction of the Imperial Commissary. Their first inquiry was whether the former Council had been conducted with canonical regularity, and the sentence passed after dispassionate investigation. Candidianus bore testimony to the indecent haste and precipitation of the decree. But instead of calmly protesting against these violent proceedings, and declaring them null and void, as wanting their own concurrent voice, this small synod of between forty and fifty bishops,³ rushed into the error which they had proscribed in others; with no calmer or longer inquiry, before they

¹ Cyril's letter to the people of Alexandria.

² Compare, however, the statement of Memnon, a suspicious witness, p. 763.

³ These bishops did not all come with John; some were of those previously assembled at Ephesus, who had refused to take part in the council. Their adversaries assert that some of them were deprived bishops, others not bishops at all. According to this statement John's party did not amount to more than thirty.—Epist. Cyril. et Memnon. p. 638.

had shaken the dust off their feet,¹ they condemned the doctrines of Cyril, as tainted with Arianism, Eunomianism, and Apollinarianism; pronounced the sentence of deposition against the most religious Cyril (ecclesiastical courtesy held this appellation inseparable from that of bishop) and against Memnon of Ephesus; and recorded their solemn anathema against the Prelates of the adverse Council.² The sentence condemned not their heresy alone, but likewise their disobedience to the Imperial authority, and their impious violence in excluding the faithful from the holy ceremonies of Pentecost, their closing the churches, and besetting them with gangs of Egyptian sailors and ecclesiastics, and with Asiatic boors. The excommunication was published throughout the city with the solemnity of an Imperial proclamation. Cyril and Memnon launched a counter-anathema; and instead of abstaining, as excommunicated persons, from the sacred offices, celebrated them with greater pomp and publicity.

In the mean time letters arrived from the Bishop of Rome, Celestine. Cyril's council reassembled to receive them; every sentence was in such full accordance with their views, that the whole assembly rose in acclamation. "The council renders thanks to the second Paul, Celestine; to the second Paul, Cyril; to Celestine, protector of the faith; to Celestine, unanimous with the council. One Celestine, one Cyril, one faith in the whole council, one faith throughout the world."³ The Bishops Arcadius and Projectus, with Philip the Presbyter, the legates of Rome, gave their deliberate sanction to the deposi-

July 10.
Letters of
Celestine,

¹ Cyril, Epist. ad Celestin. p. 663.

² Labbe, Concil. 599.

³ Actio Secunda Concilii, p. 618.

tion of Nestorius. At another sitting it was reported that endeavors had been made to bring John of Antioch, now accused as an accomplice in the guilt and heresy of Nestorius, to an amicable conference. Three bishops, deputed to him, had been repelled by the fierce and turbulent soldiery who guarded his residence. A second deputation had been admitted to his presence: he loftily refused to enter into negotiations with excommunicated persons. On this report the council proceeded to annul all the decrees of John and his synod. Having thrice cited him to appear, they declared John of Antioch deposed and excommunicated, as well as all the bishops of his party.¹ Cyril was not idle in his more public sphere of influence. He thundered from the pulpit against the bold man who had interfered in his triumphant conflict with the dragon of heresy, which vomited out its poison against the Church; he asserted that he was ready to encounter this new Goliath with the arms of faith.²

Both parties were disposed to employ weapons of a more worldly temper. John of Antioch threatened the election of a new Bishop of ^{Violent} Ephesus in the place of the deprived Memnon.³ A ^{contest.} peaceful band of worshippers according to one account, more probably an armed host, determined to force their way into the cathedral of St. John. They found it

¹ The Bishop of Jerusalem claimed jurisdiction, as of ancient usage, over the see of Antioch. — p. 642.

² Ἐπὶ τὴν, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ὁ πολυκέφαλος δράκων τὴν ἀνόσιον καὶ βέβηλον κεφαλὴν, τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας τέκνοις τὸν τῆς ἰδίας ἀνοσιότητος ἰὸν ἐπιπτύων. "This Goliath from the East shall fall by stones from the scrip of Christ; and what is the scrip of Christ? the Church, which contains many stones, elect and precious." This is a specimen of the Archbishop's religious rhapsody. Homil. Cyril. p. 667.

³ Labbe, p. 710.

beset by Memnon with a strong garrison. Content, according to their own partial statement, with worshipping without the doors, they were retreating in peace, when the partisans of Memnon made a desperate sally, took men and horses prisoners, assailed them, and drove them through the streets with clubs and stones, not without much bloodshed.¹

The court of Theodosius was perplexed with the contradictory and doubtful reports from Ephesus. Candidianus and the party of Nestorius jealously watched the issues of the city, that no representations from Cyril and his council should reach the imperial ear. Theodosius still maintained his impartiality, or more probably a minister favorable to Nestorius ruled in the court. An imperial letter arrived, written in the interval between the deposition of Nestorius and the arrival of John of Antioch,² strongly reproving the proceedings of the council, annulling all its decrees, commanding the reconsideration of the creed by the whole assembly, forbidding any bishop to leave Ephesus till the close of the council, and announcing the appointment of a second commissary to assist the Count Candidianus. But all the watchfulness of the government and of Nestorius could not intercept the secret correspondence of Cyril's party with their faithful allies, the earliest and most inveterate enemies of Nestorius, the monks of Constantinople. A beggar brought a letter, announcing to them the glad tidings of the deposition of Nestorius, which the court had not condescended to communicate to the people.

¹ Their own despatches urged, and no doubt exaggerated, the contempt of the imperial authority, the lawlessness of the rabble at the command of Cyril and of Memnon.

² It was sent in great haste, by the imperial officer, Palladius.

The court must be overawed; these spiritual demagogues would not await the tardy and doubtful orthodoxy of the Emperor.

Dalmatius, a monk of high repute for his austere sanctity, who, it is said, had in vain been solicited by the Emperor himself to quit his cell and intercede for the city during an earthquake, now, compelled by this more weighty call, came forth from his solitude. A vision had confirmed his sense of the imperious necessity. At the head of a procession of archimandrites and monks he passed slowly through the streets and sate down, as it were, to besiege the palace. Wherever he passed, the awed and wondering people burst out into an anathema against Nestorius.

But the court did not as yet stoop from its lofty dictatorship in ecclesiastical affairs. A new ^{Emperor's} ~~Imperial~~ ^{rescripts.} Commissary, one of the highest officers of state, named John, appeared in Ephesus. His first measure was one of bold and severe impartiality, a vigorous assertion of the civil supremacy, humiliating to the pride of sacerdotal dignity. The Imperial letters sanctioned equally the decrees of each conflicting party, the deposition of Cyril and Memnon, as well as of Nestorius. John summoned all the Prelates to his presence. At the dawn of morning appeared Nestorius with John of Antioch. Somewhat later, Cyril presented himself with the bishops of his party; Memnon alone refused to come. Hereupon arose a clamorous debate. Cyril and his bishops would not endure the presence of the heretical and excommunicated Nestorius. The divine and awful letters could not be read either in the absence of Cyril, or in the presence of Nestorius. The party

of Nestorius and John as peremptorily demanded the expulsion of the deposed and excommunicated Cyril. The debate maddened into sedition, sedition into a battle. The Imperial Representative was compelled to use his military force to restrain the refractory churchmen, before he could read the Emperor's letters. At the sentence of deposition against Cyril and Memnon, the clamors broke out with fresh violence. John, the Prefect, took a commanding tone; he ordered the arrest and committal to safe but honorable custody of all the contending prelates. Nestorius and John of Antioch submitted without remonstrance. Cyril, after a homily to the people, in which he represented himself as the victim of persecution, incurred by Apostolic innocence and borne with Apostolic resignation, yielded to the inevitable necessity. Memnon at first concealed himself, and attempted to elude apprehension, but at length voluntarily surrendered to the Imperial authority.

The throne was besieged, and confused by strong representations on both sides. At length it was determined that eight deputies for each party should be permitted to approach the court, and stand before the sacred presence of the Emperor. In Constantinople this assembly might cause dangerous tumults: they

Council of
Chalcedon.

met therefore in the suburb of Chalcedon. On the side of Cyril appeared Philip the Presbyter, the representative of Pope Celestine, and the Western Bishop Arcadius, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Flavianus of Philippi, Firmus of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, Acacius of Melitene, Theodotus of Ancyra, Euoptyus of Ptolemais. On that of the Orientals, the Metropolitans John of Antioch, John of Damascus,

Himerius of Nicomedia; the Bishops Paul of Emesa, Macarius of Laodicea, Apringius of Chalcis, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Helladius of Ptolemais. Though the Bishop of Chalcedon endeavored to close the churches on the Oriental bishops, and the fanatic Monks from Constantinople threatened to stone them,¹ the people, according to their statement, listened with absorbed interest to the eloquence of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, and to the mild exhortations of John of Antioch. The youthful Emperor himself, when they taunted the adverse doctrine with degrading the Godhead to a passible being, rent his robes at the blasphemy.² The Oriental Bishops gradually began to separate the cause of Nestorius from their own. They insisted much more on the heresy of Cyril than on the orthodoxy of Nestorius. They accused him of asserting that the Godhead of the only begotten Son of God suffered, not the Manhood.³ They protested that they would rather die than subscribe the twelve chapters of Cyril, in which the anti-Nestorian doctrine had now taken a determinate form; or communicate with a Prelate deposed by their legitimate authority.

Other influences were now at work at the court of Constantinople. The masculine but ascetic mind of Pulcheria, the sister, the guardian, the Em-
Pulcheria.
press, she may be called, of the Emperor, with her

¹ "Nam Constantinopoli neque nos, neque adversarii nostri intrare permissi sumus, propter seditiones *donorum* monachorum." — Epist. Oriental. p. 732.

² See the short but curious statement in Latin: — "Passibilem esse deitatem. Quod usque adeo gravatim tulit pius rex noster, ut excuteret pallium, et retrorsum cederet præ blasphemie multitudinem." — p. 716.

³ Ὡς ἡ θεότης τοῦ μονογενοῦς Θεοῦ υἱοῦ ἔπαθε, καὶ οὐκ ἡ ἀνθρωπότης. This they considered nearly allied to Arianism, as making the Son a created being. See the full view of their tenets in the Epist. Oriental. p. 740

rigid devotion to orthodoxy and her monastic character, was not likely to swerve from the dominant feeling of the Church; to comprehend the fine Oriental Spiritualism which would keep the Deity absolutely aloof from all intercourse with matter, as implied in his passibility: least of all, to endure any impeachment on the Mother of God, the tutelar Deity, and the glory of her sex. The power of the Virgin in the Court of Heaven was a precedent for that of holy females in the courts of earth. To the Virgin Empress, in later times, the gratitude of the triumphant party of Cyril and of the West attributed the glory of the degradation and banishment of Nestorius, and the discomfiture and dispersion of his followers. Still later, the Pope Leo addresses her as having expelled the crafty enemy from the Church: and her name was constantly saluted in the streets of Constantinople as the enemy of heretics.¹

Nestorius was quietly abandoned by both parties.

*Nestorius
abandoned.*

The secret of this change lies deeper in the recesses of the Imperial councils. The Eunuch minister, who had been his powerful supporter, died; he might, indeed, not long have enjoyed this treacherous favor, for the Eunuch had most impartially condescended to receive bribes from the opposite faction also. When the Emperor ordered his vast treasures to be opened, confiscated no doubt to the Imperial use, a receipt was found for many pounds of gold received from Cyril through Paul, his sister's son.²

Nestorius was allowed the vain honor of a voluntary

¹ "Quo dudum subdolum sanctæ religionis hostem, ab ipsis visceribus ecclesiæ depulisti, quum hæresin suam tueri impietas Nestoriana non potuit." — S. Leon. Epist. 59.

² Epist. Acacii Beroëns. ad Alexandrum Episc. Hierapol. Acacius heard this from John of Antioch.

abdication. From Ephesus he was permitted to retire to a monastery at Antioch. This monastery, of St. Euprepinus, had been the retreat of his early youth; he returned to it, having endured all the vicissitudes of promotion and degradation. There he lived in peace and respect for four years.

Cyril in the mean time had escaped or had been permitted to withdraw from the custody of the Imperial officers at Ephesus. He returned ^{Cyril in Alexandria.} to Alexandria, where he was received in triumph as the great Champion of the Faith. Thence, from the security of his own capital, almost with the pride of an independent potentate, but with the unscrupulous use of all means at his command, he directed the movements of the theologic warfare, which was maintained for three weary years with the Oriental Prelates. The wealth of Alexandria was his most powerful ally. While yet at Chalcedon, the desponding Orientals complain that their judges are all bought by Egyptian gold.¹ But this fact rests even on more conclusive testimony. Maximian, a Roman, had been raised to the vacant see of Constantinople. His first measure betrayed his bearing. He commanded all the churches of Constantinople to be closed against the Oriental Bishops, who desired to pass over from Chalcedon to visit the capital, as being under the unrepealed ban of the Church. A letter has survived, addressed by Cyril's avowed agents to the Bishop of Constantinople. They urge the willing Prelate to endeavor to rouse the somewhat languid zeal of the Princess Pulcheria in the

¹ This is asserted in the letter of Theodoret of Cyrus: "Nihil enim hunc boni sperandum, eo quod iudices omnes auro confidunt." . . . "Sic enim poterit Ægyptius omnes excæcare muneribus suis." — *Epist. Legat.* p. 746.

cause of Cyril, to propitiate all the courtiers, and, if possible, to satisfy their rapacity.¹ The females of the court were to be solicited with the utmost importunity; the monks, especially the Abbot Dalmatius, and Eutyches (afterwards himself an heresiarch), were to overawe the feeble Emperor by all the terrors of religion, and by no means neglect to impress the Lords of the Bedchamber with the same sentiments. They were to be lavish of money; already enormous sums had been sent from Egypt; 1500 pounds of gold had been borrowed of Count Ammonius; and the wealth of the Church of Constantinople was to be as prodigally devoted to the cause. Ministers were to be degraded, more obsequious ones raised to their posts by the influence of Pulcheria, in order to strengthen the pure doctrine, "the pure doctrine of Christ Jesus!"²

Theodosius, weary of the strife, dissolved the meeting at Chalcedon, and thus the Council of Ephesus, which had assumed the dignity of the third Ecumenical Council, was at an end. All, however, was still unreconciled hatred and confusion. The Oriental Bishops, as they returned home, found the churches at Ancyra and other cities of Asia Minor closed against them, as being under an

Synod of
Chalcedon
dissolved,
A.D. 481.

¹ Eunapius, the heathen, gives a frightful picture of the venality of the court of Pulcheria. See the new fragment in Niebuhr's *Byzantine historians*, p. 97.

² The Letter in the Synodicon. The Latin is very bad; in some parts unintelligible. A few sentences must be given:—"Et Dominum meum sanctissimum abbatem roga ut Imperatorem mandet, terribili cum conjuratione constringens, et ut cubicularios omnes ita constringat. . . . Sed de tuâ Ecclesiâ præsta avaritiæ quorum posti, ne Alexandrinorum Ecclesiam contristent. . . . Festinet autem Sanctitas tua rogare Dominam Pulcheriam, ut faciat Dominum Lausum intrare et Præpositum fieri, ut Chrysoretis potentia dissolvatur, et sic *dogma nostrum roboretur*. Alioquin semper tribulandi sumus."

interdict. They met together, on the other hand, at Tarsus, and afterwards at Antioch, condemned the twelve articles of Cyril, confirmed the deposition of Cyril and Memnon, and included under their ban the seven Bishops, their antagonists at Chalcedon. Maximian ventured on the bold step of deposing four Nestorian Bishops. The strife was hardly allayed by the vast mass of letters¹ which distracted and perplexed the world; there was scarcely a distinguished Prelate who did not mingle in the fray. Theodosius himself interfered at length in the office of conciliation. Misdoubting, however, the extent of the Imperial authority, which had so manifestly failed in controlling this contest into peace, he cultivated the more potent intercession of the famous Simeon Stylites: the prayers of the holy "Martyr in the air" might effect that which the Emperor had in vain sought by his despotic edicts. John of Antioch and his party deputed Paul, the aged Bishop of Emesa, to Alexandria, to negotiate a reconciliation. Paul bore with him a formulary agreed upon at Antioch, the subscription to which by Cyril was the indispensable preliminary of peace. On the acceptance of this formulary, and the consent of Cyril to anathematize all who should assert that the Godhead had suffered, or that there was one nature of the Godhead and the Manhood, he and the Orientals would revoke the sentence of excommunication against Cyril.²

But Paul of Emesa, amiably eager for peace, and not insensible to the dignity of appearing as arbiter between these two great factions, was

¹ They occupy page after page of the great Collection of the Councils.

² Ibas. Epist. ad Maron. in Synodico.

no match for the subtlety of Cyril. Cyril was ill at the time of Paul's arrival, and some time elapsed in fruitless negotiation. At length, after an ambiguous assent to the formulary of Antioch by Cyril, a treaty was concluded, in which Paul unquestionably exceeded his powers. But no sooner were the terms agreed upon than the doors of the Alexandrian churches flew open, and the contending parties vied with each other in flattering homilies.¹ At first the Orientals were startled at what appeared the unwarrantable concessions of Paul: "it was a peace," in the language of one, "which filled us with confusion of face and apprehension of the just judgment of God."² The more violent of Cyril's friends were equally displeased with the event. Isidore of Pelusium openly reproached him with his time-serving concessions and with the recantation of his own doctrines.³

After some further contest, the peace negotiated in Alexandria was ratified at Antioch. The Orientals yielded their assent to the deposition of Nestorius, the condemnation of his doctrines, and acknowledged the legitimate nomination of his successor Maximianus in

¹ See the three homilies of Paul, and one of Cyril.

² Epist. Theodoret. Cyren. ad finem.

³ Isidor. Pelus. Epist. ad Cyrill. Facundus de Trib. Capit. xi. 9. Isidore of Pelusium was no friend of Cyril. From the first he saw through his character. During the Council of Ephesus he solemnly admonished his bishop in terms like these: "Strong favor is not keensighted, hate is utterly blind: keep thyself unsullied by both these faults: pass no hasty judgments: try every cause with strict justice. . . . Many of those summoned to Ephesus mock at thee (*σε καταδοῦσι*) as one who seeks only to glut his private revenge, and has no real zeal for the orthodoxy which is in Christ Jesus. He, they say, is the sister's son of Theophilus, and follows the example of his uncle. As he manifestly gave free scope to his animosity against the God-inspired and God-beloved Chrysostom, so does this man against Nestorius," &c. &c. — Isid. Pelus. Epist. i. 310. See also the Letters to the Emperor Theodosius, 311, and to Cyril, 323, 324, 370.

the see of Constantinople. On the other hand Cyril, though spared the public disavowal of his own tenets, had purchased, in the opinion of many, his restoration to communion with the Orientals by a dishonorable compromise of his bolder opinions.

It was a peace between John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria, not between the contending factions, which became more and more estranged and separated from each other. But the peace between John and Cyril soon grew into a close alliance, and John began to persecute his old associates. The first victim was Nestorius himself, now sunk to so low a state of insignificance as to expose him to the suspicion and hatred of his enemies, without retaining the attachment of his former friends. His obscure fate contrasts strongly with the vitality of his doctrines. By an Imperial edict, obtained not improbably by John of Antioch, who was weary of a troublesome neighbor, Nestorius in his old age was exiled to the Egyptian Oasis, as the place most completely cut off from mankind, so that the contagion of his heresy might be confined to the narrowest limits. Even there he did not find repose. The Oasis was overrun by a tribe of barbarous Africans, the Blemmyes. These savages, out of respect or compassion, released their aged captive, who found himself in Panopolis; and, having signified his arrival and his adventures to the Prefect of the city, expressed his hope that the Roman Government would not refuse him that compassion which he had found among the savage heathen. The heretic reckoned too much on human sympathies. He was hastily despatched under a guard of soldiers to Elephantine, the very border of the Roman territory, and recalled as has

tily. These journeys wore out his old and infirm body ; and, after a vain appeal to the court to be spared a fourth exile, which is mocked by the ecclesiastical historian as a new proof of his obstinacy, he sunk into the grave. But there the charity of the historian Evagrius does not leave him in peace : he relates with undisguised satisfaction a report that his tongue was eaten with worms ; and from these temporal pains he passed to the eternal and unmitigable pains of hell.¹

The three great Sees were now in possession of the
A.D. 434. anti-Nestorians. Cyril ruled in Alexandria ; Maximian had been succeeded in Constantinople by Proclus, the ancient and inveterate antagonist of Nestorius ; and John in Antioch. But, besides the Nestorians, there was a strong anti-Cyrellian party among the Orientals, the former allies of John of Antioch, who protested against the terms of the peace. They maintained the uncanonical deposition of Nestorius, though they disclaimed his theology ; they asserted the unrepealed excommunication of Cyril. Alexander, Bishop of Hierapolis, declared that he would suffer death or exile rather than submit to Church communion with the Egyptians on such terms ; and declared that John must be lost to all sense of shame. On this principle the leading Bishops of nine provinces revolted against their Patriarchs, — the two Syrias, the two Cilicias, Bithynia, Mœsia, Thessalia, Isauria, the second Cappadocia. They even ventured to send a protest to Sixtus, who had now succeeded Celestine in the See of Rome, in which they inveighed against the versatility and perfidy of John of Antioch. But an edict, obtained by the two dominant influences in the Byzan

¹ Evagrius, H. E. i. 6.

tine court, that of gold¹ and that of the Princess Pulcheria, armed John with powers to expel the refractory Prelates from their sees; and John had no scruples in punishing that mutinous spirit which he had encouraged so long. Nor were these Bishops prepared to suffer the martyrdom of degradation. Andrew of Samosata, Theodoret of Cyrus, Helladius of Tarsus, the leaders of that party, submitted to the hard necessity. It is probable, however, that the milder terms enforced upon them only required communion with John; they were not compelled to give their formal assent to the deposition of Nestorius, or to withdraw their protest against the twelve articles of Cyril, or to repeal the anathema against him. Some, however, were more firm; Meletius of Mopsuestia was forcibly expelled from his city by a rude soldiery, and fourteen other Bishops bore degradation rather than submit to these galling concessions.

At the same time that Nestorius was banished from Antioch, an Imperial edict proscribed Nestorianism.² The followers of Nestorius were ^{Nestorianism proscribed.} to be branded by the odious name of Simonians, as apostates from God; his books were prohibited, and, when found, were to be publicly burned; whoever held a conventicle of the sect was condemned to confiscation of goods. But however oppressed in the Roman Empire, Nestorianism was too deeply rooted in the Syrian mind to be extinguished either by Imperial or by ecclesi-

¹ "Audivimus olim quod multum esegerit Verius, qui pro Joanne Constantinopoli latitat, et *aurum multum* distribuerit aliquibus ut posset obtinere sacram, quæ nos cogeret aut communicare Joanni, aut exire ab ecclesiis: quod etiam veraciter contigit." — Meletii Epist. ad Maximin. Anagarb.

² Codex Theodos. de Hæret. xvi. v. 66.

astical persecution. It took refuge beyond the frontiers, among the Christians of Persia. It even overleaped the stern boundary of Magianism, and carried the Gospel into parts of the East as yet unpenetrated by Christian missions. The farther it travelled eastwards the more intelligible and more congenial to the general sentiment became its Eastern element, the absolute impassibility of the Godhead. Even in the Roman East it maintained, in many places a secret, in some an open resistance to authority.¹ The great Syrian School, that of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus, the most popular of the Syrian theologians, were found to have held opinions nearly the same with those of Nestorius. Cyril and Proclus demanded the proscription of these dangerous writers; but the Eastern Prelates, those of Edessa, and the successors of Theodore, indignantly refused submission. A new controversy arose, which was not laid to rest, but was rather kept alive by the new heresy which, during the next twenty years, confused the Eastern Churches and demanded a fourth General Council — Eutychianism.

A.D. 432-440.
July 31;
Aug. 18. Sixtus, the successor of Celestine, had ruled in Rome during these later transactions in the East; he was to be succeeded by one of greater name.

¹ Gibbon, at the close of his 47th chapter, has drawn one of his full, rapid, and brilliant descriptions of the Oriental conquests of the Nestorians, from Assemani, Renaudot, La Croze, and all other authorities extant in his day. Nestorianism and its kindred or rival sects retired far beyond the sphere of Latin Christianity; it was not till the Portuguese conquests in the East that they came into contact and collision. The very recent works of Layard and the Rev. Mr. Badger reveal to us the present state of the settlements of the Nestorians — the latter, their creed and discipline — in the neighborhood of the Tigris and Euphrates.

CHAPTER IV.

LEO THE GREAT.

THE Pontificate of Leo the Great is one of the epochs in the history of Latin, or rather of ^{Leo the Great} universal Christianity. Christendom, where ^{A.D. 440} ever mindful of its divine origin, and of its ^{Aug.} proper humanizing and hallowing influence, might turn away in shame from these melancholy and disgraceful contests in the East. On the throne of Rome alone, of all the greater sees, did religion maintain its majesty, its sanctity, its piety; and, if it demanded undue deference, the world would not be inclined rigidly to question pretensions supported as well by such conscious power as by such singular and unimpeachable virtue; and by such inestimable benefits conferred on Rome, on the Empire, on civilization. Once Leo was supposed to have saved Rome from the most terrible of barbarian conquerors; a second time he mitigated the horrors of her fall before the King of the Vandals. During his pontificate, Leo is the only great name in the Empire; it might almost seem in the Christian world. The Imperial Sovereignty might be said to have expired with Theodosius the Great. Women ruled in Ravenna and in Constantinople, and their more masculine abilities, even their virtues, reflected a deeper shame on the names of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., the boy Sov-

ereigns of the East and West. Even after the death of Theodosius, Marcian reigned in the East, as the husband of Pulcheria. In the West the suspected fidelity impaired the power, as it lowered the character of Aëtius; his inhuman murder deprived the

A.D. 480.
Nov. 28.

Empire of its last support; and the Count Boniface, the friend of Augustine, in his fatal revenge, opened Africa to the desolating Vandal. Leo stood equally alone and superior in the Christian world. Two years before the accession of Leo, Augustine had died. He had not lived to witness the capture and ruin of Hippo, his episcopal city.

A.D. 446. The fifth year after the accession of Leo, died Cyril of Alexandria; Nestorius survived, but in exile, his relentless rival. Cyril was succeeded by Dioscorus, who seemed to have inherited all which was odious in Cyril, with far inferior polemic ability; afterwards, an Eutychian heretic, and hardly to be acquitted of the murder of his rival, Flavianus. This future victim of the enmity of Dioscorus filled the see of Constantinople. Domnus, a name of no great distinction, was Patriarch of Antioch. In the West there are few, either ecclesiastics or others, who even aspire to a doubtful fame, such as Prosper, the poet of the Pelagian controversy, and Cassianus, the legislator of the Western monasteries.

Leo, like most of his great predecessors and successors, was a Roman. He was early devoted to the service of the Church; and so high was the opinion of his abilities, that even as an acolyte he was sent to Africa with letters condemnatory of Pelagianism. By the great African Prelates, Aurelius and St. Augustine, he was confirmed in his strong aversion to

those doctrines, which might seem irreconcilable with his ardent piety. He urged upon Pope Sixtus the persecution of the unfortunate Julianus.¹ When Leo was yet only a Deacon, Cassianus dedicated to him his work on the Incarnation. At the decease of Pope Sixtus, Leo was absent on a civil mission, the importance of which shows the lofty ^{Election of Leo.} estimate of his powers. It was no less than an attempt to reconcile the two rival generals, Aëtius and Albinus, whose fatal quarrel hazarded the dominion of Rome in Gaul. There was no delay; all Rome, clergy, senate, people, by acclamation, raised the absent Leo to the vacant see. Leo disdained the customary hypocrisy of compelling the electors to force the dignity upon him. With the self-confidence of a commanding mind he assumed the office,² in the pious assurance that God would give him strength to fulfil the arduous duties so imposed. Leo was a Roman in sentiment as in birth. All that survived of Rome, of her unbounded ambition, her inflexible perseverance, her dignity in defeat, her haughtiness of language, her belief in her own eternity, and in her indefeasible title to universal dominion, her respect for traditionary and written law, and of unchangeable custom, might seem concentrated in him alone.³ The

¹ "His insidiis Sixtus Papa, diaconi Leonis hortatu, vigilanter occurrens, nullum aditum pestiferis conatibus patere permisit, et . . . omnes catholicos de rejectione fallacis bestię gaudere fecit." — Prosper. in Chronic.

² "Etai necessarium est trepidare de merito, religiosum est gaudere de dono . . . ne sub magnitudine gratię succumbat infirmus, dabit virtutem, qui contulit dignitatem." — Sermo 11.

³ Nothing can be stronger than the Popes' declarations that even they are strictly subordinate to the law of the church. "Contra statuta patrum concedere aliquid vel mutare nec hujus quidem sedis potest auctoritas." Zos. Epist. sub ann. 417. "Sumus subjecti canonibus, qui canonum præcepta servamus." — Cælest. ad Episc. Illyr. "Privilegia sanctorum pa-

union of the Churchman and the Roman is singularly displayed in his sermon on the day of St. Peter and St. Paul; their conjoint authority was that-double title to obedience on which he built his claim to power, but chiefly as successor of St. Peter, for whom and for his ecclesiastical heirs he asserted a proto-Apostolic dignity. From Peter and through Peter all the other Apostles derived their power. No less did he assert the predestined perpetuity of Rome, who had only obtained her temporal autocracy to prepare the way, and as a guarantee, for her greater spiritual supremacy. St. Peter and St. Paul were the Romulus and Remus of Christian Rome. Pagan Rome had been the head of the heathen world; the empire of her divine religion was to transcend that of her worldly dominion. Her victories had subdued the earth and the sea, but she was to rule still more widely than she had by her wars, through the peaceful triumphs of her faith.¹ It was because Rome was the capital of the world that the chief of the Apostles was chosen to be her teacher, in order that from the head of the world the light of truth might be revealed over all the earth.

The haughtiness of the Roman might seem to predominate over the meekness of the Christian. Leo is indignant that slaves were promoted to the dignity of the sacerdotal office; not merely did he require

trum canonibus instituta et Nicææ synodi fixa decretis nulla possunt improbitate convelli, nulla novitate violari." — S. Leo. Epist. 78: compare Epist. 80. "*Quoniam contra statuta paternorum canonum nihil cuiquam audire conceditur, ita si quis diversum aliquid decernere velit, se potius minuet, quam illa corrumpat; quæ si (ut oportet) a sanctis Pontificibus observantur per universas ecclesias, tranquilla erit pax et firma concordia.*" — Epist. 79.

¹ "*Per sacram beati Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latius præideres religione divinâ quam dominatione terrenâ.*" — Sermon. lxxxiii.

the consent of the master, lest the Church should become a refuge for contumacious slaves, and the established rights of property be invaded, but the baseness of the slave brought discredit on the majesty of the priestly office.¹

Though Leo's magnificent vision of the universal dominion of Rome and of Christianity blended the indomitable ambition of the ancient Roman with the faith of the Christian, the world might seem rather darkening towards the ruin of both. Leo may be imagined as taking a calm and comprehensive survey of the arduous work in which he was engaged, the state of the various provinces over which he actually exercised, or aspired to supremacy. In Rome heathenism appears, as a religion, extinct; but heretics, especially the most odious of all, the Manicheans, were in great numbers. In Rome, Leo ruled not merely with Apostolic authority, but took upon himself the whole Apostolic function. He was the first of the Roman Pontiffs whose popular sermons have come down to posterity. The Bishops of Constantinople seem to have been the great preachers of their city. Pulpit oratory was their recommendation to the see, and the great instrument of their power.² Chrysostom was not the first, though

¹ "Tanquam servilis vilitas hunc honorem capiat. . . . Duplex itaque in hac parte reatus est, quod et sacerdotum ministerium talis consortis vilitate polluitur, et dominorum . . . jura solvantur." — Epist. iv.

² Sozomen asserts that it was a peculiar usage of the Church of Rome that neither the bishop nor any one else preached in the Church: *οὐτε δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος οὐτε ἄλλος τις ἐνθάδε ἐν' ἐκκλησίᾳ δίδασκει*. H. E. vii. 19. This statement, defended by Valesius, is vehemently impugned by many Roman Catholic writers. Quesnel confines it to sermons on particular occasions. But the assertion of Sozomen is clearly general, and contrasted with the usage of Alexandria, where the bishop was the only preacher. If this be true, the usage must have been subsequent to the beginning of Arianism, perhaps grew out of it. The presumption of

the greatest, who had been summoned to that high dignity, for the fame of his eloquence. From the pulpit Nestorius had waged war against his adversaries. Leo, no doubt, felt his strength; he could cope with the minds of the people, and make the pulpit what the rostrum had been of old. His sermons singularly contrast with the florid, desultory, and often imaginative and impassioned style of the Greek preachers. They are brief, simple, severe; without fancy, without metaphysic subtlety, without passion: it is the Roman Censor animadverting with nervous majesty on the vices of the people; the Roman Prætor dictating the law, and delivering with authority the doctrine of the faith. They are singularly Christian — Christian as dwelling almost exclusively on Christ, his birth, his passion, his resurrection; only polemic so far as called upon by the prevailing controversies to assert with especial emphasis the perfect deity and the perfect manhood of Christ.¹ Either

ignorance or error in Sozomen arises out of the generality of his statement, that there was in fact no preaching in Rome. The style of Leo's sermons, brief, simple, expository, is almost conclusive against any long cultivation of pulpit-oratory. They are evidently the first efforts of Christian rhetoric—the earliest, if vigorous, sketches of a young art. Compare page 21.

¹ One class were what may be described as charity-sermons. At a certain period of the year, collections were made for the poor throughout all the regions of Rome. This usage had been appointed to supersede some ancient superstition, it is supposed the *Ludi Apollinares*, held on the 6th of July. The alms of the devout were to surpass in munificence the offerings of the heathen. These collections seem to have replaced in some degree the sportula of the wealthy, and the ostentatious largesses of the Emperors. On alms-giving Leo insists with great energy. It is an atonement for sin. —Serm. vii. In another place, "eleemosynæ peccata delent." Fasting, without alms, is an affliction of the flesh, no sanctification of the soul. There is a beautiful precept urging the people to seek out the more modest of the indigent, who would not beg: *Sunt enim qui palam poscere ea, quibus indigent, erubescunt; et malunt miserâ tacitæ egestatis affligi.*

the practical mind of Leo disdained, or in Rome the age had not yet fully expanded the legendary and poetic religion, the worship of the Virgin and the Saints. St. Peter is not so much a sacred object of worship as the great ancestor from whom the Roman Pontiff has inherited supreme power. One martyr alone is commemorated, and that with nothing mythic or miraculous in the narrative—the Roman Laurentius, by whose death Rome is glorified, as Jerusalem by that of Stephen.¹

Leo condemns the whole race of heretics, from Arius down to Eutyches; but the more immediate, more dangerous, more hateful adversaries of the Roman faith were the Manicheans. That sect, in vain proscribed, persecuted, deprived of the privilege of citizens, placed out of the pale of the law by ^{The Mani-} successive Imperial edicts; under the abhor-

rence not merely of the orthodox, but of almost all other Christians; were constantly springing up in all quarters of Christendom with a singularly obstinate vitality. At this time they unquestionably formed a considerable sect in Rome and in other cities of Italy. Manicheism, according to Leo, summed up in itself all which was profane in Paganism, blind in carnal Judaism, unlawful in magic, sacrilegious, and blasphemous in all other heresies.² It does not appear how far the Manicheism of the West had retained the wilder and more creative system of its Oriental founder; or, subdued to the more practical spirit of the West, adhered

quam publicâ petitione confundi . . . paupertati eorum consultum fuerit et pudori."—Serm. ix. p. 82-3. Leo denounces usury—"fœnus pecunie, sanus animus."—Serm. xvii.

¹ Serm. lxxxv.

² Serm. xvi.

only to the broader anti-Materialistic and Dualistic tenets. But these more general principles were obnoxious in the highest degree to the whole Christianity of the age. Where the great rivalry of the contending parties in Christendom was to assert most peremptorily, and to define most distinctly, the Godhead and the humanity of the Redeemer, nothing could be more universally abhorrent than a creed which made the human person of the Redeemer altogether unreal, and was at least vague and obscure as to his divinity: which in that Redeemer was clearly extraneous and subordinate to the great Primal Immaterial Unity. All parties would unite in rejecting these total aliens from the Christian faith.¹ But Leo had stronger reasons for his indignation against the Roman Manicheans. Whether the asceticism of the sect in general had recoiled into a kind of orgiastic libertinism, or whether the polluting atmosphere of Rome, in which no doubt much of pagan licentiousness must have remained, and which would shroud itself in Christian, as of old in pagan mysteries, the evidence of revolting immoralities is more strong and conclusive against these Roman Manicheans than against any other branch of this condemned race at other times. The public, it might seem the ceremonial violation of a maiden of tender years, in one of their religious meetings, was witnessed, it was said, by the confession of the perpetrator of the crime; by that of the elect who were present; by the Bishop, who sanctioned the abominable wickedness.² The investigation took place before a great assembly

¹ S. Leo, *Serm.* xvi. and xlii.

² *Epist.* ad Turib. xiv. *Epist.* viii. *Rescript.* Valentin. "Coram Senatu amplissimo manifestâ ipsorum confessione patefacta sunt.

of the principal of the Roman priesthood, of Oct. 10, 442. the great civil officers, of the Senate, and of the people. We cannot wonder that the penalties fell indiscriminately upon the whole sect. Some, indeed, were admitted to penance, on their forswearing Manes and all his impious doctrines, by the lenity of Leo; others were driven into exile; still, however, no capital punishment was inflicted. Leo wrote to the Jan. 444. Bishops of Italy, exhorting them to search out these pestilent enemies of Christian faith and virtue, and to secure their own flocks from the secret contamination. The Emperor Valentinian III., no doubt by the advice of Leo, issued an edict confirmatory of those laws of his predecessors by which the Manicheans were to be banished from the whole world. They were to be liable to all the penalties of sacrilege. It was a public offence. The accusers were not to be liable to the charge of delation. It was a crime to conceal or harbor them. All Manicheans were to be expelled from the army, and not permitted to inhabit cities; they could neither make testaments nor receive bequests. The cause of the severity of the law was their flagrant and disgraceful immorality.

If Italy did not fully acknowledge, it did not contest the assumed supremacy of the Roman See. Leo writes not only to the Bishops of Tuscany and Campania, but to those of Aquileia and of Sicily, as under his immediate jurisdiction.

Africa was among the provinces of the Western Empire. It was a part of the Latin world — Africa. an indispensable part — as being now, since the Egyptian supplies were alienated to the East, with Sicily, the sole granary of Rome and of Italy. If the patri-

archate of Rome was coextensive with the Western Empire, Africa belonged to her jurisdiction, and the closest connection still subsisted between these parts of Latin Christendom. Latin had from the first been the language of African theology; and of the five or six greatest names among the earlier Western fathers, three, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, were of those provinces. In every struggle and in every controversy Africa had taken a leading part. She had furnished her martyrs in the days of persecution; she had contended against all the heresies of the East, and repudiated the subtle metaphysics of Greek Christendom; orthodoxy had in general triumphed in her deliberations. By the voice of St. Augustine she had discomfited Manicheism; and it was her burning temperament which, in the same great writer, had repelled the colder and more analytic Pelagianism, and made the direct, immediate, irresistible action of divine grace upon the soul an established article of the Western creed. Her councils had been frequent, and commanded general respect; her bishops were incredibly numerous in the inland districts; and, on the whole, Christianity might seem more completely the religion of the people than in any other part of the empire.

But the fatal schism of the Donatists had, for more than a century, been constantly preying upon her strength, and induced her to look for foreign interference. The orthodox church had, in her distress, constantly invoked the civil power. The emperor naturally looked for advice to the bishops around him, especially to the Bishop of Rome; and from the earliest period, when Constantine had referred this controversy to a council of Italian prelates, they had been

thus indirectly the arbiters in the irreconcilable contest. For even down to the days of St. Augustine, and beyond the Vandal conquest of Africa, the Donatists maintained the strife, raised altar against altar, compared the number of their bishops with advantage to those of their adversaries, resisted alike the reasonings of the orthodox, and the more cogent arguments of the imperial soldiery. The more desperate, the more fierce and obstinate the fanaticism. The ravages of the Circumcellions were perpetually breaking out in some quarter; the civilization which had covered the land, up to the borders of the desert, with peaceful towns and villages, so much promoted by the increased cultivation of corn, and which at once contributed to extend Christianity and was itself advanced by Christianity, began to suffer that sad reverse which was almost consummated by the Vandal invasion. The wild Moorish tribes seemed training again towards their old unsubdued ferocity, and preparing, as it were, to sink back, after two or three more centuries, into the more congenial state of marauding Mahometan savages.

But Africa, notwithstanding the difficulties which arose out of these sanguinary contentions, and the constant demands of assistance from the civil power in Italy, conscious of her own intellectual strength, and proud of the unimpeached orthodoxy of her ruling churches, by no means surrendered her independence. If Rome at times was courted with promising submissiveness, at others it was opposed with inflexible obduracy. Though Cyprian, by assigning a kind of primacy to St. Peter, and acknowledging the hereditary descent of the Roman Bishop from the great apostle,

had tended to elevate the power of the Pontiff, yet his great name sanctioned likewise almost a contemptuous resistance to the Roman ecclesiastical authority. The African Councils had usually communicated their decrees, as of full and unquestioned authority, not submitted them for a higher sanction. The inflexibility of the African Bishops had but recently awed the Pelagianizing Zosimus back into orthodoxy. Some events, which had brought the African churches into direct collision with the Roman Pontiff, betrayed in one case an admission of his power, on the other a steadfast determination of resistance, which would disdain to submit to foreign jurisdiction. In the first, Augustine himself might seem to set the example of homage—opposing only earnest and deprecatory arguments to the authority of the Roman Pontiff.¹ It was the African usage to erect small towns, even villages, into separate sees. St. Augustine created a bishopric in the insignificant neighboring town of Fussola. He appointed a promising disciple, named Antoninus, to the office. But, removed from the grave control of Augustine, the young bishop abandoned himself to youthful indulgences, and even to violence, rapine, and extortion. He was condemned by a local council; but, some of the worst charges being insufficiently proved, he was only sentenced to make restitution, deprived of his episcopal power, but not degraded from the dignity of a bishop. Antoninus appealed to Rome; he obtained the support of the aged Primate of Numidia, by the plausible argument that, if he had been guilty of the alleged enormities, he was unworthy of, and ought to have been degraded

Antoninus
Bishop of
Fussola.

¹ Augustin. Epist. 261.

from, the episcopal rank. Boniface, who was then Pope, commanded the Numidian bishops to restore Antonius to his see, provided the facts, as he stated them, were true. Antonius, as though armed with an absolute decree, demanded instant obedience from the people of Fussola: he threatened them with the Imperial troops, whom, it would seem, he might summon to compel the execution of the Papal decree. The people of Fussola wrote in the most humble language to the new Pope, Celestine, entreating to be relieved from an oppression, as they significantly hinted, more grievous than they had suffered under the Donatist rule, from which they had but recently passed over into the Catholic Church. They threw the blame on Augustine himself, who had placed over them so unworthy a bishop. Augustine confessed his error, and urged the claims of the people of Fussola for redress in the most earnest terms. He threatened to resign his own see. The dispute ended in the suppression of the see of Fussola, by the decree of a Council of Numidia, and the assent of Celestine. It was reunited to that of Hippo.

But the second dispute was not conducted with the same temper—it terminated in more *Apiarius*. important consequences. Apiarius, a presbyter of Sica, was degraded for many heinous offences by his own bishop. On his appeal, he was taken under the protection of Rome without due caution or inquiry by the hasty Zosimus. Zosimus commanded A.D. 419. his restoration to his rank, as well as to the communion of the Church. The African bishops protested against this interference with their episcopal rights. In an assembly of 217 bishops at Carthage,

appeared Faustinus, Bishop of Picenum, and two Roman presbyters. They boldly produced two canons of the Council of Nicea, that first and most sacred legislative assembly, to which Christendom owed the establishment of the sound Trinitarian doctrine, and which was received by all the orthodox world with unbounded reverence. These canons established a general right of appeal from all parts of Christendom to Rome. The Bishop of Rome might not only receive the appeal, but might delegate the judgment on appeal to the neighboring bishops, or commission one of his own presbyters to demand a second hearing of the cause, or send judges, according to his own discretion, to sit as assessors, representing the Papal authority with the bishops of the neighborhood.¹ The African bishops protested, with exemplary gravity, their respect for all the decrees of the Nicene Council; but they were perplexed, they said, by one circumstance—that in no copy of those decrees, which they had ever seen, did such Canons appear. They requested that the authentic copies, supposed to be preserved at Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, might be inspected.² It turned out, that either from ignorance in himself, almost incredible, or from a bold presumption of ignorance in others, not less inconceivable, the Bishop of Rome had adduced Canons of the Synod of Sardica, a council of which the authority was in many respects highly questionable, and which did not aspire to the dignity of a General Council, for the solemn decrees of the great Œcumenic Senate. The

¹ "E latere suo Presbyterum" is the expression—probably heard for the first time in these canons.

² "Habentes auctoritatem ejus a quo destinati sunt."—Labbe, Conc. ii. p. 1590

close of this affair was as unfavorable as its conduct to the lofty pretensions of the Roman Bishop. While the Africans calmly persisted in asserting the guilt of Apiarius, the Bishop of Rome, through his legate, obstinately pronounced him to be the victim of injustice. Apiarius himself, seized by a paroxysm of remorse, suddenly and publicly made confession of all the crimes imputed to him — crimes so heinous and offensive, that groans of horror broke forth from the shuddering judges. The Bishop of Rome was left in the humiliating position of having rashly embarked in an iniquitous cause, and set up as the judge of the African bishops on partial, unsatisfactory, and as it appeared, utterly worthless evidence. The African bishops pursued their advantage, adduced the genuine Canons of Nicea, which gave each Provincial Council full authority over its own affairs, and quietly rebuked the Roman Prelate for his eagerness in receiving all outcasts from the Churches of Africa, and interfering in their behalf concerning matters of which he must be ignorant. They asserted that God would hardly grant to one that clear and searching judgment which he denied to many.¹ Thus, in fact, they proclaimed the entire independence of the African Churches on any foreign dominion: they forbade all appeals to transmarine judgments.²

But Africa had not to contest that independence with the ambition and ability of Leo. The long age

¹ "Nisi forte quispiam est qui credat, unicuique posse Deum nostrum examinis inspirare justitiam, et innumerabilibus congregatis in unum concilium denegare." — Labbe, Concil. ii. p. 1675.

² "Quod si ab eis provocandum putaverunt, non provocent ad transmarina judicia, sed ad Primates suarum Provinciarum (aut ad Universale Concilium) sicut et de Episcopis sæpe constitutum est." — Ibid.

of peace, wealth, fertility, and comparative happiness which had almost secluded Africa, since the battle of Thapsus, from the wars and civil contentions of the Empire, and had permitted Christianity to spread its beneficent influence over the whole province, was drawing to a close. The Vandal conquest began that long succession of calamities — the Arian persecutions under Hunneric and Thrasimund, the successors of Genseric — the re-conquest by the Eastern Empire, and the internal wars, with their train of miseries, famine, pestilence, devastation, which blasted the rich land into a desert; silenced altogether the clamors of Christian strife still maintained by the irreclaimable Donatists, and quenched all the lights of Christian learning and piety; until, at length, the whole realm was wrested by the strong arm of Mahomedanism from its connection with Christendom and the civilization of Europe.

The Vandal conquest under Genseric alone belongs to this period. The Vandals, until the invasion of the Huns, had been dreaded as the most ferocious of the Northern or Eastern tribes. Their savage love of war had hardly been mitigated by their submission to Arian Christianity. Yet the invasion of Genseric was at first a conquest rather than a persecution. The churches were not sacred against the general pillage, but it was their wealth which inflamed the cupidity, rather than the oppugnancy of the doctrine within their walls which provoked the insults of the invaders. The clergy did not escape the general massacre: many of them suffered cruel tortures, but they fell in the promiscuous ruin: they were racked, or exposed to other excruciat-

Vandal conquest of Africa.

ing torments to compel the surrender of their treasures, which they had concealed, or were supposed to have concealed. After the capture of Carthage, bishops and ecclesiastics of rank, as well as nobles, were reduced to servitude. The successor of Cyprian, "Quod vult Deus," ("What God wills,"—the African prelates had anticipated our Puritans in their Scriptural names,) and many of his clergy were embarked in crazy vessels, and cast on shore on the coast of Naples. Yet Genseric permitted the elevation of another orthodox bishop, Deo Gratias, at the prayer of Valentinian, to the see of Carthage. Valentinian might seem prophetically to prepare succor and comfort for the Romans who should hereafter be carried captives to Carthage.

During the later years of his reign Genseric became a more cruel persecutor. He would admit only Arian counsellors about his court. The honors of martyrdom are claimed for many victims, perhaps rather of his jealousy than of his intolerance; for the Vandal dominion was that of an armed aristocracy, few in numbers when compared with the vast population of Roman Africa. He closed the churches of the orthodox in Carthage after the death of Deo Gratias; they were not opened for some time, but at length, at the intervention of the Emperor of the East, they were permitted a short period of peace, until the reign of Genseric's more fiercely intolerant successors, Huneric and Thrasimund.¹

Gaul was the province of the Western empire, beyond the limits of Italy (perhaps excepting Gaul.

¹ Victor Vitensis, lib. i., with the notes of Ruinart, *Hist. Persecutionis Vandalicæ*.

Africa), which was most closely connected by civil and ecclesiastical relations with the centre of government. But Northern and Western Gaul, as well as the two Germanies, were already occupied by Teutonic conquerors, Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, and were either independent, or rendered but nominal allegiance to the descendants of Theodosius. Britain appeared entirely lost to the Roman empire and to Christianity. Her Christianity had retired to her remote mountain fastnesses in Wales, Cornwall, Cumberland, and to the more distant islands; it was cut off altogether from the Roman world. But in Gaul the clergy, at least the orthodox clergy, were as yet everywhere of pure Roman, or Gallo-Roman race: the Teutonic conquerors, who were Christians, Goths, Burgundians, Vandals, had not shaken off the Arianism into which they had been converted; and the Franks were still fierce and obstinate pagans. The Southern Province alone retained its full subordination to the Court of Ravenna; and the jealousies and contests among the Bishops of Gaul had already driven them to Rome, the aggrieved for redress against the oppression, the turbulent for protection against the legitimate authority of their Bishops or Metropolitans, the Prelates whose power was contested, for confirmation of their dominion. The acknowledged want of such a superior jurisdiction would thus have created, even if there had been no pretensions grounded on the succession to St. Peter, a jurisdiction of appeal. Nowhere indeed can the origin of appeals be traced more clearly, as arising out of the state of the Church. The Metropolitan power over Narbonese Gaul was contested by the Churches of Arles and Vienne. The circumstances

of the times, the retirement of the Prefect of Gaul from Treves to Arles, the dignity which that city had assumed as the seat, however of an usurped empire, had given a supremacy to Arles. But neither would the metropolitan nor the episcopal dignity be administered with such calm justice as to command universal obedience. Severe discipline and strict adherence to the canons by the austere would excite rebellion, laxity and weakness encourage license. A remote tribunal would be sought by all, by some out of despair of finding justice nearer home, by some in the hope that a bad cause might find favorable hearing where the judges must be comparatively ignorant, and propitiated by that welcome deference which submitted to their authority. Yet, though there are several instances of Bishops deposed, not seldom unjustly, by synods of Gallic Bishops, none had carried his complaint before the Bishop of Rome until towards the end of the fourth century.¹ Priscillian appealed from the Council of Bourdeaux, not to the Bishop of Rome, but to the Emperor. During the Pontificate of Zosimus, Patroclus, Archbishop of Arles, was involved in an implacable feud with Proculus, Bishop of Marseilles.² That degradation of Proculus which he could not A.D. 385. inflict by his own power, the Metropolitan of Arles endeavored to obtain by that of Zosimus.³ Zosimus,

¹ Quesnel, *Dissertat.* v. p. 384.

² Every point in this controversy has been discussed with the most unwearied pertinacity by the advocates, — on one side of the high Papal supremacy; on the other, by the defenders of the Gallican liberties. I have endeavored to hold an equal hand, and to dwell only on the facts which rest on evidence. There is an implacable war between the successive editors of the works of Leo the Great, — the Frenchman Quesnel, and the Italians, the Ballerinis.

³ Sulpic. Sever. 11.

it appears to be admitted, was deceived by the misrepresentations of Patroclus, and scrupled not to issue Feb. 9, 422. the sentence of degradation against the Bishop of Marseilles.¹ Proculus defied the sentence, and continued to exercise his episcopal powers. The more prudent Pope, Boniface, in a case of appeal from the clergy of Valence against their Bishop, referred the affair back to the Bishops of the province.²

Under Leo, the supremacy of the Roman See over Gaul was brought to the issue of direct assertion on his part, of inflexible resistance on that of his opponent. Hilarius, a devout and austere prelate, invested by his admiring biographer in every virtue, in the holiness and charity of a saint, a perfect monk and a consummate prelate — (as a preacher, it was said that Augustine, if he had lived after Hilarius, would have been esteemed his inferior) — was Archbishop of Arles.³ His zeal or his ambition aspired to raise that metropolitan seat into a kind of Pontificate of Gaul. He was accustomed to make visitations, accompanied by the holy Germanus of Auxerre, not improbably beyond the doubtful or undefined limits of his metropolitan power.⁴ During one of these visitations,

¹ Zosim. Epist. 12 ad Patrocl.

² Bonifac. Epist. ad Episcop. Gallias.

³ The account of his election, by his biographer, is curious. He was designated as bishop by his predecessor Honoratus. He was then a monk of Lerins. A large band of the citizens of Arles, with a troop of soldiers, set out to take him by force. They did not know him: "*spiritalis præda adstat ante oculus inquirentium, et nihilominus ignoratur.*" He is discovered, but requires a sign from heaven. A dove settles on his head. — S. Hilar. Vit. apud Leon. Oper. p. 323.

⁴ "*Ordinationes sibi omnium per Gallias ecclesiarum vindicans, et debitam metropolitanis sacerdotibus in suam transferens dignitatem; ipsius quoque beatissimi Petri reverentiam verbis arrogantibus minuendo . . . ita sus vos cupiens subdere potestati, ut se Beato apostolo Petro non patiatur*

charges of disqualification for the episcopal office were exhibited against Celidonius, Bishop, according to some accounts, of Besançon. He was accused of having been the husband of a widow, and in his civil state of having pronounced as magistrate sentences of capital punishment. Hilarius hastily summoned a council of Bishops, and pronounced sentence of deposition against Celidonius. On the intelligence that Celidonius had gone to Rome to appeal against this decree, Hilarius set forth, it is said, on foot, crossed the Alps, and travelled without horse or sumpter mule to the Great City. He presented himself before Leo, and with A.D. 445.

respectful earnestness entreated him not to infringe the ancient usages of the Gallic Churches, significantly declaring that he came not to plead before Leo, or as an accuser in a case of appeal, but to protest against the usurpation of his rights.¹ Leo proceeded to annul the sentence of Hilarius and to restore Celidonius to his bishopric. He summoned Hilarius to rebut the evidence adduced by Celidonius, to disprove the justice of his condemnation. So haughty was the language of Hilarius, that no layman would dare to utter, no ecclesiastic would endure to hear such words.² He inflexibly resisted all the authority of the Pope and of St. Peter; and confronted the Pope with the bold assertion of his own unbounded metropolitan power. Hilarius thought his life in danger; or he feared lest

esse subjectum." — Leo. Epist. This may have been stated by Leo under indignation at the resistance of Hilarius to his authority, and on the testimony of the enemies of Hilarius; but his biographer admits that the very humility of Hilarius had generated a kind of supercilious haughtiness; he was rigid, but to the proud, terrible, but to the worldly. — p. 326.

¹ "Se ad officia non ad causam venisse; protestandi ordine non accusandi quæ sunt acta suggerere." — Vit. Hil.

² "Quæ nullus laicorum dicere, nullus sacerdotum posset audire." — Ibid

he should be seized and compelled to communicate with the deposed Celidonius. He stole out of Rome, and though it was the depth of winter, found his way back to Arles.¹ The accounts of St. Hilarius, hitherto reconcilable, now diverge into strange contradiction. The author of his Life represents him as having made some weak overtures of reconciliation to Leo, as wasting himself out with toils, austerities, and devotions, and dying before he had completed his forty-first year. He died, visited by visions of glory, in ecstatic peace; his splendid funeral was honored by the tears of the whole city; the very Jews were clamorous in their sorrow for the beneficent Prelate. The people were hardly prevented from tearing his body to pieces, in order to possess such inestimable relics.²

The counter-statement fills up the interval before the death of Hilarius with other important events. Leo addresses a letter to the Bishops of the province of Vienne, denouncing the impious resistance of Hilarius to the authority of St. Peter, and releasing them from all allegiance to the See of Arles. For hardly had the affair of Celidonius been decided by the See of Rome than a new charge of ecclesiastical tyranny had been alleged against Hilarius. The Bishop Projectus complained, that while he was afflicted with illness, Hilarius, to whose province he did not belong, had consecrated another Bishop in his

Hilarius died,
A.D. 449.

¹ The accounts of this transaction in the Life and in the Letters of Pope Leo appear to me, considered from the point of view of each writer, strictly coincident, instead of obstinately irreconcilable.

² The writer describes himself as a witness of this remarkable fact: "*Etiam Judæorum concurrunt agmina copiosa. . . . Hebræam concinentium linguam in exequiis honorandis audisse me recolo. Nam nostros ita moror obsederat, ut ab officio solito impatiens doloris inhibuerit magnitudo.*"—p. 339.

place, and this in such haste, that he had respected none of the canonical forms of election; he had awaited neither the suffrage of the citizens, the testimonials of the more distinguished, nor the election of the Clergy. In this, and in other instances of irregular ordinations, Hilarius had called in the military power, and tumultuously interfered in the affairs of many churches. It is significantly suggested, that on every occasion Hilarius had been prodigal of the last and most awful power possessed by the Church, that of excommunication.¹ Hilarius was commanded to confine himself to his own diocese, deprived of the authority which he had usurped over the province of Vienne, and forbidden to be present at any future ordinations. But a sentence, in those days more awful than that of the Bishop of Rome, was pronounced against Hilarius. At the avowed instance of Leo, Valentinian promulgated an Imperial Edict, denounced the contumacy of Hilarius against the primacy of the Apostolic throne, confirmed alike by the merits of St. Peter, the chief of the episcopal order, by the majesty of the Roman city, and by the decree of a holy Council. Peace can alone rule in the Church, if the universal Church acknowledge its Lord. Hilarius is accused of various acts of ecclesiastical tyranny and violence, irregular ordinations, depositions of Bishops without authority: of entering cities at the head of an armed force, of waging war instead of establishing peace. The sentence of so great a Pontiff as the Bishop of Rome did not need Imperial confirmation; but as Hilarius had offended against the Majesty of

¹ "Sed quod mirum eum in laicos talem existere, qui solet in sacerdotum damnatione gaudere?" — S. Leon. Epist. ad Vienn.

the Empire, as well as against the Apostolic See, he was reminded that it was only through the mildness of Leo that he retained his see. He and all the Bishops were warned to observe this perpetual Edict, which solemnly enacted that nothing should be done in Gaul, contrary to ancient usage, without the authority of the Bishop of the Eternal City; that the decree of the Apostolic See should henceforth be law; and whoever refused to obey the citation of the Roman Pontiff should be compelled to do so by the Moderator of the Province.¹

Spain was already nearly dissevered from the empire of Rome. It had been overrun, it was in great part occupied, by Teutonic conquerors, Suevians, Goths, and Vandals, all of whom, as far as they were Christians, adhered to the Arianism to which they had been converted by their first Apostles. The land groaned under the oppression of foreign rulers, the orthodox Church under the superiority of Arian sovereigns. If the provinces looked back, at least with the regret of interrupted habit, to the Imperial government, and in vain hoped for deliverance from the sinking house of Theodosius, the orthodox Church uttered its cry of distress to the Bishop of Rome. It was not however against Arianism, but a more formidable and dangerous antagonist; one kindred to that which Leo had suppressed with such difficulty in his own immediate territory.

The blood of the Spanish Bishop Priscillian, the first martyr of heresy, as usual had flowed in vain. He had been put to death by the usurper Maximus, at the

¹ *Constitutio Valentiniani*, iii. Augusti, apud S. Leonis Opera, Epist. xi p. 642.

instigation of two other Spanish prelates, Ithacius and Valens ; but to the undisguised horror of such Churchmen as Ambrose and Martin of Tours. Leo more sternly approved this sanguinary intervention of the civil power. But, in justice to Leo, it was the moral and social, rather than civil offence of which he supposed the Priscillians guilty, which justly called forth the vengeance of the temporal Sovereign. In such case alone the spiritual power, which abhorred legal acts of bloodshed, would recur to the civil authority.¹ But the opinions of Priscillian still prevailed, and even seemed to have taken deeper root in Spain. Prelates were infected with the indelible contagion. Turibius, the Bishop of Astorga, laid the burden of his sorrows before Leo ; he asked his advice in what manner to cope with these dangerous adversaries. The doctrines of the Priscillians are summed up in sixteen articles. In these appear the great universal principles of Gnosticism or Manicheism, or rather of Orientalism : the sole existence of the primal Godhead, which preceded the emanation of his virtues. In this primal Godhead, if they recognized a Trinity, it was but a trinity of names. In these articles their enemies detected Arianism and Sabellianism. To the Godhead was opposed the uncreated Power of darkness, equally eternal, sprung from chaos and gloom. The *Christ* existed not till he was born of the Virgin ; it was his office to

¹ "Videbant enim omnem curam honestatis auferri, omnem conjugiorum copulam solvi, simulque divinum jus humanumque subverti, si hujusmodi hominibus usquam vivere cum tali professione licuisset. Profuit diu ista districtio ecclesiastica lenitatis, quæ etiam sacerdotali contenta iudicio, cruentas refugit ultiones, severis tamen Christianorum principum constitutionibus adjuvatur, dum ad spiritale nonnunquam recurrunt remedium, qui timent corporale supplicium."—S. Leon. Epist. See *Hist. of Christianity*, iii 262.

deliver the souls of men, those souls being of the divine Essence, from the bondage of the body, that body created by the spirit of darkness. The Priscillianites fasted rigidly on the day of the Nativity, and on every Sunday, as the day of Resurrection, no doubt not on account of the unreality of the Saviour's body, but for an opposite reason, because at his birth he was degraded to an union with a material body, and at his resurrection reassumed that infected condition. It was this that set them in perpetual, implacable antagonism, not merely in their secret opinions, but in their public and outward usages, with the rest of the Christian world. Their austere proscription of marriage, and aversion to the procreation of beings with material bodies, led to the accustomed charge, perhaps in many cases, among the rude and ignorant, to the natural consequence, gross licentiousness. The peculiarity of the Priscillian system was an astrological Fatalism. The superstition which prevailed for so long a period in Europe, of assigning certain parts of the human body to the influences of the signs of the Zodiac, assumes its first distinct form in their tenets.¹ It was the earthly part which was subject to these powers, who in some mysterious way were concerned in its creation. Leo proceeded not, by a summary edict, to evoke this question from the Churches of Spain; he recommended the convocation of a general Council of Bishops from the four Provinces of Tarragona, Carthagera, Lusitania, and Gallicia. If the times prevented

¹ Cap. xiv. apud Leon. Oper. p. 705. "Ad hanc insaniam pertinet prodigiosa illa totius humani corporis per duodecim cœli signa distinctio, ut diversis partibus diversæ præsideant potestates; et creatura, quam Deus ad imaginem suam fecit, in tantâ sit obligatione siderum, in quantâ est connexionem membrorum." — S. Leon. Epist. xv.

this general assembly, the Bishop of Astorga might appeal to a Provincial Council from Gallicia alone. Two Councils were held, one at Toledo, the other at Braga in Gallicia, in which Priscillianism was condemned in the usual terms of anathema.¹

Illyricum, in the primary division of the Empire, had been assigned to the West; it would be *Illyricum*. comprehended under the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. As early as the pontificate of Siricius, the metropolitan of Thessalonica was appointed as delegate of the Bishop of Rome to rule the province. To this precedent Leo appeals, when he invests Anastasius, Metropolitan of the same city, with equal powers.² But he does not rest his title to supremacy on his Patriarchal power, or on the claim of the Western Empire to the allegiance of Illyricum; he grounds it on the universal dominion which belongs to the successors of St. Peter. The province appears to have acquiesced in his authority, and received with due submission his ordinances concerning the election of Bishops and Metropolitans. But all graver causes were to be referred to Rome for judgment.

The East, again plunged into a new controversy, might look with envy on the passive peace of *The East*. the West. Supremacy, held by so firm and vigorous a hand as that of Leo, might seem almost necessary to Christendom. The Bishop of Rome, standing aloof, and only mingling in the contests by legates, whom he

¹ It is declared in this decree, that all who had been twice married, who had married widows, or divorced women, were canonically unfit for the priesthood. Nor was it any excuse that the first wife had been married before baptism. "Cum in baptisate peccata deleantur, non uxorum numerus abrogetur."

² Epist. v. ad Episcop. Metropol. per Illyricum constitutos (Jan. 12, 444).

might disclaim at any time as exceeding their powers, could not but be heard with anxious submission by both parties, and by the Christian world at large. He would be contemplated with awful reverence, as attempting to command troubled Christendom into repose. Nestorianism had been, if not suppressed within the empire, reduced to the utmost weakness; it had been cast forth beyond the limits of the Roman world into distant and miserable exile. Nestorius himself had been the victim of the remorseless persecution.

But the theological balance was too nicely poised on this question, not speedily to descend on the opposite side. Cyril himself, by some of his strong expressions, had given manifest advantage to the Oriental Bishops.¹ Many who condemned the heresy of Nestorius, loudly impeached the orthodoxy of the Alexandrian Prelate.

The Monks. Almost throughout the East, the monks, mindful perhaps of their Egyptian origin, had been strenuous in the cause of Cyril. In Constantinople they had overawed the government, and powerfully contributed to the discomfiture of Nestorius. But from character, education, and habits the Eastern monks were least qualified to be the arbiters in a controversy which depended on fine shades and differences of expression. Their dreamy and recluse life, their rigid ritual observances, even their austerities, instead of sharpening their intellects, led to vague conceptions; and the want of commerce with mankind disabled them from wielding the keen weapons of dialectics, or of comprehending the subtle distinctions taught in the schools of philosophy. From the temperament which drove them

¹ See p. 142.

to the cell or cloister, and which was not corrected by enlightened education, their opinions quickly became passions; those passions were inflamed by mutual encouragement, emulation, and the corporate spirit of small communities, actuated by a dominant feeling. Nor with them were these, points of abstract and speculative theology; the honor of the Redeemer, the dignity of the Virgin Mother now so rapidly rising into an object of adoration, were deeply committed in the strife. Such men were to speak with precise and guarded language on the unity of the divine and human nature in the person of Christ; on the unity which combined the two in perfect harmony, yet allowed not either to encroach on the separate distinctness, the unalterable and uninterchangeable attributes of the other.

The foremost adherent of Cyril in Constantinople had been Eutyches, a Presbyter, the Archi-^{Eutyches.} mandrite or Superior of a convent of monks without the walls of the city.¹ At his bidding the swarms of monks had thronged into the streets, defied the civil power, terrified the Emperor, and contributed, more than any other cause, to the final overthrow of Nestorius. He had grown old in the war against heresy; he had lived in continence for seventy years;² nor was it till after his departure from strict orthodoxy that men began to discover his total deficiency in learning.

A new race of Metropolitans had arisen in the more important sees of the East. That of Antioch was filled

¹ Eutyches is three times mentioned as a powerful ally of Cyril in the memorable letter to Maximianus, cited above. Flavian. Epist. ad Leon. Brev. Hist. Eutych. p. 759. Liberatus in Breviar.

² Ad Leon. Epist. sub fin. He complains in another place that Flavianus had not respected his gray hairs.

Prelates of
the Eastern
Metropolitan
see.

by Domnus, that of Alexandria by Dioscorus; Flavianus ruled the Church of Constantinople. All these prelates inherited the orthodox aversion to Nestorianism. Dioscorus, though he persecuted the relatives of Cyril, despoiled them of their property, and degraded them from their offices, with the violence, the turbulence, and the intolerance of his predecessor, adhered to his anti-Nestorian opinions. A great effort had been made to crush the lingering influence of those Prelates who had resisted Cyril. The aged Theodoret of Cyrus, who had accepted the peace of Antioch, but had not consented either to the condemnation or to the complete absolution of Cyril; Ibas of Edessa, who had defended the suspected writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia; Irenæus of Tyre, who, as a civilian, when Count of the Empire, had been held a partisan of the Nestorian party, and though he had been twice married, had been promoted to that see: these, with some others, were degraded from their rank, and sent into exile.

In all these movements, Eutyches and his monks had joined — always their clamors; where tumults in the streets of Constantinople or elsewhere were necessary to advance their cause, succors less becoming their secluded, peaceful, and unworldly character. On a sudden, Eutyches, from the all-honored and boastful champion of orthodoxy, to his own surprise (for in justice to him he seems to have had no very distinct notions of his own heterodoxy),¹ is arraigned, condemned, and finally branded to posterity as the head of a new and odious heresy.

¹ Leo writes of him with sovereign contempt: "Qui ne ipsius quidem symboli initia comprehendit." This old man has not learned what are the first lessons of the Christians. Ad Flavian.

In a Synod held at Constantinople, under the Bishop Flavianus, Eusebius, Bishop of Doryleum, ^{Eutyches} solemnly charged ^{accused.} Eutyches with denying the two natures in Christ. Thrice was Eutyches summoned before this tribunal, thrice he resisted or eluded the formal citation. He declared himself bound by a vow not to quit his monastery; a vow which, as his adversaries reminded him, he had not very religiously respected during the tumults against Nestorius: he pleaded bad health; he promised to come forward on a future day. At length he condescended to appear, but environed by a rout of turbulent monks, and with an Imperial officer, Florianus, who demanded to take his place in the Synod. The affair now proceeded with more decent gravity. The charge was made by Eusebius, who had practised in the schools as a Master of Rhetoric.¹ Eutyches in vain struggled to extricate himself from the grasp of the rigid logician. He took refuge in vague and ambiguous expressions, he equivocated, he contradicted himself; his merciless antagonist pressed him in his dialectic toils, and at length extorted the heretical confession: the two natures which were distinct before the Incarnation, in the Christ were blended and confounded in one. The Synod heard the confession with horror, amazement, and regret; the awful sentence of excommunication ^{was} ^{Excommunicated.} passed; the implacable assertor of orthodoxy against Nestorius found himself cast forth as a convicted and proscribed author of heresy.

But this grave ecclesiastical proceeding has another side. The secret history of the times, preserved by a later but trustworthy authority, if it does not A.D. 441.

¹ Evagrius.

resolve the whole into a wretched court intrigue, connects it too closely with the rise and fall of conflicting female influence, and the power of an Eunuch minister.¹ The sage and virtuous Pulcheria had long ruled with undisputed sway the feeble mind of her Imperial brother, Theodosius II. Chrysaphius the Eunuch had risen to the chief administration of public affairs. He was scheming to balance, or entirely to overthrow the authority of Pulcheria by the influence of the Empress, the beautiful Eudocia. Chrysaphius was the godson of Eutyches. He had hoped to raise the monk to the see of Constantinople. The elevation of Flavianus crossed these designs. But Chrysaphius did not despair of his end; he still hoped to expel Flavianus from the throne, and replace him by his own spiritual father. Either to estrange the mind of the Emperor from Flavianus, or to gratify his own rapacity, he demanded the customary present to the Emperor on the Prelate's inauguration. Flavianus tendered three loaves of white bread. The minister indignantly rejected this poor offering, and demanded a considerable weight of gold. Such offering Flavianus could only furnish by a sacrilegious invasion of the treasures, or profanation of the sacred vessels of the Church. This quarrel was hardly appeased when Chrysaphius endeavored, with more dangerous friendship, to implicate Flavianus in his own intrigues against Pulcheria. Flavianus not merely eluded the snare, but the Eunuch suspected the Bishop of betraying his secret designs. Eusebius, the antagonist of Eutyches, was of the party of Pulcheria before his advancement to the see of Doryleum; he had held a

¹ Theophanes, Chronog. p. 153. Edit. Bonn.

civil office, probably in the household of the Emperor's sister. He had been an early and an ardent adversary of Nestorius; he now stood forward as the accuser of the no less heretical Eutyches.

But Eutyches was too powerful in the support of his faithful monks, and in the favor of the ^{Eutyches} minister, to submit either to the Bishop of ^{appeals.} Constantinople, or to a local Synod. He appealed to Christendom—from the Metropolitan of Constantinople to the Metropolitans of Jerusalem, Thessalonica, Alexandria, and Rome. He accused the Bishops at Constantinople of forging or of altering the Acts of their Synod. He demanded a General Council to examine his opinions. The Emperor, under the influence of Chrysaphius, acceded to the request; the Council was summoned to meet at Ephesus, under the presidency of Dioscorus of Alexandria. Letters were despatched to the West by both parties, by Eutyches not only to the Bishop of Rome, but to the Bishop of Ravenna,¹ and no doubt to others. The support of Leo was too important not to be sought with earnest solicitude. But Eutyches addressed him as a suppliant, imploring his protection against injustice and persecution; Flavianus as an equal, who condescended to inform his brother Bishop of the measures which he had taken against an heretical subject of his diocese, and requested him to communicate the decree of the Constantinopolitan Synod to his brethren in the West. The consentient voice of Leo might restore peace to Christendom.

¹ The answer of the Bishop of Ravenna is extant in the works of S. Leo. *Epist. xxv.* The close, in which Chrysologus defers most humbly to Rome, seems to me suspicious.

But Leo was too wise to be deluded by the servility of Eutyches, or offended by the stately courtesy of Flavianus.¹ He waited to form his decision with cautious dignity.

At Ephesus met that assembly which has been branded by the odious name of the "Robber Synod." But it is difficult to discover in what respect, either in the legality of its convocation, or the number and dignity of the assembled prelates, consists its inferiority to more received and honored Councils. Two Imperial Commissioners, Elpidius and Eulogius, attended to maintain order in the Council, and peace in the city. Dioscorus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, by the Imperial command assumed the presidency.² The Bishops who formed the Synod of Constantinople were excluded as parties in the transaction, but Flavianus took his place, with the Metropolitans of Antioch and Jerusalem, and no less than three hundred and sixty bishops and ecclesiastics. Three ecclesiastics, Julian, a Bishop, Renatus, a Presbyter, and Hilarius, a Deacon,

¹ Quesnel and Pagi on one side, Baronius and the Ballerini on the other, contest the relative priority of two letters addressed by Flavianus to Leo. The question in debate is whether Flavianus initiated an appeal to Rome. But neither of them contains any recognition of Leo's authority. In the first, according to Ballerini, he sends the account of the proceedings. *Ὡστε καὶ τὴν σὴν δαύτητα γνοῦσαν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν, πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν θεοσέβειαν τελούσι θεοφιλεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις ὅλην ποιῆσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ δυσσεβειαν.* — p. 757. The second letter, as printed by the Ballerini, is in the same tone: *δίκαιον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς ἡγοῦμαι, διδάχθηναι ὑμῶς, ὡς ἐτι κ. τ. λ.*

² Dioscorus wanted the severe and unimpeached austerity of Cyril. He was said to have had a mistress named Irene. He is the subject of the well-known epigram which illustrates Alexandrian wit and boldness —

*"Ἐλρήνη πάντεσσιν," Ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν ἐπελθὼν,
Πῶς δύναται πάντεσσ' ἦν μῖνος ἐνδὸν ἔχει;*

were to represent the Bishop of Rome.¹ The Abbot Barsumas (this was an innovation) took his seat in the Council, as a kind of representative of the monks.

Though commenced with seeming regularity, the proceedings of the assembly soon degenerated into disgraceful turbulence, violence, and personal conflict. But it is impossible to deny that in this respect the Robber Synod only too faithfully followed, if it exceeded, the legitimate and Œcumenic Council of Ephesus. Its acts were marked with the same indecent precipitation; questions were carried by factional acclamations within, and the Council was overawed by riotous mobs without. But that which was pardonable and even righteous zeal in the cause of Cyril, was sacrilegious tumult in that of Eutyches: the monks, who had been welcomed and encouraged as holy champions of the faith when they issued from their cells to affright the Emperor into the condemnation of Nestorius, when they thronged around Eutyches, became a mutinous and ignorant rabble.²

The Egyptian faction (for Dioscorus, though tyrannical to the kindred and adherents of Cyril, embraced his opinions with the utmost ardor) looked to this Council, not so much for the vindication of Eutyches, as for the total suppression of Nestorianism, and, no doubt, the abasement of Flavianus, and in the person of Flavianus, of the aspiring see of Constantinople. But in their blind heat they involved themselves with the creed of Eutyches. The Council commenced with the usual formalities. The proposition to read the let-

¹ They were attended by Dulcitus, a notary. S. Leo. and Synod Ephes. One Bishop, Renatus, had died on the road. Hilarius seems to have taken the lead among Leo's legates.

² Compare Walch, p. 215.

ters of Leo to Flavianus, which condemned the doctrine of Eutyches, was refused with the utmost contempt.¹ Then were rehearsed the acts of the Synod of Constantinople. On the first mention of the two natures in Christ an angry dispute arose. But when the question put to Eutyches by Eusebius of Doryleum was read, whether he acknowledged the two natures after the incarnation, the assembly broke out with one voice, "Away with Eusebius! banish Eusebius! let him be burned alive! As he cuts asunder the two natures in Christ, so be he cut asunder!" The President put the question, "Is the doctrine that there are two natures after the incarnation to be tolerated?" The sacred Council replied, "Anathema on him who so says!" "I have your voices," said Dioscorus, "I must have your hands! He that cannot cry, let him lift up his hands!" With an unanimous suffrage the whole assembly proclaimed, "Accursed be he who says there are two!" The Council proceeded to absolve Eutyches from all suspicion of heterodoxy, and to reinstate him in all his ecclesiastical honors; to depose Flavianus and Eusebius, and to deprive them of all their dignities. Flavianus alone pronounced his appeal; Hilarius, the Roman deacon, alone refused his assent.² The unanimity of the assembly is unquestionable, but it is asserted, and on strong grounds, that it was an unanimity enforced by the dread of the imperial soldiery and

¹ "Quem Alexandrinus antistes, qui totum solus ibi potentis sue vindicavit, audire contempsit," *ἀκούσαι κατέντησεν* in the Greek.—S. Leon. Epist. 1. ad Constantinop. Leo's letter exists in indifferent Greek, and worse Latin, dated 449, Jan. 13.

² We hear nothing of the other legate of Leo, the Bishop Julian; the Presbyter Renatus was dead.

the savage monks, who environed and even broke in, and violated the sanctity of the Council.¹ Dioscorus pursued his triumph. The deposition of Ibas of Edessa, Theodoret of Cyrus, Irenæus of Tyre, and of others who were suspected of Nestorianism, or at least refused to subscribe the anathemas of Cyril, was confirmed. Domnus of Antioch was involved in their fate. Hilarius the deacon fled to Rome; but not so fortunate was Flavianus. After suffering personal insults, it is said even blows, from the furious Dioscorus himself, instigated by the monk Barsumas, who shouted aloud, "Strike him, strike him dead!" he expired after a few days, either of his wounds, ^{Death of Flavianus.} of exhaustion, or mental suffering. Thus was this the first, but not the last, Christian Council which was defiled with blood.²

Alexandria had succeeded in dictating its doctrine to the whole of Christendom; the Patriarch of Alexandria had triumphed over both his rivals, had deposed the Metropolitan of Antioch, and the more dreaded Bishop of Eastern Rome. Nor was this all. An Imperial edict avouched the orthodoxy and confirmed the acts of the second Council of Ephesus. It involved Flavianus and Eusebius in the charge of Nestorianism; it proscribed Nestorianism in all its forms, branding it by the ill-omened name of Simonianism: it forbade the consecration of any bishop favorable to Nestorius or Flavianus, and deposed them, if unwarily consecrated: it condemned all worship or religious meetings of the Nestorians (and all who were not Euty-

¹ See the evidence of Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea.

² Leo, writing from the report of Hilarius, the Deacon, "*Magnum facinus Alexandrino Episcopo auctore vel executore commissum est.*" — Epist. ad Anat.

chians were in danger of being declared Nestorians), under the penalty of confiscation and exile; and interdicted the reading of all Nestorian books, which are ranked with the anti-Christian writings of Porphyry; that is, the works of Nestorius and of Theodoret, and according to one copy of the law, those of Diodorus and Theodore of Mopsuestia also, under the same penalties.

But the law might command, it could not enforce peace. Eastern Christendom was severed into two conflicting parties. Egypt, Palestine, and Thrace adhered to Dioscorus, while the rest of Asiatic Christendom, Pontus and Asia Minor, still clung to the cause of Flavianus.¹ Strengthened by the unanimous consent of the West, which entered so reluctantly into these fine metaphysical subtleties, Leo, the Bishop of Rome, refused all recognition of the Ephesian Council. Dioscorus, in the heat of his passion and the pride of success, broke off (an unheard of and unprecedented boldness) all communion with Rome.

A sudden and total revolution at once took place. The change was wrought, — not by the commanding voice of ecclesiastical authority, — not by the argumentative eloquence of any great writer, who by his surpassing abilities awed the world into peace, — not by the reaction of pure Christian charity, drawing together the conflicting parties by evangelic love. It was a new dynasty on the throne of Constantinople.

The feeble Theodosius dies; the masculine Pulcheria — the champion and the pride of orthodoxy — the friend of Flavianus and of Leo, ascends the throne, and gives her hand, with a share in the empire, to a brave soldier named Marcianus.

¹ Liberat. Brev. c. xii.

The hopes of one party, and the apprehensions of the other, were realized with the utmost rapidity. The first act of the Government, which Anatolius, the new bishop, who, though nominated by the Egyptian party, was a moderate prudent man, either acquiesced in or promoted, was the quiet removal of Eutyches from the city. This measure was confirmed by a synod at Constantinople.

A more full and authoritative Council could alone repeal the acts of the "Robber Synod" of Ephesus. The only opposition to the summons of such Council at Chalcedon arose from Leo. The Roman Pontiff had urged on the Western Emperor (it is said, on his knees) the necessity for a general Council; but Leo desired a Council in Italy, where no one could dispute the presidency of the Roman prelate. Prescient, it might seem, of the decree at Chalcedon, which raised the Patriarch of Constantinople to an equality with the Bishop of Rome, he dreaded the convocation of a Council in the precincts and under the immediate influence of the Byzantine court.

At Chalcedon, the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, met that assembly, which has been admitted to rank as the fourth, by some as the last, of the great Œcumenic Councils. Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople, was present, with Maximus of Antioch, and Juvénalis of Jerusalem. Leo appointed as his representatives two bishops and a presbyter.¹ Above five hundred bishops² made their appear-

Council of
Chalcedon.
Oct. 8,
A.D. 451.

¹ Paschasius, Bishop of Lilybæum, Lucentius, Bishop of Ecclanum (Ascoli), Boniface, Presbyter of the Church of Rome.

² This is the number in the Breviarium: Marcellinus raises the number to six hundred and thirty. Between four and five hundred signatures are appended to the acts.

ance. Dioscorus of Alexandria was there, but sat not in the order of his rank, and was not allowed the right of suffrage. Theodoret of Cyrus claimed his seat, but did not obtain it without violent resistance from the Egyptian faction, who denounced him as a Nestorian: his own party retorted charges against the Egyptians, as persecutors of Flavianus, and as Manicheans. The Imperial Commissioners reproved with firmness, and repressed with dignity, but with much difficulty, these rabble-like proceedings.¹

The first act of the Council, after the decrees of the Synod at Ephesus had been read, was to annul the articles of deposition against Flavianus and Eusebius. Many of the bishops expressed their penitence at their concurrence in these acts: some saying that they were compelled by force to subscribe — others to subscribe a blank paper. The Council proceeded to frame a resolution, deposing Dioscorus and five other bishops, as having iniquitously exercised undue influence in the Oct. 10. Council of Ephesus; but the right of approbation of this decree was reserved to the Emperor. During the whole of this first session, Dioscorus had confronted his adversaries with the utmost intrepidity, readiness, and self-command. He cried aloud, "They are condemning not me alone, but Athanasius and Cyril. They forbid us to assert the two natures after the incarnation." The night drew on; Dioscorus demanded an adjournment; the Senate refused; the acts were read over by torch-light. The bishops of Illyria proclaimed their abandonment of the cause of Dioscorus. The night was disturbed by wild cries of accla-

¹ It is said in the Breviar. Hist. Eutych. that the Emperor and Senate were present. The Senate appears in the acts.

mation to the Emperor and the Senate, appeals to God, anathema to Dioscorus — "Christ has deposed Dioscorus — Christ has deposed the murderer — God has avenged his martyrs!" The Council at the next session proceeded to the definition of the true faith. The Creeds of Nicea and of Constantinople, the two Epistles of Cyril, and above all the Epistle of Leo to Flavianus, were recognized as containing the orthodox Christian doctrine. The letter of Leo excited acclamations of unbounded joy. "This is the belief of the Fathers, — of the Apostles!" "So believe we all!" "Accursed be he that admits not that Peter has spoken by the mouth of Leo!" "Leo has taught what is righteous and true; and so taught Cyril!" "Eternal be the memory of Cyril!" "Why was not this read at Ephesus? It was suppressed by Dioscorus!" With this there was again a strange mingled outcry of the Bishops, confessing their sin and imploring forgiveness, and of the adversaries of Dioscorus, chiefly the clergy of Constantinople, clamoring, "Away with the Egyptian, the Egyptian into exile!"

The Imperial Commissioners, who, with some few of the Bishops, were anxious that affairs should proceed with more dignified calmness, hardly restrained the impulse of the Council, who were eager to proceed by acclamation, and at once, to the condemnation of Dioscorus; they accused him of being a Jew. It would, perhaps, have been better for that prelate, if they had been permitted to follow their impulse; for charges now began to multiply and to darken against the falling Patriarch — charges of disloyalty, of tyranny, of rapacity, of incontinence. Condemnation of Dioscorus. Thrice was he summoned to appear (he had not been

permitted to resume his seat, or had withdrawn during the stormy course of the proceedings), thrice he disobeyed, or attempted to elude the summons. The solemn sentence was then pronounced by one of the Western Bishops, the representatives of Leo. It stated that Dioscorus, sometime Bishop of Alexandria, had been found guilty of divers ecclesiastical offences. To pass over many, he had admitted Eutyches, a man under excommunication by lawful authority, into communion; he had haughtily repelled all remonstrances; he had refused to read the Epistle of Leo at the Council of Ephesus; he had even aggravated his guilt by daring to place the Bishop of Rome himself under interdict. Leo, therefore, by their voice, and with the authority of the Council, in the name of the Apostle Peter, the Rock and Foundation of the Church, deposes Dioscorus from his episcopal dignity, and excludes him from all Christian rights and privileges. The unanimous Council subscribes the judgment.¹

The decree was temperate and dignified; it contained no unfair or exaggerated accusations; though it might dwell with undue weight on the insulting conduct towards Leo, it condescended to no fierce and abusive appellations. Nor was the grave majesty of the assembly disturbed by a desperate rally of the monks, headed by Barsumas. This man, as
Barsumas
the monk. not unjustly suspected of being implicated in

¹ It is remarkable that the decree took no notice of the various imputations of heresy against Dioscorus, none of the accusations of murder said to have been perpetrated by him in Alexandria. Compare especially the libel of Ischyron the Deacon, who offers to substantiate his charges by witnesses. Either Dioscorus was one of the most wicked of men, or Ischyron the most audacious of calumniators. — Labbe, p. 398-400.

the death of Flavianus, the assembly refused to admit to the honors of a seat. Repelled on all sides, and awed by the Imperial power, the monks appealed to Christ from Cæsar, shook their garments in contempt of the Council, and as a protest against the injustice done to Dioscorus; and then sullenly retired to their solitudes to brood over and propagate in secret their Monophysite doctrines. Some of their traditions assert, in characteristic language, that Barsumas, thus ignominiously expelled by the Council and by the Emperor, pronounced his curse against Pulcheria. She died a few days afterwards, and Barsumas, while he took rank among his followers as a prophet and man of God, became from that time an object of cruel and unrelenting persecution by his enemies.

It is remarkable that the formulary of faith adopted finally by the Council of Chalcedon was brought forward by the Imperial Commissioners. After much altercation and delay, it received at length the sanction of the Council. After this the Civil Government (the Emperor Marcian) issued two laws, addressed to all orders, to the clergy, to the military, and to the commonalty; one prohibited the future agitation of these questions, as tending to tumult: it denounced as the penalty for offences against the statute, degradation to the ecclesiastic, to the soldier ignominious expulsion from the army, to the common man exile from the Imperial city.¹ The second decree confirmed all the proceedings at Chalcedon, enforced on the public mind the deferential conclusion, that no private man could hope to arrive at a sounder understanding of these

¹ A strong canon of the Council of Chalcedon against simony implies that the benefices in the East, as in the West, were highly lucrative.

mysteries than had been painfully attained by so many holy bishops, and only after much prayer and profound investigation. The punishment of dissent was left indefinite and at the will of the civil rulers.

But before the final dissolution of the Council at Chalcedon, among thirty canons on ecclesiastical subjects, appeared one of singular importance to Christendom. It asserted the supremacy of the Roman See, not in right of its descent from St. Peter, but solely as the Bishopric of the Imperial City. It assigned, therefore, to the Bishop of the New Rome, as equal in civil dignity, a coequal and coördinate ecclesiastical authority.¹ This canon, it is averred, was passed by a few bishops, who lingered behind the rest of the Council; it claims only the subscription of one hundred and fifty prelates, and those chiefly of the diocese of Constantinople. It is not indeed likely that the Alexandrian Church, though depressed by the ignominious degradation of its head, still less that the more ancient Churches of Antioch and Jerusalem should thus tamely acquiesce in the assumption of superiority (unless it were a measure enforced by the Imperial power) by the modern and un-Apostolic Church of Byzantium.² Leo from this period denounces the arrogance

¹ Καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρονῷ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ρώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες ἐκόντως ἀποδεύουσι τὰ πρεσβεῖα. — Can. xxviii. p. 769.

² Leo, in his three epistles on the subject, seems to espouse the cause of Antioch and Alexandria, as insulted by their degradation from the second and third rank; rivalry with Rome on their part is a pretension of which he will not condescend to entertain a suspicion. "Tanquam opportunè se tempus hoc tibi obtulerit, quo *secundæ* honoris privilegium sedes Alexandrina perdidit, et Antiochena Ecclesia proprietatem *tertiam* dignitatis amisit, at his locis juri tuo subditis, Metropolitanis Episcopi proprio honore priventur." — Epist. liii.: ad Anatol. Const. Episc. The Bishop of Rome rebukes the ambition of his brother prelate in the words of St. Paul, "Be not high-minded, but fear!!"

and presumption of Anatolius, the Bishop of Constantinople; and this canon of the Œcumenic Council has been refused all validity in the West.

Throughout this long and melancholy ecclesiastical civil war, the Bishop of Rome could not but continue to rise in estimation and reverence, and in their inseparable result, authority. While the East had thus been distracted in every province, the West had enjoyed almost profound religious peace. The circumstances of the time contributed to this state of things; the preoccupation of the whole Western empire by the terrors of the most formidable invasion which had ever menaced society; the general disinclination to those fine theologic distinctions, which rose out of the Grecian schools of philosophy; and, perhaps, the desolation by the savage Vandals of the African Churches, which were most likely to plunge hotly into such disputes, and to drag with them the rest of Latin Christendom. During the whole feud the predecessors of Leo, and Leo himself, had calmly and firmly adhered to those doctrines which were finally received as orthodox. They had acted by common consent as heads and representatives of Western Christendom, and had fully justified the unquestioning confidence of the West by their congeniality with the universal sentiment. Nor had their dignity suffered in the eyes of men by the humiliating scenes to which the great prelates of the East, the Metropolitans of Antioch, of Constantinople, and Alexandria, had been continually exposed; arraignment as heretics, as criminals, before successive Councils, deposition, expulsion from their sees, excommunication, exile, even death. The feeble interdict issued by Dioscorus against Leo might have been

shaken off with silent contempt, if it had not rather suited him to treat it with indignation. Still more the Bishop of Rome had stood uncontaminated, in dignified seclusion from the wretched intrigues and bribery, the venal favor of unpopular ministers, and the trembling dependence on Imperial caprice. Every year became more and more manifest the advantage derived by the Bishop of Rome from the abandonment of Rome as the Imperial residence. The Metropolitan of Constantinople might claim by an ecclesiastical canon, equality with the Roman Pontiff; but the one was growing up into an independent Potentate, while the other, living under the darkening shadow of Imperial pomp and power, could not but shrink into a helpless instrument of the Imperial will. The fate of the Bishop of Constantinople, his rank and his authority in the Church, even his orthodoxy, depended virtually on the decree of the Emperor. Appearing in all the controversies of the East only in the persons of his delegates, the Bishop of Rome had preserved his majesty uninsulted and unhumbled by the degrading invectives, altercations, even personal contumelies, which had violated the sanctity of the great Eastern prelates. Even if they had not provoked; if they had borne with the most saintly patience the outrages of the popular or monkish rabble at Ephesus or Constantinople, in the general mind the holy character could not but be lowered by these debasing scenes.

Leo seemed fully to comprehend the importance and the dignity of his position. He took the most zealous interest in the whole controversy, but his activity was grave, earnest, and serious. His language to the Eastern Emperors, and especially to the Princess Pulcheria, may sound too adulatory to modern ears. The divinity

of the earthly sovereign was acknowledged in terms too nearly approaching that reserved for the great divine Sovereign. This, however, must be judged with some regard to the sentiments and expressions of the age; and his deference was in language rather than in thought. Leo addresses these earthly masters with an independence of opinion, more as their equal, almost more as their master, than would have been ventured by any other subject at that time in either empire.

In the West, meantime, Leo might seem, under the sole impulse of generous self-devotion and reliance on the majesty of religion, to assume the noblest function of the civil power, the preservation of the Empire, of Italy, of Rome itself, of Christianity, from the most tremendous enemy which had ever threatened their freedom and peace. While the Emperor Valentinian III. took refuge in Rome, and rumors spread abroad of his meditated flight, abdication, abandonment of his throne, Leo almost alone stood fearless. An embassy, of which the Bishop of Rome was no doubt considered by the general reverence of his own age, as well as by posterity, as the head and chief, arrested the terrible Attila on the frontiers of Italy, and dispersed the host of savage and but half-human Huns. Leo, to grateful Rome, might appear as the peaceful Camillus, as the unarmed Marius, repelling invaders far more fearful than the Gauls or the Cimbrians.

The terror of Europe at the invasion of the Huns naturally and justifiably surpassed that of all former barbaric invasions. The Goths and other German tribes were familiar to the sight of the Romans; some of them had long been settled within the frontier of the empire; they were already for the most part Christian, and, to

a certain extent, Romanized in their manners and habits. The Mongol race, with their hideous, misshapen, and, as they are described, scarcely human figures, their wild habits, their strange language, their unknown origin, their numbers, exaggerated no doubt by fear, and swollen by the aggregation of all the savage tribes who were compelled or eagerly crowded to join the predatory warfare, but which seemed absolutely inexhaustible; their almost unresisted career of victory, devastation, and carnage, from the remotest East till they were met by Aëtius on the field of Châlons: at the present time the vast monarchy founded by Attila, which overshadowed the whole Northern frontier of the Empire, and to which the Gothic and other Teutonic kings rendered a compulsory allegiance; their successful inroads on the Eastern Empire, even to the gates of Constantinople; the haughty and contemptuous tone in which they conducted their negotiations, had almost appalled the Roman mind into the apathy of despair. Religion, instead of rousing to a noble resistance against this heathen race, which threatened to overrun the whole of Christendom, by acquiescing in Attila's proud appellation, the Scourge of God, seemed to justify a dastardly prostration before the acknowledged emissary of the divine wrath. The spell, it is true, of Attila's irresistible power had been broken; he had suffered a great defeat, and Gaul was, for a time at least, wrested from his dominion by the valor and generalship of Aëtius. But when, infuriated, as it might seem, more than discouraged by his discomfiture, the yet formidable Hun suddenly descended upon Italy, the whole peninsula lay defenceless before him. Aëtius, as is most probable, was unable, as his enemies afterwards de-

clared, was traitorously unwilling, to throw himself between the barbarians and Rome. The last struggles of Roman pride, which had rejected the demand of Attila for the hand of the Princess Honoria (his self-offered bride, whose strange adventures illustrate the degradation of the Imperial family), and which had been delayed by the obstinate resistance of Aquileia to the whole army of Attila, were crushed by the fall and utter extermination of that city, and the total subjugation of Italy as far as the banks of the Po.¹ Valentinian, the Emperor, fled from Ravenna to Rome. To some no doubt he might appear to seek succor at the feet of the Roman Pontiff; but the abandonment of Italy was rumored to be his last desperate determination.

At this fearful crisis, the insatiable and victorious Hun seemed suddenly and unaccountably to ^{Invasion of} pause in his career of triumph. He stood ^{Attila.} rebuked and subdued before a peaceful embassy, of which, with the greater part of the world, the Bishop of Rome, as he held the most conspicuous station, so he received almost all the honor. The names of the rich Consular Avienus, of the Prefect of Italy, Trigettius, who ventured with Leo to confront the barbarian conqueror, were speedily forgotten; and Leo stands forth the sole preserver of Italy. On the shores of the Benacus the ambassadors encountered the fearful Attila. Overawed (as the belief was eagerly propagated, and as eagerly accepted) by the personal dignity, the venerable character, and by the religious majesty of Leo, Attila consented to receive the large dowry of the Princess Honoria, and to retire from Italy. The

¹ Compare Gibbon, c. xxxv. Observe the characteristic words of Jordanes: "Dum ad aulæ decus virginitatem suam cogeretur custodire."

death of Attila in the following year, by the bursting of a blood-vessel, on the night during which he had wedded a new wife, may have been brooding, as it were, in his constitution, and somewhat subdued his fiercer energy of ambition. His army, in all probability, was weakened by its conquests, and by the uncongenial climate and unaccustomed luxuries of Italy. But religious awe may still have been the dominant feeling which enthralled the mind of Attila. The Hun, with the usual superstitiousness of the polytheist, may have trembled before the God of the stranger, whom nevertheless he did not worship. The best historian of the period relates that the fate of Alaric, who had survived so short a time the conquest of Rome, was known to Attila, and seemed to have made a profound impression upon him.¹ The daunt-
A.D. 452. less confidence and the venerable aspect of Leo would confirm this apprehension of encountering, as it were, in his sanctuary the God now adored by the Romans. Legend, indeed, has attributed the submission of Attila to a visible apparition of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, who menaced the trembling heathen with a speedy divine judgment if he repelled the proposals of their successor. But this materializing view, though it may have heightened the beauty of Raffaele's painting of Leo's meeting with Attila, by the introduction of preterhuman forms, lowers the moral grandeur of the whole transaction. The simple faith in his God, which gave the Roman Pontiff courage to confront Attila, and threw that commanding majesty over his words and actions which wrought upon the mind of the barbarian, is far more Christianly sublime than this unnecessarily imagined miracle.

¹ Priscus, quoted by Jornandes, c. 42.

The incorrigible Romans alone, in their inextinguishable pagan superstition, or their ineradicable pagan passion for the amphitheatre, attributed the deliverance of the city not to the intercession of Leo (like the rest of the world), or to the mercy of God, but to the influence of the stars. They crowded (to his indignation) to the Circensian games, rather than to the tombs of the martyrs.¹ Leo might save Rome from the sword of the heathen barbarian, he could not save it from the vices of the Christian sovereign, which were precipitating the Western Empire to its fall, and brought down on Rome a second capture, more destructive than that of the Goth, by the Vandal Genseric. Valentinian III. had taken refuge at Rome; but he found Rome not only more secure, but in its society, its luxury, and its dissoluteness, a more congenial scene for his license than the confined and secluded Ravenna. He returned to it to indulge more freely in his promiscuous amours. At length the violation of the wife of a Senator, Petronius Maximus, of the highest rank and great wealth, caused his assassination. In Valentinian closed the Western line of descendants from the

¹ "Pudet dicere, sed oportet non tacere: plus impenditur demonis quam apostolis, et majorem obtinent insana spectacula frequentiam, quam beata martyria." — S. Leon. Serm. lxxxiv. I am inclined to concur with Baronius (*Annal. sub ann.*) rather than with the later editors of S. Leo's works, Quesnel and the Balerinis, in assigning the short sermon on the Octave of St. Peter to the deliverance from Attila, not to the evacuation of the city by Genseric. Ballerini's view seems impossible. The death of the Emperor Maximus (see below) took place on the 12th of June, three days after Genseric entered the city; the sack of the city lasted fourteen days, till St. Peter's Day, the 29th; yet Ballerini would suppose that on the octave of that day the Romans were so far recovered from their consternation, danger, and ruin, as to celebrate the Circensian games at great expense, and to attend them in multitudes, which provoked the holy indignation of the bishop. The deliverance, which they ascribed to the stars, rather than to the mercy of God, can hardly have been the abandonment of the plundered and desolate city, with hundreds of the inhabitants carried away into captivity.

great Theodosius. The vengeance of Maximus was not content with the sceptre of the murdered Valentinian; he compelled Eudoxia, the Empress, during the first months of her widowhood, to receive him as her husband; and in the carelessness or the insolence of his triumph, betrayed his own complicity, which was before doubtful, in the assassination of Valentinian. Eudoxia determined on revenge; from her Imperial kindred in the East she could expect no succor; the Vandal fleets covered the Mediterranean; Genseric, not satiated with the conquest of Africa, had already subdued Sicily. At the secret summons of the Empress he landed with a powerful force, at the mouth of the Tiber. The defenceless Romans hastened to sacrifice the cause of their calamities; they joined the followers of Eudoxia in a general insurrection, in which the miserable Maximus perished; his body was hewn in pieces and then cast into the Tiber.¹

But the ambition and the rapacity of Genseric were not appeased by this victim; he advanced towards Rome, where no measures of defence had been taken; none perhaps could have been organized in a city without a ruler, and without a standing force. Leo was again the only safeguard of the city; but the Bishop of Rome was still a man of Christian peace. Unarmed, at the head of his clergy, he issued forth to meet the invader; and though the Arian Vandal, within sight of his prey, and actually master of Rome, still the centre of riches and luxury, Rome open to his own rapacity, and that of his soldiers — was less submissive than the heathen Hun; yet even he consented to some restraint on the cruelty and

A.D. 455.

¹ Procop. Hist. Vandal. On the character and history of Maximus, read Letter of Sidon. Apollinar. 11, 13.

license which attend the sack of a captured city. The lives of those who offered no resistance were to be spared; the buildings to be guarded against conflagration, the captives protected from torture. But that was all (and it was much at such a crisis) which the authority of the Pontiff could obtain. The Roman Leo with the rest of his countrymen must witness, what may seem to have aggravated the calamity in the estimation of the world, the late revenge of Carthage, the plunder of Rome by the conquering Africans.¹ In the pillage, which lasted for fourteen days, if the edifices were spared, the treasures of the churches were forced to surrender all which they had accumulated from the pious munificence of the public, during the forty-five years which had elapsed since the sack by Alaric.² It has been observed as a singular event that Genseric, a barbarian from the shores of the Baltic, compelled Rome to surrender, and transported to the shores of Africa the spoils of two religions. From the Temple of Peace in Rome he carried off the plunder of the Jewish Holy of Holies, the gold table and the seven-branched candlestick, which had been deposited as trophies by the Emperor Titus. Roman paganism suffered loss no less insulting than that she had inflicted on Jerusalem. The statues of

¹ See the spirited lines of Sidonius, —

Heu facinus! in bella iterum *quartosque labores*
Perfida Eliæse crudescunt classica *Byrsæ*.
Nutritis quod fata *malum*! *Conscenderat* arces
Evandri *Mæsyia* phalanx, *montesque Quirini*
Marmaræ pressere pedes, *rursusque* revertis
Quæ captiva dedit quondam stipendia *Barchæ*.

Sid. Apoll. Panegyric. — 444.

² Leo from the wreck saved three large silver vessels, of 100 pounds each, which he caused to be cast into communion plate for the other destitute churches. Baronius, from this, and other equally insufficient reasons, infers that the three great churches of St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Lateran (?) escaped.

the gods and heroes of ancient Rome had been still permitted to adorn the Capitoline Temple. These, with the roof of gilt bronze, became the prey of the African Vandals, and were consigned as trophies to Carthage. Rome thus ceased altogether to be a pagan city; and Genseric accomplished what, by the dispersion of the old pagan families, had been more than begun by Alaric. The last bond was broken between Christian Rome and the religion of ancient Rome. The ship which bore the gods of Rome to Carthage foundered at sea. The amount of plunder from the Imperial palace and those of the still wealthy nobility, from the temples and the churches, is vaguely stated at many thousand talents. The Vandal avarice stooped to the meaner metals; the copper and the brass were swept away with remorseless rapacity. The Roman aristocracy, which had been scattered to so great an extent by the conquest of Alaric, were now in numbers carried away into captivity; families were broken up, wives separated from husbands, children from parents. Even the Empress Eudoxia and her daughters, the sole survivors of the Western line of Theodosius, were transported as honorable bond-slaves to Carthage; one of the daughters, Eudocia, Genseric married to his son; the mother and the other daughter, who was already married he released at the request of the Byzantine Emperor Leo, and sent them to Constantinople. But with every successive decimation which thus fell on the Roman nobility, the relative importance of the clergy must have increased, as did that of the Pontiff, from the absence of the Emperor from the capital. Rome, after the departure of Genseric's fleet, laden with the spoils and crowded with captives, selected for their rank, their accomplishments, the females no doubt for

their beauty or for their easy submission to the will of the conquerer, was left without government, almost without social organization, except that of the Church. The first Emperor who aspired to the succession of Maximus was Avitus in Gaul.

The calamity which could not be averted by the commanding authority of the Bishop of Rome, was mitigated by the active and judicious charity of the Bishop of Carthage. Deo Gratias, by the manner in which he devoted himself to the service of the wretched captives dragged away from Rome, has extorted the sincere admiration of an historian in general too blind to the true beauty of the Christian religion.¹ The Bishop of Carthage had no scruple in sacrificing that which had been offered to give splendor to the worship of God, to the more holy object of alleviating human misery. In order to reunite those who had been severed by the cruelty or the covetousness of the conquerors — the husbands from the wives, the parents from their children — he sold all the gold and silver vessels belonging to the churches of his diocese. Diseases and sicknesses followed this sudden and violent change of life. To mitigate these sufferings he converted two large churches into hospitals, furnished them with beds and mattresses, and with a daily allowance of food and medicine. The good bishop himself by night and day accompanied the physicians, visiting every bed, and adding the comforts of tender and affectionate sympathy and of gentle Christian advice, to the substantial gifts of food and the proper remedies.² The aged man wore himself out in these cares. He may have been obnoxious on other accounts to the

¹ Gibbon.

² Gibbon well describes this

Arian rulers, and may have escaped the persecutions with which Genseric and the Vandals afterwards afflicted the African Churches by his timely death;¹ but the judgment must be strangely infected with theological hatred which would suppose that his life was endangered by the jealousy of the Arians at these acts of true Christian mercy.²

The sudden but brief and transitory effort of the Roman Empire, under Majorian, to arrest its hastening extinction, to resume something of its ancient energy, to mitigate the calamities, and avert the impending disorganization by wise legislation,³ by the remission of burdensome taxation, by the restoration of the municipal government in the cities—this last and exhausting paroxysm of strength continued till the close of the Pontificate of Leo. But it was too late; wisdom and virtue, at certain periods, are as fatal to those at the head of affairs, as improvidence and vice. He that would stem a torrent at its fall is swept away. Majorian perished through a lawless conspiracy, as though he had been the worst of tyrants. The last of the Roman Emperors who showed anything of the Roman in his character, and the Pontiff who, in a truly Roman spirit, chiefly founded her spiritual empire, were coincident in the period of their death.⁴ Majorian died in the year 461, leaving the

¹ Victor. Vit. de Persecut. Vandal.

² This is the charitable conclusion of Baronius: "Quo livore Ariani succensi, dolis eum quam plurimis voluerunt sepius enecare. Quod, credo, prævidens Dominus passerem suum de manibus accipitum voluit liberare."
— Annal. sub ann. 458.

³ Compare the laws of Majorian at the end of the Codex Theodosianus.

⁴ Leo was still occupied by the disputes in the East, which followed the condemnation of Eutychianism by the Council of Chalcedon, but this subject will be continuously treated in the following Book.

affairs of Rome and the still subject provinces in irrecoverable anarchy. One or two obscure names fill up the barren annals, till the Western Empire expired in the person of Augustulus. Leo died in the same year, leaving a regular succession of Pontiffs, who gradually rose to increasing temporal influence, which, nevertheless, was entirely subordinate to the barbarian kings of Italy, the Herulian and the Ostro-Gothic line, till, after the reconquest of Italy by the Eastern Emperor, and the gradual abandonment of Justinian's conquests by his feebler successors, the Popes became great temporal potentates.

Latin Christianity, at the close of the fourth, and during the first decennial period of the fifth century, had produced three of her great fathers—the founders of her doctrinal and disciplinarian system—Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine; Jerome, if not the father, the faithful and zealous guardian of her young monasticism, Ambrose of her sacerdotal authority, Augustine of her theology.

Before the middle of the fifth century, the two great founders of the Popedom, Innocent I. and Leo I., (singularly enough, each contemporary with one of the sieges and sacks of Imperial Rome by Teutonic barbarians,) had laid deep the groundwork for the Western spiritual monarchy of Rome. That monarchy must await the close of the sixth century to behold her fourth Father, the author, if we may so speak, of her popular religion, and the third great founder of the Papal authority, not only over the minds, but over the hearts of men—Gregory the Great.

BOOK III. CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPE.		PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.		PATRIARCHS OF ALEXANDRIA.		PATRIARCHS OF ANTIOCH.		PATRIARCHS OF JERUSALEM.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
461. Elixac.	466	459. Gennadius.	471	460. Seleucidus T. Elixac.	477	460. Martyrius, resigned.	471	459. Anastasius.	475
462. Stephanus.	468	471. Anacrus.	469			471. Peter the Fuller, deposed.	471		
						471. Julian.	473		
						473. Peter the Fuller, again deposed.	473	473. Martyrius.	469
						473. John Coloman- nus, deposed.	473		
				468. John Talaia, deposed.	468	473. Stephen II.	481		
468. Felix III.	468	468. Peter II.	469	468. Peter Men- gas.	469	481. Stephen III.	468		
		469. Euphrosius, deposed.	466			481. Calandrus, deposed.	468		
468. Gelasius I.	469			469. Athanasius II.	466	468. Peter the Fuller.	468	468. Salustianus.	466
		469. Marcianus II., deposed.	471			468. Palladius.	468		
469. Anastasius II.	469			469. Johannes Ho- pita.	468			469. Elias, deposed.	468
469. Symmachus.	474			469. Johannes Nicoita.	467	468. Flavianus, deposed.	471		
469. Laurentius, antipope.	468	471. Timotheus.	467			471. Severus, deposed.	469	469. John III.	468
474. Hormisdas.	469	467. John the Op- posedian.	469	471. Dioscorus II.	469				
		469. Euphrosius.	468	471. Timotheus III.	467	471. Paul, abdi- cated.	468		
469. John I.	468					471. Euphrosius.	467		
469. Felix IV.	469							469. Peter.	464
469. Boniface II.	469					467. Euphrosius.	468		
469. Dioscorus, antipope.	469								
469. John II. (Heraclius).	468	468. Anthimus, deposed.	468						
469. Agapetus I.	468	468. Marcellus.	468						
469. Severinus.	467			467. Gennadius, deposed.	467				
467. Vigilius.	466			467. Theodosius, deposed.	466				
				468. Paul, deposed.	461				
				461. Eulius, deposed.	461				
				461. Agathangelus.	466	466. Demetrius III.	469	464. Eusebius, deposed.	466
466. Pelagius I.	469	467. Eutychius, deposed.	466						
469. John III.	473			SCHISM.		469. Anastasius I. deposed.	468		
		468. John Scolia- nus.	467	CATHOLIC.				466. Marcellus.	474
474. Benedict I.	473	467. Eutychius, restored.	468	469. John IV.	473	468. Gregory, abdicated.	468	474. John IV.	464
473. Pelagius II.	469	468. John the Foster.	466	JACOBITE.					
469. Gregory I.	464			469. Domitianus.	468	468. Anastasius I. again.	468	464. Amos.	461
		466. Cyrinus.	466			469. Anastasius II.	470	461. Isaac.	466

EMPERORS OF THE EAST.		WESTERN EMPERORS.		KINGS OF FRANKS.		VIKINGING KINGS IN SCAND.		VANDAL KINGS IN AFRICA.	
A.D. 527. Leo I.	A.D. 571	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D. 528. Genseric.	A.D. 570
		521. Severus.	554			521. Rosta.	555		
		524. Yoram.	555						
		527. Anastasius.	571						
571. Leo II. Emm. Basiliscus.	581	573. Chyrius. Cyrenius. Nepes. Augustulus.	584					585. Hunsich.	594
		—		581. Clota. Eugenius Gildard.	585	—			
		KINGS OF ITALY.				584. Alabo II.	587	584. Gundahad.	585
		579. Chosrov the Marashian.	580	585. Desiderius of Clavia.					
				—					
585. Anastasius I.	590	581. Theodoris the Cathagath.	580	KINGS OF NORWAY.				574. Theodoris.	585
				581. Genseric.	573	587. Genseric.	581		
(Theodorus.)	525			573. Gundahad and his brothers.	580	581. Amalath.	581		
585. Justin I.	597			585. Sigfrud.	585			585. Hunsich.	590
				584. Genseric. Conquered by Western Franks.	585			585. Chosrov.	594
587. Justinian.	590	585. Athalaric.	585					585. Conquered by Justinian.	
		584. Theodoris.	585			581. Theodor.	585		
		585. Viggo.	580						
		585. Theodoris.	585			585. Theodoris.	585		
		581. Arovis. Talla.	585			585. Agin.	585		
		585. Rola.							
						585. Athangath.	587		
585. Justin II.	595					587. Lika.	573		
573. Theodor.	585					573. Leovigild.	585		
585. Marcell.	591					585. Rosarod.	590		
585. Phocas.	595								

587 For Eastern Empire, &c. — See bottom of next page.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

MONOPHYSITISM.

LEO THE GREAT had not lived to witness the last feeble agonies of the Western Empire; he escaped the ignominious feeling which must have depressed the spirit of a Roman at the assumption of the strange title, the King of Italy, by a Barbarian: he was not called upon to render his allegiance, or to acknowledge the title of Odoacer.

The immediate successor of Leo was Hilarius, by birth a Sardinian. As deacon, Hilarius had been the representative of Leo at the Council of Ephesus. His firmness during those stormy debates displays a character unlikely to depart from the lofty pretensions of his predecessor. He reasserted in the East the unbending orthodoxy of Leo; in the West, he maintained, to the utmost extent, the authority which had been claimed over the churches of Gaul

EASTERN EMPIRE.			
554. NARSES, GOVERNOR. 555.			
REARERS OF RAVENNA.		KINGS OF LONGHALLS.	
550. Longinus. 554	555. Alboin.	555	
554. Hunaricus. 557	557. Chlophid.	557	
557. Romanus. 558	558. Deion rule to 559	558	
559. Callistus. 559	559. Andronic.	559	
	King.		
	559. Agath.	559	

and Spain. Rusticus, Bishop of Narbonne, on his death-bed, nominated Hermes as successor to his see. This precedent of a bishop making his see, as it were, a subject of testamentary bequest, seemed dangerous, though in this case the lawful assent had been obtained from the clergy and the people. Hilarius, at Nov. 2, 462. the head of a synod in Rome, condemned the practice, but for the sentence of degradation substituted the lesser punishment, the deprivation of the right to confer ordination. In another dispute concerning the jurisdiction of the Metropolitans of Arles and Vienne over the Bishop of Die, the successor Feb. 24, 464. of St. Peter at least confirms, if he does not ground his whole ecclesiastical authority on the decrees of Christian Emperors. The Imperial sanction was wanting to ratify the edicts of the Apostolic See.¹ The bishops of the province of Tarragona addressed Pope Hilarius in humbler language, and were treated, therefore, in a loftier tone of dictation.

The only act of Hilarius which mingles him up with the temporal affairs of the age, is his solemn rebuke of the Emperor Anthemius, the sovereign who had been sent from Constantinople to rule the West, for presuming to introduce those maxims of toleration, to which his father-in-law, Marcian, had compelled unruly Constantinople; and even to look with favor on the few

¹ "Fratri enim nostro Leontio nihil constituti a sanctæ memoriæ decessore meo potuit abrogari, nihil voluit, quod honori ejus debetur, auferri; quia *Christianorum quoque principum lege decretum* est, ut quicquid ecclesiis eorumque rectoribus, pro quiete omnium domini sacerdotum, atque ipsius observantiæ disciplinæ, in auferendis confusionibus apostolicæ sedis antistes suo pronuntiasset examine, veneranter accipi, tenaciterque servari, cum suis plebibus caritas vestra cognosceret: nec unquam possent convelli, quæ et sacerdotali ecclesiasticâ præceptione fulcirentur *et resq.*" — Hilarii Papæ Epist. xi. Labbe, p. 1045.

surviving partisans of the ancient philosophy, if not of the ancient religion. Under the reign of Anthemius, the old heathen festival, the Lupercalia, was still celebrated in Rome. The venerable rite which still commemorated at once the genial influences of the open-
apt. 467. ing year, and the birth of Rome from the she-wolf which nursed her twin founders, was but slightly disguised to the worshipping Christians.¹

It was Simplicius, the successor of Hilarius, born at
Feb. 25, 468. Tibur, who beheld the sceptre wrested from
Simplicius. the helpless hand of Augustulus, and heard the demand of the allegiance of Italy from Odoacer, a barbarian of uncertain race. The Papal Epistles dwell only on the polemic controversies of the day, on
Close of the Western Empire questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or ceremonial discipline; they rarely notice, even incidentally, the great changes in the civil society around them. We endeavor in vain to find any expression or intimation of the feelings excited in a Roman of the high station and influence of the Pope, at the total extinction of that sovereignty which had governed the world for centuries, and from which the Bishop of Rome acknowledged himself to hold to some extent his authority; by whose edicts Christianity had become the established religion of the world, to which the orthodox faith looked for its support by the legal proscription of heretics; which had been at least the civil lawgiver of the Church, and by whose grants she held her vast increasing estates. How far was the conscious possession of a power, which might hereafter sway opinions as widely as the republic or the empire had enforced outward submission and by force of arms

¹ Compare Gibbon, ch. xxxvi

had quelled every thought of resistance, accepted as a consolation for the departed name of sovereignty? How far did Roman pride take refuge under the pretensions of her Bishop to be the head of Christendom, from the degradation of a foreign and barbarian yoke? Christendom, from all her monuments and records, might seem to have formed a world of her own. Of the fall of Augustulus, of the rise of Odoacer, we hear not a word. Even in the midst of this extraordinary revolution the active energy of the Popes seems concentrated on the East. The Bishop of Rome is busy in Constantinople, opposing the intrigues of Timotheus Ailurus, the Bishop of Alexandria, and jealously watching the ambition of Acacius, the Bishop of Constantinople, a more formidable enemy than Odoacer, as threatening the religious supremacy of Rome.¹ He takes deep interest in the changes on the throne of the East, congratulates the Emperor Zeno on his restoration, but it is because Zeno is an enemy to the Eutychian heretics, because he rises on the ruins of Basiliscus, the patron of the Monophysite faction.

For while the West, partly from her want of interest in these questions, partly from the unsettled state of public affairs, from the breaking up of Attila's kingdom, the Vandal invasion of Italy, the Visigothic conquests in Gaul and Spain, and the final extinction of the empire, reposed, as to its religious belief, under the paternal sway of Pope Leo and his suc-
Church in the East.
 cessors, the distracted East, in all its great capitals, was still agitated with strife, that strife perpetually breaking out into violence and bloodshed. The Council of Chalcedon had commanded, had defined the or-

¹ Simplicii Epist. p. 1078.

thodox creed in vain. Everywhere its decrees were received or rejected, according to the dominant party in each city, and the opinions of the reigning Emperor. On all the metropolitan thrones there were rival bishops, anathematizing each other, and each supported either by the civil power, by a part of the populace, or by the monks, more fierce and unruly than the unruly populace. For everywhere monks were at the head of the religious revolution which threw off the yoke of *Jerusalem*. the Council of Chalcedon.¹ In Jerusalem Theodosius, a monk, expelled the rightful prelate, Juvenalis; was consecrated by his party, and maintained himself by acts of violence, pillage, and murder, more like one of the lawless bandits of the country than a Christian bishop. The very scenes of the Saviour's *Alexandria*. mercies ran with blood shed in his name by his ferocious self-called disciples. In Alexandria the name of Dioscorus (who remained quiet till his death, at Gangra, his place of exile) was still dear to most of the monks, and to many of the people, who asserted the champion of orthodox belief and Alexandrian dignity to have been sacrificed to the *Nestorian* Council of Chalcedon. A prelate named Proterius had been appointed, in the triumph of that Council, to the vacant see. The bold wit of the Alexandrian populace had always delighted in affixing nicknames upon the rulers and kings of Egypt; in their strong religious animos-

¹ Leonis Epist. cix. a cxxiv.; Marciani Epist. ad calc. Conc. Chalced.; Evagrius, 11, 5. The latter writer says the difference between the two parties was between the two prepositions *ex* and *ex*. Leo makes a remarkable admission. His words might have been misunderstood by those who "non valentes in Græcum aptè et propriè Latina transferre, cum in rebus subtilibus et difficilibus explicandis, vix sibi etiam in suâ linguâ disputator quisque sufficiat."

ity, they scrupled not to profane their holy bishops with equally irreverent appellations. Timotheus, a monk, called Ailurus the Weasel, perhaps because he was said to have slunk by night to the secret meetings of the rabble, or because he stole into the bishop-^{A.D. 457.} opric of another, was consecrated by the anti-Chalcedonian faction, as a rival metropolitan. We are impatient of these dreary and intricate feuds. That of Alexandria ended, it must not be said, for it might seem interminable, but came to a crisis, in the horrible assassination of Proterius. So little had centuries of Christianity tamed the savage populace of this great city, that the Bishop was not only murdered in the baptistery, but his body treated with shameless indignity, and other enormities perpetrated which might have appalled a cannibal.¹ Timotheus, however, is acquitted as to the guilt of participation in these monstrous crimes. But the Weasel did not assume the throne of Alexandria without a rival. Another Timotheus, called Solofaciolus, was set up (Timo-^{A.D. 460.} theus the Weasel having been banished on the authority of the Emperor Leo), after no long interval, by the Chalcedonian party.²

At Antioch, some years later, a third monk, Peter, called from his humble birth and occupation the Fuller,³ with the apparent countenance of Zeno, the Antioch. Emperor Leo's son-in-law, whom he had accompanied

¹ Καὶ εὖδε τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀπογεύεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς θῆρας φειδόμενοι ἐκείνου, ὅτι ἔχων μερίτην θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐναγχοῦς ἐνομιόσθησαν. — Evagrius, 11, 9, quoting the letter of the Bishops and Clergy to the Emperor Leo.

² Timotheus was allowed to go to Constantinople to plead his cause; thence he was dismissed into banishment. — S. Leon. Epist. ad Gennadium et ad Leonem Imper.

³ The history of Peter the Fuller is related differently; the time of his invasion of the church of Antioch is not quite certain.

during his wars in the East, began to intrigue with the discontented party in that city. He led a procession, chiefly of monastics, through the streets, which added to the "Thrice Holy" in the hymn, "who wast crucified for us." In a short time Peter succeeded in expelling the Bishop Martyrius, who voluntarily abdicated his see.

Barsumas, the notorious leader of the monks in Constantinople, who had been driven from that city by the Council of Chalcedon, was not inactive during his exile. Throughout Syria he spread the charge of Nestorianism against the Council, and exasperated men's minds against the prelates of that party. On one religious subject alone the conflicting East maintained its perfect unity, in the reverence, it may be said the worship, of the Hermit on the Pillar. Simeon Stylites had been observed by his faithful disciple to have remained motionless for three days in the same attitude of prayer. Not once had he stretched out his arms in the form of the cross; not once had he bowed his forehead till it touched his feet (a holy exploit, which his wondering admirers had seen him perform twelve hundred and forty-four times, and then lost their reckoning). The watchful disciple climbed the pillar; a rich odor saluted his nostrils; the saint was dead. The news reached Antioch. Ardaburius, general of the forces in the East, hastened to send a guard of honor, lest the neighboring cities should seize — perhaps meet in desperate warfare for — the treasure of his body. Antioch, now one in heart and soul, sent out her Patriarch, with three other bishops, to lead the funeral procession. The body was borne on mules for three hundred stadia; a deaf and dumb man touched the

bier, he burst out into a cry of gratulation. The whole city, with torches and hymns, followed the body. The Emperor Leo implored Antioch to yield to him the inestimable deposit. The Emperor implored in vain. Antioch, so long as she possessed the remains of Simeon, might defy all her enemies. In the same year, when Antioch thus honored the funeral rites of him whom she esteemed the greatest of mankind, Rome was lamenting in deep and manly sorrow her Pontiff, Leo. Contrast Simeon Stylites with one Emperor crouching at the foot of his pillar, and receiving his dull, incoherent words as an oracle, then with another, a man of higher character, supplicating for the possession of his remains, and Pope Leo on his throne in Rome, and in the camp of Attila. Such were then Greek and Latin Christianity. Nor was the lineage of the Holy Simeon broken or contested. The sees of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, the throne of the East, might be the cause of long and bloody conflict. The hermit Daniel mounted his pillar at Anaplus, near the mouth of the Euxine; in that cold and stormy climate, his body, instead of being burned up with heat, was rigid with frost. But he became at once the legitimate, acknowledged successor of Simeon, the Prophet, the oracle of Constantinople. Once he condescended to appear in the streets of Constantinople; his presence decided the fate of the Empire.¹

The religious affairs in the East were indissolubly

¹ On Simeon. Antonii vit. S. S. Theodoret Lect., Evagr. i. 13; on Daniel vit. Dan. Theodoret. This kind of asceticism was the admiration of the East to a later period. Eustathius of Thessalonica addressed a Stylites in the xiiith century, admonishing the Saint against pride, yet at the same time asserting this to be the utmost height of religion. Eustath. Opuacula, Edit. Tafel, p. 182.

blended with the political revolutions, to which the religious factions added their weight, and unquestionably did not mitigate the animosity. These revolutions were frequent and violent. Leo the Thracian, the successor of Marcian, throughout his long reign, adhered firmly to the Council of Chalcedon. Towards the close of his reign the treacherous murder of Aspar the Patrician, and his son Ardaburius, to whom Leo had owed his throne; the violation of the Imperial word, solemnly given in order to lure Aspar from the sanctuary to which he had fled (the inviolability of the right of sanctuary Leo had just established by a statute); the same contempt of the laws of hospitality (the murder took place at a banquet in the Imperial palace, to which he had invited Aspar and his son), all this execrable perfidy was vindicated to a large part of his subjects, because Aspar was an Arian.¹ The Eastern world was in danger of falling under the sway of the Cæsar Ardaburius, who was either an open Arian, or but a recent and suspicious convert. This was in itself enough to convict him and his partisans of treasonable designs, and to justify any measures which might avert the danger from the Emperor Leo. Empire. During the whole reign of Leo, Eutychianism had been repressed by the known orthodoxy of the Emperor.² Timotheus the Weasel had been permitted, as has been said, through the weak and suspicious favor of Anatolius, the Bishop

Revolutions
in Constanti-
nople. From
A.D. 457 to
474.

Death of
Marcian.

¹ Niceph. xv. 27.

² A law of Leo betrays the fears of the government of these monkish factions: "Qui in monasteriis agunt, ne potestatem habeant a monasteriis exeundi." The force of law was necessary to compel these disciples of Paul and Antony to be what they had taken vows to be.

of Constantinople, to visit the court, but he had been repelled and sent into exile by the severe Emperor. But with the exception of the first disturbances excited at Antioch by Peter the Fuller, the reign of Leo the Thracian was one of comparative religious peace. Eutychianism hid its head in the sullen silence of the monasteries. With the contested Empire on the death of Leo, the religious contests broke out in new fury. Zeno, who had married Leo's daughter, Ariadne, was driven from the ^{Zeno expelled by Basiliscus.} throne by Basiliscus, the brother of Verina, ^{A.D. 476.} the widow of Leo. With Basiliscus, the anti-Chalcedonian party rose to power. An Imperial encyclic letter branded with an anathema the whole proceedings at Chalcedon, and the letter of Pope Leo, as tainted with Nestorianism. Everywhere the Eutychian bishops seized upon the sees, and expelled the rightful prelates. Peter the Fuller, who had for a time been excluded, reascended the throne of Antioch. Paul resumed that of Ephesus. Anastasius of Jerusalem rendered his allegiance. Timotheus the Weasel came from his exile to Constantinople, and ruled the Emperor Basiliscus with unrivalled sway.¹ Acacius, the Bishop of Constantinople, was a man of great ability. He beheld the unwelcome presence, the increasing influence of the rival Patriarch of Alexandria, with jealous suspicion, and refused to admit him to the communion of the Church. Fierce struggles for power distracted Constantinople.² On one side were

¹ See the triumphant reception of Timotheus in Constantinople, Evagr. iii. 4.

² The language of the Pope Simplicius shows the manner in which the hostile parties wrote of each other: "Comperi Timotheum parricidam, qui Ægyptiacæ pridem vastator Ecclesie, in morem Cain . . . ejectus a facie

the Eutychian monks ; on the other, the Bishop Acacius and a large part of the populace and of the monks of Constantinople, for fierce bands of monks now appeared on either side. But his most powerful supporter was the Hermit Daniel, who descended from the pillar, where he had received the suppliant visits of the former Emperor, to take part in these tumults, that pillar which more sober Christians might almost have mounted in order to rise above the turbid atmosphere of strife. With this potent ally the Bishop of Constantinople (probably indeed supported by the strong faction of the expelled Zeno) waged an equal war against the Emperor. Ere long the strange spectacle was presented of a Roman Emperor flying before a naked hermit, who had lost the use of his legs by standing for sixteen years on his column. Basiliscus too late revoked his encyclic letter. He fell, and Zeno

Zeno emperor,
A.D. 477.

resumed the power. The tide turned against the Monophysite or anti-Chalcedonian party. But the rest, though some bishops hastened to make their peace with the Emperor and with Acacius, contended obstinately against the stream. Stephanus, the Bishop of Antioch, was murdered in the church by the partisans of Peter the Fuller. Timotheus the Weasel, spared from all extreme chastisement on account of his age, died ; but in his place arose another monk, Peter, called Mongus, or the Stammerer, and laid claim to the see of Alexandria. Timotheus Solofaciolus, however, under the Imperial authority, re-

Dei, hoc est Ecclesiæ dignitate seclusus." . . . He then describes his resumption of the Alexandrian See: "Quo procul dubio Cain ipso longè detestabilior approbatur; ille siquidem a perpetrato semel facinore damnatus abstinuit, hic profecit ad crimina majora post poenam." — Simplic. Epist. Labbe, 1070.

sumed the Patriarchate, and endeavored to reconcile the heretics by Christian gentleness.¹ The Emperor Zeno beheld with commiseration and dismay his distracted empire; he determined, if possible, to assuage the animosities, and to reconcile the hostile factions. After a vain attempt to obtain the opinions of the chief ecclesiastical dignitaries, without assembling a new Council, a measure which experience had shown to exasperate rather than appease the strife, Zeno issued his famous Henoticon, or Edict of ^{A.D. 482.} Union. This edict was composed, it was ^{Henoticon of} ~~was~~ Zeno. believed, if not by Acacius, Bishop of Constantinople, under his direction and with his sanction. It aimed not at the reconciliation of the conflicting opinions, but hoped, by avoiding all expressions offensive to either party, to allow them to meet together in Christian amity; as if such terms had not become to both parties an essential part, perhaps the whole, of their Christianity.

The immediate effects of the Henoticon in the East might seem to encourage the fond hope of success. The feud between the rival Churches of Constantinople and Alexandria was for a time appeased. Acacius and Peter the Stammerer recognized their mutual claims to Christian communion. Calendion, the Chalcedonian Bishop of Antioch, had been banished to the African Oasis. Peter the Fuller had resumed the throne. Peter acceded to the Henoticon; and these three Patriarchal churches commended the Imperial scheme of union to the Eastern world.²

¹ Liberatus says that the heretics used to cry out as he passed, "Though we do not communicate with you, yet we love you." — Breviar. Baronius is indignant at this "nimis indulgentia" of the bishop (sub ann. 478).

² Evagrius, iii. 26.

It was but a transient lull of peace. The Henoticon, without reconciling the two original conflicting parties, only gave rise to a third: in Alexandria the two factions severed into three. One half of the Eutychian or anti-Chalcedonian party adhered to Peter the Stammerer; the other indignantly repudiated what they called the base concession of Peter; they were named the Acephali, without a head, as setting up no third prelate. The strong Chalcedonian party had nominated as successor John Talajas, to the mild Timotheus Solofaciolus, a man of a different character. John Talajas, while at Constantinople, had been compelled by the provident, but vain precaution, no doubt, of Acacius, to pledge himself not to aspire to the see of Alexandria.¹ The object of Acacius was to unite the Alexandrian Church under Peter the Stammerer, beneath the broad comprehension of the Henoticon. No sooner was Timotheus dead, and John Talajas safe at Alexandria, than he accepted the succession of Timotheus. On the union between Acacius and Peter the Stammerer, John Talajas fled to Rome; he was welcomed as a second Athanasius.

For now a question had arisen, which involved the Bishops of Rome, not merely as dignified arbiters on a high and profound metaphysical question of the faith, but, vital to their power and dignity, plunged them into the strife as ardent and implacable combatants. The Roman Pontiffs had already, at least from the time of Innocent I., asserted their inalienable supremacy on purely religious grounds, as successors of St. Peter. If, as in the recent act of

¹ Evagrius, on the authority of Zacharias.

Hilarius, they had appealed to the laws of the empire, as confirmatory of that supremacy, it was to enforce more ready and implicit obedience. But with the world at large the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome rested solely on her civil supremacy. The Pope was head of Christendom as Bishop of the first city in the world. Already Constantinople had put forth claims to coequal ecclesiastical, as being now of coequal temporal dignity. This claim had been ratified by the great Œcumenic Council of Chalcedon, — that Council which had established the inflexible line of orthodoxy between the divergent heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. This was but the supplementary act, it was asserted, of a small and factious minority, who had lingered behind the rest; but, it appeared upon the records, it boasted the authority of the unanimous Council.¹ The ambition of Acacius, now, under Zeno, sole and undisputed Bishop of Constantinople, was equal to his ability. He seemed watching the gradual fall of the Western Empire, the degradation of Rome from the capital of the world, which would leave Constantinople no longer the new, the second, rather the only Rome upon earth. The West, in the person of Anthemius, had received an emperor appointed by Constantinople; the Western Empire at one moment seemed disposed to become a province of the East. Acacius had already obtained from the Emperor (we must reascend in the course of our history to connect the East with the West), Leo the Thracian, who had ruled between Marcian and Zeno, a decree confirming to the utmost all the privileges of a Patriarchate claimed by Constantinople. In that edict Constantinople as-

¹ Compare Baronius sub ann. 472.

sumed the significant and threatening title of "Mother of all Christians and of the orthodox Religion." The Pope Simplicius had protested against this usurpation, but his protest is lost. The aspiring views of Acacius were interrupted for a short time by his fall under the Emperor Basiliscus; but his triumph (an unwonted triumph of a Bishop of Constantinople over an Emperor), his unbounded favor with Zeno, might warrant the loftiest expectations. As the acknowledged and victorious champion of orthodoxy, Acacius could now take the high position of a mediator. In the Henoticon Zeno the Emperor spoke his language, and in that edict appeared a manifest desire to assuage the discords of the East, and to combine the Churches in one harmonious confederacy. On the murder of Stephanus of Antioch, Acacius had consecrated his successor; a step against which the Pope Simplicius, A.D. 479. Re-who was watching all his actions, sent a monstration of Simplicius. strong remonstrance. Before the publication of the Henoticon, the Western Empire had departed from Rome; but though her political supremacy, even her political independence was lost, she would not tamely abandon her spiritual dignity. For Rome, in the utmost assertion of her power against the Bishop of Constantinople, might depend on the support of above half the East; of all who were discontented with the Henoticon; and who, in the absorbing ardor of the strife, would not care on what terms they obtained the alliance of the Bishop of Rome, so that alliance enabled them to triumph over their adversaries. The dissatisfaction with the Henoticon comprehended totally opposite factions, Factions in the East. —the followers of Nestorius and of Euty-

ches, who were impartially condemned on all sides ; — and the ecclesiastics, who considered it an act of presumption in the Emperor to assume the right of legislating in spiritual matters, a right complacently admitted when ratifying or compulsorily enforcing ecclesiastical decrees, and usually adopted without scruple on other occasions by the party with which the Court happened to side. But the strength of the malcontents was the high Chalcedonian or orthodox party, who condemned the Henoticon as tainted with Eutychianism, and denounced Acacius as holding communion with Eutychian Prelates, and therefore himself justly suspected of leaning to that heresy. In Constantinople the more formidable of the monks were of this party ; the Bishops of Rome addressed more than once the clergy and the archimandrites of that city, as though assured of their sympathy against the Bishop and the Emperor. John Talajas, the exiled Bishop of Alexandria, filled Rome with his clamors. The Pope Simplicius addressed a remonstrance to Acacius, to which Acacius, who to former letters of the Bishop of Rome had condescended no answer, coldly replied that he knew nothing of such a Bishop of Alexandria ; that he was in communion with the rightful Bishop, Peter Mongus, who, like a loyal subject, had subscribed the Emperor's Edict of Union.¹

At this juncture died Pope Simplicius. On the vacancy of the see occurred a singular scene. March, A.D. 483. The clergy were assembled in St. Peter's. Death of Simplicius In the midst of them stood up Basilius, the Patrician and Prefect of Rome, acting as Vicerent of Odoacer, the barbarian King. He ap-

¹ Liberat. Breviar.

peared by the command of his master, and by the admonition of the deceased Simplicius, to take care that the peace of the city was not disturbed by any sedition or tumult during the election.. That election could not take place without the sanction of his Sovereign. He proceeded, as the Protector of the Church from loss and injury by Churchmen, to proclaim the following edict: "That no one, under the penalty of anathema, should alienate any farin, buildings, or ornaments of the Churches; that such alienation by any Bishop present or future was null and void." So important did this precedent appear, so dangerous in the hands of those schismatics who would even in those days limit the sacerdotal power, that nearly twenty years after, a fortunate occasion was seized by the Pope Symmachus to annul this decree. In a synod of Bishops at Rome, the edict was rehearsed, interrupted by protests of the Bishops at this presumptuous interference of the laity with affairs of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.¹ The authenticity of the decree was not called in question; it was declared invalid, as being contrary to the usages of the Fathers, enacted on lay authority, and as not ratified by the signature of any Bishop at Rome. The same Council, however, acknowledged its wisdom by re-enacting its ordinance against the alienation of Church property.

Felix, by birth a Roman, succeeded to the vacant see. He inherited the views and passions, as well as the throne of Simplicius and his strife with the East. His first act was an indignant rejection of the Henoticon, as an insult to the Council

Felix III.
Pope.
A.D. 488.

¹ Synodus Romana. Labbe, sub ann. 502.

of Chalcedon; as an audacious act of the Emperor Zeno, who dared to dictate articles of faith; as a seed-plot of impiety.¹ He anathematized all the Bishops who had subscribed this edict. At the head of a Roman synod, Felix addressed a strong admonitory letter to Acacius of Constantinople, and another, in a more persuasive tone, to the Emperor Zeno. These letters were sent into the East by two Bishops, Misenus and Vitalis, as Legates of Pope Felix. To Peter the Fuller was directed another letter, arraigning him as involved in every heresy which had ever afflicted the Church, or with something worse than the worst.² Whether he awaited any reply from the re-^{Excommunicates Peter the Fuller.}fractory Bishop or not seems doubtful; but he proceeded to fulminate a sentence of deposition and excommunication against Peter in his own name, and to assume that this sentence would be ratified by Acacius of Constantinople.

The Legate Bishops, Misenus and Vitalis, were

¹ Theodorus Lector.

² The introduction by Peter the Fuller of "who wast crucified for us," after the angelic hymn, the Holy, Holy, Holy, struck the ears of the orthodox with horror. Felix relates with all the earnestness of faith, and with all the authority of his position, the miraculous origin of this hymn in its simple form. During an earthquake at Constantinople, while the whole people were praying in the open air, an infant was visibly rapt to heaven, in the sight of the whole assembly and of the Bishop Proclus; and after staying there an hour, descended back to the earth, and informed the people that he had heard the whole host of angels singing those words. It was not merely that the words, added at Antioch, left it doubtful which of the Persons of the Trinity was crucified for us; the term was equally impious as regarded any one of those consubstantial, uncreated, inviolable, impassible Beings. Καθὼ τοίνυν ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμοούσιος, καὶ εἰς τῆς ἀδιαίρετον τριάδος, ἀκτιστος καὶ ἀθάνατος, ἐμμενῆκει ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀδύνατος. Τὸ οὖν ἀκτιστον καὶ ἀθάνατον τῇ κτίσει μὴ συντάττει, καὶ τοῦ τῆς πολυθείας λόγον μὴ κράτνει, διὰ τὸ λέγειν τεθνήσκειν τὸν ἕνα τῆς τριάδος. - Epist. Felic. III. ad Petr. Full., Labbe, 1058.

attacked at Abydus, and their papers seized. At Constantinople they were compelled, bribed, or betrayed into communion with Peter the Stammerer; at least they were present, and without protest, at the divine service when the name of Peter was read in the diptychs as lawful Bishop of Alexandria. On their return they were branded as traitors by Felix at the head of a synod at Rome, and degraded from their episcopal office. Felix proceeded (his tardiness had been sharply rebuked by the monks of Constantinople, especially the sleepless monks,¹ whose archimandrite Cyril and his whole brotherhood were the implacable enemies of Acacius)

Excommuni-
cates Acacius
of Constanti-
nople.

to issue the sentence of excommunication against the Bishop of Constantinople. The sentence was pronounced, not on account of heresy, but of obstinate communion with heretics — with Peter of July 23, 484. Alexandria, who had been condemned by Pope Simplicius for his violent conduct to the Papal Legates, and his contemptuous refusal to admit the third ambassador, Felix the Defensor, to his presence. Acacius was declared to be deprived, not merely of his episcopal, but of his priestly honors, separated from the communion of the faithful; and this anathema, an unusual form, was declared irrepealable by any power.² But how was this process to be served on the Bishop of Constantinople? Acacius was strong in the favor of the Emperor Zeno. It is remarkable that, while he

¹ Ἀκοίμητοι.

² "Nunquamque anathematis vinculis eruendus." — Epist. Felic. ad Acacius. Felix, in a subsequent letter to Zeno, maintains this implacable doctrine: "Unde divino judicio nullatenus potuit, etiam cum id malleumus, absolvi." — Epist. xi. Writing to Fravitta, his successor, he intimates that no doubt Acacius has gone, like Judas, to hell.

thus precipitately proceeds to the last extremity against his rival Bishop, the Emperor is still sacred against the condemnation of the Bishop of Rome. Zeno had issued the Henoticon. Zeno had, by so doing, usurped the power of dictating religious articles to the clergy. Zeno, if he had not ordered, sanctioned all this re-establishment of the Bishops who had not acceded to the Council of Chalcedon; but to Zeno the language of the Pontiff is respectful, and bordering on adulation. The monks, the allies of Felix, were ready to encounter any peril. One of the sleepless fastened the fatal parchment to the dress of Acacius, as he was about to officiate in the Church. Acacius quietly proceeded in the holy ceremony. Suddenly he paused; with calm, clear voice, he ordered the name ^{Aug. 1, A.D. 484.} of Felix, Bishop of Rome, to be struck out ^{Acacius ex-communicates Felix.} of the roll of bishops in communion with the East. The ban of Rome was encountered by the ban of Constantinople.¹

The schism divided the Churches of the East and West for nearly forty years, down to the Pontificate of Hormisdas and the empire of ^{Schism of forty years.} Justinian, under whose sway Italy became subject to the Byzantine sovereign. Overtures of reconciliation were made, but Felix at least adhered inflexibly to his demand, that the name of Acacius should be erased from the diptychs. The great Eastern Patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, utterly disregarding the anathema of Rome, continued in communion with Acacius and his successors. Acacius, notwithstanding the incitements to spiritual rebellion addressed

¹ Julius, the messenger of Felix, quailed before the danger, or was bribed by Byzantine gold.

by the Bishop of Rome to his clergy and to the turbulent monks, maintained his throne till his death ¹

Acacius (I trace rapidly the history of Eastern Christianity until the reunion with the West) was succeeded by Fravitta or Flavitta, who occupied the throne but for four months.²

A.D. 489.
Fravitta
Bishop of
Constanti-
nople.

Euphemius. The election then fell on Euphemius.

The Bishops of Constantinople might defy the spiritual thunders of Rome, but though Acacius had once triumphed over an usurping Emperor, in daring to conflict with the established Imperial authority, they but betrayed their own weakness. During the reign of the Emperor Anastasius, two Bishops of Constantinople, having justly or unjustly incurred the Imperial displeasure, were degraded from their sees. The Emperor Anastasius has been handed down to posterity with the praise of profound piety, and the imputation of Eutychianism, Arianism, and even Manicheism. Anastasius ascended the throne, though Euphemius had exerted all his authority to prevent his elevation, through his marriage with the Empress Ariadne. It is said that an old quarrel, while Anastasius was yet in a humbler station, rankled in both their hearts. The Bishop had threatened to shave the head of the domestic of the palace, and expose him as a spectacle to the people. The mother of Anastasius and his mother's brother had been Arians, and Euphemius took care that dark suspicions of Anastasius on this vital point should be disseminated in the empire. But Anastasius, in the conscientious conviction of his own orthodoxy,

¹ Felici Epist. x. xi.: ad Clerum et Plebem Constantin. et ad Monachos Constantin. et Bithynias.

² Felix addressed a letter to Fravitta adjuring him to abandon the cause of Acacius and Peter, and unite with Rome.

and that virtue which had called forth the popular acclamation, "Reign as you have lived," dared to enforce despotic toleration. The East was now divided into four religious parties. 1. Those who, with the Roman Pontiff and the monks of Constantinople, held inflexibly to the Council of Chalcedon, and demanded the distinct recognition of its doctrines. These were not content with the anathema against Nestorius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus: they insisted on including under the malediction Acacius and Peter the Stammerer.¹ 2. Those who, holding the tenets of Chalcedon, had yet subscribed the Henoticon, and for the sake of peace would not compel the acceptance of the Chalcedonian decrees. Among these were Euphemius of Constantinople before the accession of Anastasius, and at first his successor Macedonius, and the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem; all the four great Prelates had subscribed the Henoticon. 3. Those who subscribed the Henoticon, and abhorred the decrees of Chalcedon; these were chiefly the Patriarch of Alexandria, with the Bishops of Egypt and Libya. 4. The Acephali, the Eutychian party, who held the Council of Chalcedon to be a Nestorian conclave, and cherished the memory of Dioscorus and of Eutyches. Anastasius issued his mandate, that no bishop should compel a reluctant people to adhere to the Council of Chalcedon; no bishop should compel a people which adhered to the Council of Chalcedon to abandon its principles. Many who infringed on this law of Imperial charity were deposed with impartial severity. Euphemius had extorted from the Emperor Anastasius, as a kind of price for his accession, a written assevera-

¹ Evagrius, iii. 81.

tion of allegiance to the Council of Chalcedon, and an oath that he would maintain inviolate those articles which he had been with difficulty compelled to surrender. Euphemius, it might seem, as a rebuke against the comprehensive measures of the Emperor, held a synod, in which the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon were confirmed; but though this might be among the secret causes, it was not the crime for which Anastasius demanded the degradation of Euphemius.¹

The Isaurian rebellion disturbed the earlier period of the reign of Anastasius; it lasted for five years. The Bishop Euphemius tampered in treasonable proceedings; he was accused of traitorous correspondence, A.D. 496. or at least of betraying the secrets of the state to these formidable rebels. The Emperor summoned a Council; Euphemius was deposed, sent into exile, and died in obscurity: he has left a doubtful fame. The Latin writers hesitate whether he was a martyr or a heretic.²

Macedonius was promoted to the vacant See.³ Macedonius, a man of gentle but too flexible disposition, began his prelacy by an act of unusual courtesy to his fallen predecessor. He performed the act of degradation with forbearance. Before he *saluted* him in the Baptistery, he took off the episcopal habiliment, and appeared in the dress of a Priest; he supplied the exile with money, borrowed money, for his immediate use. Macedonius subscribed the Henoticon, and still the four great Patriarchates were held in Christian fellowship by that bond of union. At the command of the Emperor, Macedo-

Macedonius,
Bishop of
Constanti-
nople.

¹ Evagrius, Theophanes, p. 117. Victor, xvi. xvii.

² Walch, p. 974.

³ Theophanes.

nus undertook the hopeless task of reconciling the four great Monasteries, among them that of the Akoi-metoi, and the female convent then presided over by Matrona, with the communion of the Church under the Henoticon. The inflexible monks would give up no letter of the Council of Chalcedon — they declared themselves prepared rather to suffer exile.¹ Matrona, a woman of the austere life, endured with patience, which wrought strongly on men's minds, acts of violence used by a Deacon to compel her to submission. The mild Macedonius, instead of converting them, was himself overawed by their rigor into a strong partisan of the Council of Chalcedon; he inclined to make overtures to the Bishop of Rome, Gelasius I.; but Anastasius prohibited such proceedings; he had declared himself resolved against all innovations.

The Eastern wars occupied for some years the mind of Anastasius. In the mean time the compressed fires of religious discord were struggling to burst forth and convulse the realm. Macedonius had hardened into a stern, almost a fanatic partisan of the Council of Chalcedon. John Nicetas had ascended the throne of Alexandria: he subscribed the Henoticon, but declared that it was an insufficient exposition of the true doctrine, as not explicitly condemning the Council of Chalcedon. Flavianus filled the See of Antioch — Elias that of Jerusalem. Elias was disposed to reject the Council of Chalcedon; Flavianus was inclined to rest on the neutral ground of the Henoticon. But the Monophysite party in Syria, which seemed greatly reduced in numbers, and content to seclude itself within the peaceful monasteries, sud-

Confusion at
Antioch

¹ Theophanes, Chronog., ed Bekker, i. 219

denly having found a bold and reckless leader, burst out in fierce insurrection. Xenaïas,¹ or Philoxenus, Bishop of Hierapolis, began to agitate the whole region by accusing Flavianus as a Nestorian. Flavianus, to exculpate himself, issued his anathema against Nestorius and his opinions. Xenaïas imperiously demanded the anathema, not of Nestorius alone, but of Ibas, Theodoret of Cyrus, and a host of other bishops, who from time to time had been charged with Nestorianism. Flavianus resisted. But the followers of Eutyches and Dioscorus sprung up on all sides. Eleusinius, a bishop of Cappadocia, and Nicias of the Syrian Laodicea, joined their ranks. Flavianus consented to involve all whom they chose thus to denounce in one sweeping malediction. Xenaïas, flushed with his victory, still refused to absolve the timid bishop from the hated name of Nestorian. He required his explicit condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon, and of all who asserted the two natures in Christ. Flavianus still struggled in the toils of these inexorable polemics, who were resolved to convict him, subscribe what he might, as a secret Nestorian. Swarms of monks crowded from the district of Cynegica, and filling the streets of Antioch, insisted on the direct condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon and the letter of Pope Leo.² The people of Antioch rose in defence of their bishop, slew some of the monks, and drove the rest into the Orontes, where many lost their lives. Another party of monks from Coesylria, where Flavianus himself had dwelt in the convent of Talmognon, hastened to form a guard for his person.

¹ Xenaïas, interpreted by the hostile monks of Jerusalem, "The stranger to Catholic doctrine."

² Evagrius, iii. 31, 32.

The Emperor Anastasius in the mean time on his return from the East found Macedonius, instead of a mild assertor of the Henoticon, at the head of one, and that the most dangerous and violent of the religious factions. Rumors were industriously spread abroad, that the Emperor's secret Manicheism had been confirmed in the East. A Persian painter had been employed in one of the palaces, and had covered the walls, not with the orthodox human forms worshipped by the Church, but with the mysterious and symbolic figures of the Manichean heresy. Anastasius, insulted by the fanatic populace, was escorted to the Council and to the churches by the Prefect at the head of a strong guard. Anastasius was driven by degrees (an Emperor of his commanding character should not have been driven) to favor the opposing party. John, Patriarch of Alexandria, sent to offer, it is said, two hundred pounds of gold, as a tribute, a subsidy, or a bribe, to induce the Emperor to abrogate the Council of Chalcedon. John, however, publicly maintained the neutrality of the Henoticon, neither receiving nor repudiating the Council. His legates were received with honor. Anastasius compelled the Bishop Macedonius to admit them to communion. Xenaias, the persecutor of Flavianus, was likewise received with honor. Worse than all, two hundred Eastern monks, headed by Severus, were permitted to land in Constantinople; they here found an honorable reception. Other monks of the opposite faction swarmed from Palestine. The two black-cowled armies watched each other for some months, working in secret on their respective partisans.¹ At length they

¹ Each party of course throws the blame of the insurrection on the other.

A.D. 511. came to a rupture ; and in their strife, which he either dared not, or did not care to control, the throne, the liberty, the life itself of the Emperor were in peril. The Monophysite monks in the church of the Archangel within the palace broke out after the "Thrice Holy," with the burden added at Antioch by Peter the Fuller, "who wast crucified for us." The orthodox monks, backed by the rabble of Constantinople, endeavored to expel them from the church ; they were not content with hurling curses against each other, sticks and stones began their work. There was a wild, fierce fray ; the divine presence of the Emperor lost its awe ; he could not maintain the peace. The Bishop Macedonius either took the lead, or was
Tumults in Constantinople. compelled to lead the tumult. Men, women, children, poured out from all quarters ; the monks, with their Archimandrites, at the head of the raging multitude, echoed back their religious war-cry : "It is the day of martyrdom. Let us not desert our spiritual Father. Down with the tyrant ! the Manichean ! he is unworthy of the throne." The gates of the palace were barred against the furious mob ; the imperial galleys were manned, ready for flight to the Asiatic shore. The Emperor was reduced to the humiliation of receiving the Bishop Macedonius, whom he had prohibited from approaching his presence, as his equal, almost as his master. As Macedonius passed along, the populace hailed him as their beloved father ; even the military applauded. Macedonius rebuked the Emperor for his hostility to the Church.

The later writers, who are all of the orthodox party, ascribe it to the Syrian monks. Evagrius (iii. c. 44) quotes a letter of Severus, written before he was Bishop of Antioch, charging the whole disturbance on Macedonius and the clergy of Constantinople.

Anastasius condescended to dissemble; peace was restored with difficulty. Macedonius seems to have been of feeble character, unfit to conduct this internecine strife between the Patriarchate and the Empire for supreme authority. Enemies would not be wanting, even had the strife not been for religion, to the enemy of the Emperor; and all acts of enmity to the Patriarch, whether sanctioned or not by the Emperor, would be laid to his charge. An accusation of loathsome incontinence was brought forward against the Bishop; he calmly refuted it by proving its impossibility. His life was attempted; he pardoned the assassin. But this Christian gentleness softened into infirmity. One day he weakly subscribed a Creed, in which he recognized only the Councils of Nicea and Constantinople; his silence about those of Ephesus and Chalcedon implied his rejection of their authority. His monkish masters broke out in furious invectives. The Patriarch stooped to appear before them in the monastery of Saint Dalmatius; and not merely expressed his adhesion to the Council of Chalcedon, he uttered his anathema against all recusants of its decrees. The Emperor had been silently watching his opportunity. The Bishop was seized by night; without tumult, without resistance, he was conveyed to the Asiatic shore, thence into banishment at Euchaita, his predecessor's place of exile. A well-chosen synod of bishops declared the deposition of Macedonius:¹ Timotheus was elected Bishop of Constantinople. Timotheus

A.D. 511.
Deposition
and exile of
Macedonius.

¹ Evagrius intimates that Macedonius was persuaded to a voluntary abdication. According to Theophanes, (Edd. Bekker, i. 240,) Anastasius endeavored to gain possession of the original registers of the Council of Chalcedon, to destroy or to corrupt them. Macedonius sealed them up and put them in a place of safety.

signed the Henoticon; he went further, he laid his curse on the Council of Chalcedon. Timotheus was acknowledged by Flavianus of Antioch, by John of Alexandria, and by Elias of Jerusalem. But this concession secured not the throne of Flavianus. The Monophysite monk Severus, who had stirred up the populace of Alexandria and of Constantinople to religious riot, and had won the favor of Anastasius as acquiescing in the Henoticon, now appeared in Antioch as the rival of Flavianus. Flavianus was deposed, Severus was bishop. He would now no longer keep on the mask; he condemned in the strongest terms the Council of Chalcedon. The monkish party, which had been persecuted by, and in turn persecuted Flavianus, and to which he had in vain made such ignoble concessions, was dominant in Antioch: Severus ruled supreme. At Jerusalem the orthodox were the strongest; and Elias, who would not go all lengths with them, was likewise compelled to abdicate his see. Throughout Asiatic Christendom it was the same wild struggle. Bishops deposed quietly; or, where resistance was made, the two factions fighting in the streets, in the churches: cities, even the holiest places, ran with Christian blood.

In Constantinople it was not the throne of the Bishop, but that of the Emperor which trembled to its base. Anastasius, who had so nobly and successfully wielded the arms of the Empire against the Persians, found his power in Constantinople, in his Asiatic provinces, in his European dominions, crumbling beneath him. His foes were not on the frontier, they were at the gates of Constantinople, in Constantinople, in his palace. He was now eighty

Constantino-
ple again in
insurrection.

years old. The martial courage which he had displayed in his Eastern campaigns might seem decayed; his aged hand could no longer hold with the same equable firmness the balance of religious neutrality; it may have trembled towards the Monophysite party; he may have brought something of the irritability and obstinacy of age into the contest. The year A.D. 512.

after the exile of Macedonius, Constantinople, at the instigation of the clergy and the monks, broke out again in religious insurrection. The blue and green factions of the Circus — such is the language of the times — gave place to these more maddening conflicts. The hymn of the Angels in Heaven was the battle-cry on earth, the signal for human bloodshed. Many palaces of the nobles were set on fire; the officers of the crown insulted; pillage, conflagration, violence, raged through the city. A peasant who had turned monk was torn from the palace of the favorite Syrian minister of Anastasius, Marinus (he was accused of having introduced the profane burden to the angelic hymn); his head was struck off, carried about on a pole, with shouts, "Behold the enemy of the Trinity."¹ The hoary Emperor appeared in the Circus, and commanded the heralds to announce to the people that he was prepared to abdicate the Empire, if they could agree in the choice of his successor. The piteous spectacle soothed the fury of the people; they entreated Anastasius to resume the diadem. But the blood of two of his ministers was demanded as a sacrifice to appease their vengeance.²

¹ Evagrius, *iii.* 44.

² The Pope Gelasius writes to the Emperor, "You fear the people of Constantinople, who are attached to the name of Acacius; the people of Constantinople have preferred Catholic truth to the cause of their bishops

But it is not insurrection in Constantinople alone, Revolt of Vitalianus, A.D. 514. the empire is in revolt on the question of the two natures in Christ. The first great religious war, alas for many centuries not the last! empers the tottering throne of Anastasius. The Thracian Vitalianus is in open rebellion; obtains a great victory over the Imperial general Hypatius; wastes Thrace, depopulates the whole country—the whole realm—up to the gates of Constantinople. He is before the city at the head of 60,000 men. His banner, his war-cry, is that of religious orthodoxy; he proclaims himself the champion, not of an oppressed people, of a nobility indignant at the tyranny of their sovereign, but of the Council of Chalcedon. Cries are heard within the city (not obscurely traced to the clergy and the monks) proclaiming Vitalianus Emperor; and the army of this first religious war in Christendom is composed chiefly of Huns and Barbarians, a great part of them still heathens. But Vitalianus had allies in the West: from some obscure quarrel, or from jealousy of the Emperor of the East, he boasts the alliance of Theodoric, the Arian Ostrogoth; as the champion of orthodoxy he boasts too the countenance of Hormisdas, Bishop of Rome.¹

Macedonius (then supposed to be unsound) and Nestorius. You have suppressed their tumults in the games, you will control them if they break out in religious insurrection." A singular testimony to the two great rival causes which roused the mob of Constantinople to mutiny.

¹ The accounts of these transactions, and their dates, are confused, almost irreconcilable. According to Evagrius (iii. 43), Vitalianus was defeated in a naval battle, and fled in a single ship: according to Theophanes and others, he dictated terms of peace, the restoration of the bishops, and the Council of Heraclea. These terms Anastasius perfidiously violated, declaring that an emperor was justified, more than justified, in swearing to treaties, and breaking his oath to preserve his power, — *ὁ δὲ παράνομος ἀναίδως ἔλεγεν νόμον εἶναι κελύοντα βασιλέα κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐπιτορκεῖν καὶ ψεύδου*

The grey hairs of Anastasius were again brought down to shame and sorrow ; he must stoop to an ignominious peace. If we are to credit the ^{Humiliation of Anastasius.} monastic historians, the end aimed at and attained by this insurrection, which had desolated provinces and caused the death of thousands of human beings, was a treaty which promised the reëstablishment of Macedonius and Flavianus on the archiepiscopal thrones of Constantinople and Antioch ; and the summoning a Council at Heraclea, in which Hormisdas, Bishop of Rome, was to appear by his legates, and no doubt hoped to dictate the decrees of the assembly.

The few last inglorious years of the reign of Anastasius, its dark close, his miserable death, his ^{A.D. 514-518.} damnation, according to his relentless foes, must be reserved for the period when the Bishop of Rome (Hormisdas) appears in a commanding character in the arena of Constantinople : and if he does not terminate, prepares the termination of the schism of above forty years between Eastern and Western Christianity.

We turn away with willingness from the dismal and wearisome period, in which, in the East, all ^{State of the East.} that is noble and generous in religious conviction disappears and gives place to dark intrigues and ignorant fury. Men suffer all the degradation and misery, incur all the sin of persecution almost without the lofty motive of honest zeal. It is a time of fierce and busy polemics, without a great writer. The Henoticon is a work of some skill, of some adroitness, in attempting to reconcile, in eluding, evading, theolog-

δν. ταῦτα ὁ παρανομώτατος μονιχαϊσθῆν. — p. 248. I think, with Gibbon, following Tillemont and older authorities, that there is no doubt of the two insurrections in Constantinople.

ical difficulties; it is subtle to escape subtleties. But there was no vigorous and manly, even if intolerant writer, like Cyril of Alexandria, whom we contemplate with far different estimation in his acts and in his writings.

But that which is the characteristic sign of the times, as a social and political, as well as a religious phenomenon, is the complete dominion assumed by the monks in the East over the public mind, and the depravation of monasticism from its primal principles. Those who had forsaken the world aspire to rule the world. The minds which are to be absolutely estranged from earth mingle in its most furious tumults. Instead of total seclusion from the habits and pursuits of men, the Cœnobites sweep the streets of the great cities in armed bodies, displaying an irregular valor which sometimes puts to shame the languid patriotism of the Imperial soldiery. Even the Eremites, instead of shrouding themselves in the remotest wilderness, and burying themselves in the darkest and most inaccessible caverns, mount their pillars in some conspicuous place, even in some place of public resort. While they seem to despise the earth below, and to enjoy the undisturbed serenity of heaven, they are not unconscious that they are the oracles as well as the objects of amazement to the admiring multitudes around; that Emperors come to consult them as seers and prophets, as well as infallible interpreters of divine truth. They even descend into the cities to become spiritual demagogues. The monks, in fact, exercise the most complete tyranny, not merely over the laity, but over bishops and patriarchs, whose rule, though nominally subject to it, they throw off when-

ever it suits their purposes. Those who might seem the least qualified, from their vague and abstract devotion, to decide questions which depended on niceties of language, on the finest rhetorical distinctions, are the dictators of the world. Monks in Alexandria, monks in Antioch, monks in Jerusalem, monks in Constantinople, decide peremptorily on orthodoxy and heterodoxy. The bishops themselves cower before them. Macedonius in Constantinople, Flavianus in Antioch, Elias in Jerusalem, condemn themselves, and abdicate or are driven from their sees. Persecution is universal; persecution by every means of violence and cruelty; the only question is in whose hands is the power to persecute. In Antioch, Xenaias (Philoxenus, a famous name) justifies his insurrection by the persecutions which he has endured; Flavianus bitterly and justly complains of the persecutions of Xenaias. Bloodshed, murder, treachery, assassination, even during the public worship of God, — these are the frightful means by which each party strives to maintain its opinions, and to defeat its adversary. Ecclesiastical and civil authority are alike paralyzed by combinations of fanatics ready to suffer or to inflict death, utterly unapproachable by reason. If they had not mingled in the fray, peace might perhaps have been restored with no serious detriment to orthodox doctrine. If in the time of Zeno there had been no monks, no Akoi-metoi, in Constantinople; if these fanatics had not been in treasonable correspondence with strangers, and supported by the Bishop of Rome — temperate and orthodox bishops like Macedonius and Flavianus might have allayed the storm. The evil lay partly in the mode of life; the seclusion, which fostered both igno-

rance and presumption, and magnified insignificant matters to questions of spiritual life and death ; and the strong corporate spirit, which gave a consciousness of strength which bound them together as one man in whatever cause they might espouse. The Emperor might depose a busy and refractory bishop, what could be done with a fraternity of a thousand men ? They had already the principle of organization, union, and mutual confidence, and arms in their hands. They became legions. It is at the head of such an army that Severus, a stranger, makes himself formidable in Constantinople. A more powerful adverse army heads the mob of Constantinople and reduces the Emperor Anastasius to beg his crown, if not his life. Relying on these internal allies in the heart of his enemy's camp, Vitalianus besieges Constantinople, and dictates a capitulation, embodying their demands and those of their acknowledged head, the Bishop of Rome. Alexandria is at the mercy of such hosts, who pour in from the surrounding monasteries on all sides. Even during the last years of Anastasius, at the election of the bishop, another Dioscorus, the chief Imperial officer, is slain in the streets. Hosts of monks encounter in Syria, meet in the field of battle, consider that zeal divine with which they strive, not to instruct and enlighten, but to compel each other to subscribe the same confession, each slaying and dying in unshaken assurance that eternal salvation depended on the proper sense of the words "in" and "out of;" the acceptance or rejection of the Council of Chalcedon, including its dire anathemas.¹ To monasticism may unques-

¹ I have incorporated with my own observations many sentences from a passage in a writer of the old German school, Walch, who, having investi-

tionably be attributed the obstinate continuance, perhaps the fury, of the Monophysite war. We shall hereafter encounter monasticism in the West in another character, as compensating, at least in a great degree, for its usurpation of the dignity of a higher and holier Christianity, by becoming the guardian of what was valuable, the books and arts of the old world; as the missionary of what was holy and Christian in the new civilization; as the chief maintainer, if not the restorer of agriculture in Italy; as the cultivator of the forests and morasses of the north; as the apostle of the heathens which dwelt beyond the pale of the Roman empire.

We are again in the West, reascending and passing in review Latin Christianity and its primates during the same, by no means a brilliant Return to the West. period: their sometimes enforced or uncongenial, but still ever ready intervention in the affairs of the East, from the time when Pope Felix and Acacius issue their hostile interdicts, and Constantinople A.D. 484-519. and Rome are at open war, more or less violent, during five and thirty years.

Between the pontificate of Felix III. and the rupture with Constantinople (it might seem the implacable estrangement of the East and Gelasius I. March 1, 492. West) to the accession of Hormisdas, intervened three Popes, Gelasius I., Anastasius I., Symmachus.

Gelasius, a Roman, seemed, as a Roman, to assume the plenitude of Roman dignity. From the first, he adhered to all the lofty pretensions of his predecessor,

gated the whole of these transactions with unrivalled industry and candor, and with the almost apathetic impartiality of his school, seems suddenly to break out into something approaching to eloquence. Walch, *Ketzer-Geschichte*, vol. vii.

and in his frequent and elaborate writings vindicated all the acts of Felix. He inexorably demanded, as the preliminary to any peaceful treaty, that the name of Acacius should be expunged from the diptychs. No power could now retrieve or rescue Acacius from his inevitable doom—Acacius, who had not only disregarded the excommunication of the Bishop of Rome, but presumed to emulate his power of pronouncing damnation. Constantinople must absolutely abandon the champion of her coequality, if not her superiority. Acacius, all his followers, all who respect his memory, must share his irrevocable proscription.¹ The Roman Gelasius endeavors to awaken a kindred pride in the Emperor Anastasius, now the sole representative of Roman sovereignty;² for Italy is under the dominion of the Goth. Gelasius might even seem to cherish some secret hope of the deliverance of Rome from its barbaric lord, by the intervention of the yet Roman East. But at the same time Gelasius asserts boldly, for the first time, in these strong and discriminating terms, the supremacy of the clergy in all religious matters. "There are two powers which rule the world,

¹ The letter of Gelasius to Euphemius of Constantinople is a model of that haughty humility which became the ordinary language of the Roman bishops. Euphemius had written, that by condescension and the best disposition Gelasius could restore concord ("annectis condescendibilem me et optimâ dispositione revocare posse concordiam").—"Do you call it condescension to admit among true bishops the names of heretics and excommunicated persons, and of those who communicate with them and their successors? Is not this, instead of descending like our Lord from heaven to redeem, to plunge ourselves into hell?" "Hoc non est condescendere ad subveniendum, sed evidentem in inferum demergi." He summons Euphemius to meet him before the tribunal of Christ, in the presence of the apostles, and decide whether his austereness and asperity is not truly apostolic.—Epist. 1.

² "Te sicut Romæ natus, Romanum principem, amo, colo, suscipio."—Ad Anastas., A.D. 493.

the Imperial and the Pontifical. You are the sovereign of the human race, but you bow your neck to those who preside over things divine.¹ The priesthood is the greater of the two powers; it has to render an account in the last day for the acts of kings."²

Pope Anastasius II., the successor of Gelasius, spoke a milder, more conciliatory, even more suppliant language. He dared to doubt the damnation of a bishop excommunicated by the see of Rome: — "Felix and Acacius are now both before a higher tribunal; leave them to that unerring judgment."³ He would have the name of Acacius passed over in

Pope Anastasius.
Nov. 24, 498.

¹ Gelasius refers to the authoritative example of Melchisedek, a type interpreted with curious variation during the Papal history. "In the oldest times Melchisedek was priest and king. The devil, in imitation of this holy example, induced the emperor to assume the supreme pontificate. But after Christianity had revealed the truth to the world, the union of the two powers ceased to be lawful. Neither did the emperor usurp the pontifical, nor the pontiff the imperial power. Christ, mindful of human frailty, has separated forever the two offices, leaving the emperors dependent on the pontiffs for their everlasting salvation, the pontiffs dependent on the emperors for the administration of all temporal affairs. So the ministers of God do not entangle themselves in secular business; secular men do not intrude into things divine." Pass over eight or nine centuries, and hear Innocent IV.; we give the pregnant Latin: "*Dominus enim Jehsus Christus . . . secundum ordinem Melchisedek, verus rex et verus sacerdos existens, quemadmodum patenter ostendit, nunc utendo pro hominibus honorificentiam regis majestatis, nunc exequendo pro illis dignitatem pontificii apud Patrem, in apostolicâ sede non solum pontificatum, sed et regalem constituit monarchatum, beato Petro ejusque successoribus terreni simul et celestis imperii concessos habemus.*" — Apud Hoefler. Albert von Beham, p. 88. Stuttgart, 1847.

² "Quando etiam pro ipsis regibus domino in divino reddituri sunt examine rationem." — Ad Anastas., Mansi, vii.

³ "Namque et predecessor noster Papa Felix, et etiam Acacius illic proculdubio sunt: ubi unusquisque sub tanto iudice non potest perdere sui meriti qualitatem." — Anastas. Epist. A.D. 498. This letter was sent to Constantinople by two bishops, Cresconius of Todi and Germanus of Capua, with private instructions, not recorded in history.

silence, quietly dropped, rather than publicly expunged from the diptychs. This degenerate successor of St. Peter is not admitted to the rank of a saint. The Pontifical book (its authority on this point is indignantly repudiated) accuses Anastasius of having communicated with a deacon of Thessalonica, who had kept up communion with Acacius; and of having Nov. 19, 498. entertained secret designs of restoring the name of Acacius in the services of the Church.¹ His death, according to Baronius, his sudden death by the manifest hand of God, destroyed altogether these hopes of peace. But how deep and lasting was the tradition of detestation against this meek renegade to papal authority, may be supposed by its survival for at least nine centuries. Dante beholds in hell the unhappy Anastasius, condemned forever for his leniency to the heresy of Constantinople.²

On the death of Pope Anastasius, the contested election for the pontificate between Symmachus, a convert from paganism,³ and Laurentius, was exasperated by these divergences of opinion on the schism with the East. Festus, the legate of Anastasius, the deceased Pope, at Constantinople, the bearer, as it was

¹ "Revocare Acacium"—so I translate the words—as Acacius had long been dead.—Lib. Pontif., Vit. Anastas.

² "E quivi per l'orribile soperchio
Del puzzo, che 'l profondo abisso gitta
Ci raccostammo dietro ad un coperchio
D' un grand'avello, ov'io vidi una scritta,
Che diceva: Anastagio Papa guardo,
Lo qual trasse Fotino della via dritta."

Fotinus is said to have been the Deacon of Thessalonica.

³ "Catholica fides, quam in sede beati Petri, veniens ex paganitate, suscepit."—Epist. ad Anastas. The date of this is uncertain. Was he a son or descendant of the famous Symmachus? The latter is more probable.

supposed, of conciliatory terms obtained by the concessions of the Pope, on his return to Rome, threw himself as a violent partisan into the cause of Laurentius. The Emperor Anastasius himself, either in private letters to his adherents in Rome or in some public document, accused the successful Symmachus, who, by the decision of King Theodoric, had obtained the throne,¹ as a Manichean; and as having audaciously conspired with the Senate of Rome (a singular Council for the Pope) to excommunicate the Emperor. The sovereign of the East inflexibly withheld the customary letters of gratulation on the accession of Symmachus. The apologetic invective of Symmachus to the Emperor is in the tone of fearless hostility. He retorts against the Eutychian the odious charge of Manicheism. He denies the excommunication of the Emperor Anastasius; Acacius only was excommunicated. Yet he leaves him to the inevitable conclusion that all who were in communion with the excommunicate must share their doom.² Anastasius is arraigned as departing from his boasted neutrality only against the Catholics. The unyielding, almost turbulent resistance of the Roman party in Constantinople is justified by the aggressions assumed to be entirely on the part of the tyrannical Emperor. Peace between two such opponents was not likely to make much progress. A.D. 498-514 Throughout the pontificate of Symmachus, the Roman faction in the East kept up that fierce and tumultuous, or more secret and brooding opposition, which lasted till the death of Anastasius. Symmachus may have heard the first tidings of the orthodox revolt

¹ See on, under the reign of Theodoric, the elevation, struggle, and final establishment of Symmachus.

² Between 498-512. Baronius places it 503.

of Vitalianus ; his successor Hormisdas reaped the fruits of the humiliation of Anastasius, followed in due time by the reconciliation of the Greek and Latin Churches.¹

¹ See on, under the reign of Theodoric.

CHAPTER II.

CONVERSION OF THE TEUTONIC RACES.

CHRISTIANITY within the Roman Empire might seem endangered in its vital existence by these ungenial inward dissensions. Its lofty assertions that it came down from heaven as a religion of peace—of peace to the individual heart of man, as reconciling it with God, and instilling the serene hope of another life—of peace which should incorporate mankind in one harmonious brotherhood, the type and preëstablishment of the sorrowless and strifeless state of beatitude—might appear utterly belied by the claims of conflicting doctrines on the belief, all declared to be essential to salvation, and the animosities and bloody quarrels which desolated Christian cities. Anathema instead of benediction had almost become the general language of the Church. Religious wars, at least rare in the pagan state of society, seemed now a new and perpetual source of human misery—a cause and a sign of the weakness and decay, and so of the inevitable dissolution, of the Roman Empire.

But Christianity had sunk into depths of the human heart, unmoved by these tumults, which so fiercely agitated the surface of the Christian world. Far below, less observed, less visible in its mode of operation, though manifest in its effects, was that profound con-

viction of the truth of the Gospel, that infelt sense of its blessings, which enabled it to pursue its course of conversion throughout the world, to bring the Roman mind more completely under subjection, and one by one to subdue the barbarian tribes which began to overspread and mingle with the Greek and Latin population of the Empire. For Christianity had that within it, which overawed, captivated, enthralled the innate or at least universal religiousness of mankind; that which was sufficiently simple to arrest by its grandeur the ruder barbarian, while, by its deeper mysteries, it led on the philosophic and reflective mind through unending regions of contemplation. It had its one Creator and Ruler of the universe, one God, one Redeemer, one Spirit, under which the ancient polytheism subsided into a subordinate hierarchy of intermediate beings, which kept the imagination in play, and left undisturbed almost all the hereditary superstitions of each race. It satisfied that yearning after the invisible, which seems inseparable from our nature, the fears and hopes which more or less vaguely have shadowed out some future being, the fears of retribution appeased by the promises of pardon, the hope of beatitude by its presentiments of peace. It had its exquisite goodness, which appealed to the indelible moral sense of mankind, to the best affections of his being; it had that equality as to religious privileges, duties, and advantages, to which it drew up all ranks and classes, and both sexes (slaves and females being alike with others under the divine care), and the abolition, so far, of the ordinary castes and divisions of men; with the substitution of the one distinction, the clergy and the laity, and perhaps also that of the

ordinary Christian and the monk, who aspired to what was asserted and believed to be a higher Christianity. All this was, in various degrees, at once the manifest sign of its divinity, and the secret of its gradual subjugation of nations at such different stages of civilization. It prepared or found ready the belief in those miraculous powers, which it still constantly declared itself to possess; and made belief not merely prompt to accept, but creative of, wonder, and of perpetual preterhuman interference. Some special causes will appear, which seemed peculiarly to propitiate certain races towards Christianity, while their distinctive character reacted on their own Christianity, and through them perhaps on that of the world.

We are not at present advanced beyond the period when Christianity was in general content (this indeed gave it full occupation) to await the settlement of the Northern tribes, if not within the pale, at least upon the frontiers of the Empire: it had not yet been emboldened to seek them out in their own native forests or morasses. But it was a surprising spectacle to behold the Teutonic nations melting gradually into the general mass of Christian worshippers. In every other respect they are still distinct races. The conquering Ostrogoth or Visigoth, the Vandal, the Burgundian, the Frank, stand apart from the subjugated Roman population, as an armed or territorial aristocracy. They maintain, in great part at least, their laws, their language, their habits, their character; in religion alone they are blended into one society, constitute one church, worship at the same altar, and render allegiance to the same hierarchy. This is the single bond of their common humanity;

Conversion
of Germans
within the
Empire.

and so long as the superior Roman civilization enabled the Latins to retain exclusively the ecclesiastical functions, they might appear to have retreated from the civil power, which required more strenuous and robust hands to wield it, to this no less extensive and important influence of opinion; and thus held in suspense the trembling balance of authority. They were no longer the sovereigns and patricians, but they were still the pontiffs and priests in the new order of society.

There might appear in the Teutonic religious character a depth, seriousness, and tendency to the mysterious, congenial to Christianity, which would prepare them to receive the Gospel. The Grecian polytheist was often driven into Christianity by the utter void in his religion, and by the incongruity of its poetic anthropomorphism with the progress of his discursive reason, as well as by his weariness with his unsatisfactory and exhausted philosophy: the Roman was commanded by its high moral tone and vigor of character. But each had to abandon temples, rites, diversions, literature, which had the strongest hold on his habits and character, and so utterly incongruous with the primitive Gospel, that until Christianity made some steps towards the old religion by the splendor of its ceremonial, and the incipient paganizing, not of its creed, but of its popular belief, there were powerful countervailing tendencies to keep him back from the new faith. And when the Greek entered into the Church, he was not content without exercising the quickness of his intelligence, and the versatilities of his language on his creed, without analyzing, discussing, defining everything. Or by intruding that higher part of his philosophy, which best

assimilated with Christianity, he either philosophized Christianity, or for a time, as under the Neo-Platonists and Julian, set up a partially Christianized philosophy as a new and rival religion. The inveterate corruption of Roman manners confined that vigorous Christian morality, its strongest commendation to the Roman mind, at first within the chosen few who were not utterly abased by licentiousness or by servility: and even with them in large part it was obedience to civil authority, respect for established law, perhaps in many a kind of sympathy with the lofty and independent sacerdotal dignity, the sole representative of old Roman freedom, which contributed to Christianize the Latin world.

How much more suited were some parts of the Teutonic character to harmonize at first with Christianity, and to keep the proselytes in submission to the authority of its instructors in these sublime truths; at the same time to invigorate the Church by the infusion of its own strength and independence of thought and action, as well as to barbarize it with that ferocity which causes, is increased by, and maintains, the foreign conquests of *ruder* over *more polished races*! Already the German ^{Teutonic religion.} had the conception of an illimitable Deity, towards whom he looked with solemn and reverential awe. Tacitus might seem to speak the language of a Christian Father, almost of a Jewish prophet. Their gods could not be confined within walls, and it was degradation to these vast unseen powers to represent them under the human form. Reverential awe alone could contemplate that mysterious being which they called divinity.¹ These deities, or this one Supreme, were

¹ "Ceterum non cohibere parietibus Deos, neque in ullam humani oris

shrouded in the untrodden, impenetrable forest. Such seems to have been the sublime conception above, if not anterior to, what may be called the mythology of Teutonic religion. This mythology was the same, only in its elemental form, throughout the German tribes, with that which, having passed through more than one race of poets, grew into the Eddas of Scandinavia. Vestiges of this close relationship are traced in the language, in the mythic conceptions, and in the superstitions of all the Teutonic tribes. Certain religious forms and words are common to all the races of Teutonic descent.¹ In every dialect appear kindred or derivative terms for the deity, for sacrifice, for temples, and for the priesthood. This mythic religion was in some points a nature-worship, though there might have existed, as has been said, something more ancient, and superior to the worship of the visible and impersonated powers or energies of the material world. The Romans discovered, not without wonder, that the supreme deity of the actual German worship was not invested in the attributes of their Jove, but rather of Mercury.² There is no doubt that Woden was the divinity to whom they assigned this name, a name which, in its various forms, (it became at length *Odin*,) is common to the Goths, Lombards, Saxons, Frisians, and other tribes. In its primitive conception, if any of these conceptions were clear and distinct, Woden appears to have been the all-mighty, all-permeating Spirit — the Mind, the primal mover of things, the all-Wise, the

speciem adsimilare ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur, Deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod solâ reverentiâ vident." — Tac. Germ. ix.

¹ Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, Einleitung, pp. 9-11 (2d edit.). The whole large volume is a minute and laborious commentary on this axiom.

² "*Deum maximè Mercurium colunt.*" — Tac. Germ. ix.

God of speech and of knowledge.¹ But with a warlike people, the supreme deity could not but be a god of battle, the giver of victory. He possessed therefore the attributes of Mars blended with those of Mercury.² The conduct or the reception of departed spirits, which belonged to the pagan Mercury, may have been one function which led to his identification with the Teutonic Woden. Already, no doubt, their world of the dead was a rude Valhalla.

In the earlier belief, the Thunderer, with the sun, the heavenly bodies, and the earth, the great objects of nature-worship, held only the second place. The Herthus of Tacitus was doubtless Hertha, the mother earth, or impersonated nature, of which he describes the worship in language singularly coincident with that of the Berecynthian goddess of Phrygia.³

¹ "Wodan sanè quem adjectâ literâ Gwodan dixerunt, ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab universis Germaniæ gentibus ut Deus adoratur." — Paul. Diacon. i. 9. See also Jonas Bobbiens. Vit. Bonifac. (Dies Mercurii became Wodan's day, — Wednesday.) Compare Grimm, p. 116, Grimm, pp. 108, &c., and the whole article Wuotan, which he closes with the following observation: "Aber noch zu einen andern Betrachtung darf die hohe stelle führen, welche die Germanen ihrem Wuotan anweisen. Der Monotheismus ist etwas so nothwendiges und wesentliches, das fast alle Heiden in ihrer Götter bunten Gewimmel, bewusset oder unbewusset, darauf ausgehn, einen obersten Gott anzuerkennen, der schon die Eigenschaften aller übrigen in sich trägt, so dass diese nur als seine Einflüsse, verjüngenden und erfrischungen, zu betrachten sind. Daraus erklärt sich wie einzelne Eigenheiten bald einem bald diesem einzelnen Gott dargelegt werden, und warum die höchste Macht, nach Verschiedenheit der Völker auf den einen oder den andern derselben fällt."

² Paulus Diacon., loc. cit. He is called Sigvödr (Siegvater) in the Edda. — Grimm, p. 122.

³ After recounting the tribes who worship this goddess, he proceeds: "In commune Herthum, id est, Terram matrem colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehì populis arbitrantur. Est in insulâ Oceani castum nemus, dicatum in eo vehiculum, veste contextum, attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali Deam intelligit, vectamque bobus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Læti tunc dies, festa loca, quæcunque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non arma sumunt, clausum omne ferrum,

There were other religious usages — most absolutely repugnant to Christianity, and demanding, as it were, her mild intervention, — so universal as to imply a closer relationship than that of unconnected races, which resemble each other from being in the same state of civilization. From the borders of the Roman Empire to the shores of the Baltic, from the age of Tacitus to that of the Northern Chroniclers, human sacrifices appeased the gods, or rewarded them for the victories which they had bestowed upon their worshippers. The supreme god, Woden, the Mercury of Tacitus, was propitiated by human victims. The tribunes and principal centurions in the army of Varus were slain on these horrid altars.¹ The Goths sacrificed their captives to the god of war.² The Greek historian of the age of Justinian imputes

pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium Deam templo reddit; mox vehiculum et vestes, et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror, sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud quod tantum perituri vident. — Tacit. Germ. xl. Contrast and compare these secret and awful rites (and their "truce of God") with Lucretius, —

Quo nunc insigni per magnas prædita terras
 Horrificè fertur divins Matris imago . . .
 Ergo cum primum magnas inuenta per urbes
 Magnificat tacita mortales muta salute :
 Ære atque argento sternunt iter omne viarum ,
 Largificâ stipe donantes, nunguntque roearum
 Floribus, umbrantes Matrem comitumque catervas.

ii. 597 et seq.

(Also Ovid. Fasti, iv. 337.) Grimm, in another part of his book, illustrates all this by a circumstance related during the persecution of the Christian Goths by Athanaric (Sozom. H. E. vi. 37.) An image on a wagon was led in procession round the tents of the people; all who refused to worship and make their offerings to this Gothic deity were burned alive in their tents.

¹ Tac. Germ. ix. and xxxix. Ann. i. 61. The Hermanduri and Catti are particularly mentioned as slaying human victims.

² Jornandes, 86.

the same ferocious usage to the Thuletes (the Scandinavians), and to the Heruli; ¹ Sidonius Apollinarius to the Saxons.² The Frisian law denounces not merely the penalty of death, but describes as an immolation to the gods the punishment of one who violates a temple. At a later period St. Boniface charges some of his Christian converts with the sale of captives to the pagans for the purpose of sacrifice.³ At the great temple at Upsala every kind of animal was suspended in sacrifice: seventy-two dogs and men, mingled together, were counted on one occasion.⁴ The northern poetry contains many vestiges of these human immolations. The Northmen are said by Dithmar of Merseburg to have sacrificed every year, about Christmas, ninety-nine men in a sacred place in Sea-land. This execrable custom was suppressed by the Emperor Henry I. the Fowler.⁵

Among animals the horse was the chosen victim of all the Teutonic tribes. It was offered in the age of Tacitus in the German forests, which ^{Animal sacrifices} had been just penetrated by the Roman arms, and, according to the Sagas, by the yet unconverted Danes and Swedes.

Throughout the wide regions occupied by the Teutons the sacred grove was the sanctuary of ^{Holy groves} the deity. The Romans could not tread

¹ Procop. de Bell. Gothic. ii. 14, ii. 15.

² Epist. viii. 5.

³ "Quod quidem ex fidelibus ad immolandum paganis sua venundant mancipia." — Epist. xxv.

⁴ "Ita etiam canes, qui pendent cum hominibus, quorum corpora mixta suspensa, narravit mihi quidam Christianorum se septuaginta duo vidiſſe."

⁵ Müller, Saga Bibliothek. ii. 560, v. 93. See also, in Mr. Thorpe's *Mythology of Scandinavia*, a copious list of references on the sanctity of groves, vol. i. p. 255 (note); on temples, p. 259; on human sacrifices, p. 264.

without awe these dark dwelling-places of the gods of their enemies; they were astonished at the absence of all images, and perhaps did not clearly distinguish the shapeless symbols which were set up in some places, from the aged trunks, which were also the objects of worship. The reverence for these hallowed places, the adoration of certain trees, survived the introduction of Christianity. The early missionaries and the local councils are full of denunciations against this inveterate heathen practice. We shall behold St. Boniface and others, as their crowning triumph, daring to hew down stately trees, the objects of the veneration of ages, and the barbarians standing around, awaiting the event in sullen suspense, and leaving their gods, as it were, on this last trial. If they were gods, would they endure this contumelious sacrilege?

The belief in the immortality of the soul, and in another life, though not perhaps so distinct, or connected with the transmigration of the soul, as in Gaul, yet seems to have been universal, dominant; as far as warlike contempt of death, an active and influential faith. But it was to most men vague, dreary, dismal, — the Nifleheim, the home of clouds and darkness, was the common lot; the Valhalla that alone of the noble, and of select and distinguished warriors.

The priesthood were held in the same reverence throughout Germany. It was not an organized and priestly powerful hierarchy, or a separate caste, like that of the Druids in Gaul and Britain;¹ but the

¹ Cæsar says of the Germans, "Neque Druides habent qui rebus divinis presint, neque sacrificiis student."— B. G. vi. 21. This, though not strictly true, is true in the sense in which Cæsar wrote, as contrasted with the hierarchy of Gaul. — "Ungleich beträchtlicher war in Zahl und ausbildung das celtische Priesterthum." — Grimm.

priests officiated in and presided over the sacred ceremonies of sacrifice and worship, and administered justice. In the early German wars, when Rome was, as it were, invading the sanctuaries of the Teutonic deities, the priesthood appear as a kind of officers of the god of war, enforcing discipline, branding cowardice, and inflicting punishment, which the free German spirit would endure only from those who bore a divine commission.¹ In all affairs of public concern — the priest ; in private affairs — the head of the family, interpreted the lots by which the gods rendered their oracles.² The priest or the king might alone harness the sacred horses ; the allusions to the priesthood in the late writers on the various conquering tribes, are not very frequent, but sufficient to show that they had that veneration inseparable from the character of persons who performed sacrifices, consulted the gods, and by auspices, or other modes of divination, predicted victory or disaster.³ Prophetic women characterize the Teutonic faith in all its numerous branches. The Velleda of Tacitus, who ruled like a Queen, and was worshipped almost as a goddess, is the ancestress of the Nornas of the poetic Sagas.⁴ In the East the gift of prophecy

¹ "Cæterum neque animadvertere, neque vincere, nec verberare quidem, nisi sacerdotibus permissum; non quasi in pœnam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut Deo imperante, quem adesse ballantibus credunt." — Tacit. Germ. vii.

² Tac. Germ. x. and xi. A priest of the Catti was led in the triumph of Germanicus. — Strabo.

³ Even Grimm's industry is baffled by the question of the power of the priesthood in Germany: "Aus der folgenden zeit und bis zur einföhrung des Christenthums, haben wir fast gar keine kunde weiter wie es sich in innern Deutschland mit dem priestern verhielt: ihr dasein folgt aus den der tempel und opfer." — p. 61. Among the Anglo-Saxons the priests might not bear arms, or ride, except on a mare. — Bede, Hist. Ecc. ii. 13.

⁴ Tac. Germ. viii. Hist. iv. 61. "Ea virgo, nationis Bructeræ, latè imperiabat. Vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque fœminarum fatidicæ, et augescente superstitione, arbitrantur Deas." Compare iv. 65, v. 24, Grimm, Art. Weise Frauen.

is sometimes, but rarely, vouchsafed to females; in Greece it was equally shared by both sexes; the seer or prophet is the exception in the Northern mythology. This reverence for women, especially for sacred virgins, no doubt prepared them to receive one article of the new religious faith, which had already begun to grow towards its later all-absorbing importance; while it harmonized with the general tendency of Christian doctrine to elevate the female sex.

Such was the general character of the Teutonic religion, disposed to the dark, the awful, the mysterious, with a profound belief in prophetic revelations, and a priesthood accustomed to act in a judicial, as well as in Teutons encounter Christianity. a religious capacity. And with such religious conceptions, and habits of thought and feeling, the Northern tribes, first on the frontiers, afterwards within the frontiers, and gradually in the heart of the Roman Empire, came into the presence of Christianity — of Christianity now organized under a powerful priesthood, a hierarchy of bishops, priests, and inferior clergy: laying claim to divine inspiration; and though that divine inspiration was gathered and centred, as it were, into a sacred book — in a wider and more vague and indistinct sense, it remained with the rulers of the Church. The Teutonic conqueror, already expatriated by the thirst for conquest or the aggression of more martial tribes, by his migration had broken off all local associations of sanctity; he had left far behind him his hallowed grove,¹ and his reeking altar;² even the awe of his primeval forests must have

¹ The Lombards even in Italy found stately trees to worship. See Muratori, *Dissert.* 59, especially a curious quotation about a holy tree in the dukedom of Benevento. The Gallic Councils (Arles, 452; Tours, 597; Nantes, 658) prohibit the worship of trees, the latter of certain stones.

² Luitprand. *Leg.* i. vi. 30

gradually worn away as he advanced into the southern sunshine, and took possession of the regular towns or the cultivated farms of his Roman subjects.

The human sacrifices not merely belonged of ancient usage to these gloomy sanctuaries: but even before they had learned the Christian tenet, that all sacrifice had ceased with the one great sacrifice on the cross, the milder manners, which they could not but insensibly, if slowly, acquire by intercourse with more polished nations, would render such dire offerings more and more unfrequent: they would be reserved for signal occasions, till at length they would fall into total desuetude.

In one respect, in which the genius of Christianity might have been expected to clash with his own religious notions, Christianity had already advanced many steps to meet the Teuton. The Christian God, and even the gentle Saviour of mankind, had become a God of battle. The cross, the ^{Christ a God of battle.} symbol of Christian redemption, glittered on the standards of the legions; and every victory, and every new conquest, might encourage the hope that this God, the God of the southern people, did not behold them with disfavor, was deserting his own votaries, and would gladly receive and reward the allegiance of more manly and valiant worshippers. Notwithstanding the proud consciousness of their own superior prowess as warriors, the Teutonic conquerors could not enter into the dominions of Rome, cross the Roman bridges, march along the Roman roads, encamp before the walled cities, with their towers, temples, basilicas, forums, aqueducts, baths, and churches now aspiring to grandeur, if not magnificence, without awe at the superior

intellectual power of those whom they had subdued.

Respect for
the clergy.

It was natural to connect this intellectual superiority with the religion ; and while everything else, the civil power, the ordinary course of affairs, as well as the army, bowed before them, the religion alone stood up, resolute, unyielding, almost undisturbed. The Christian bishops and clergy (like the aged senators of old, as they are described in the noble passage of Livy, awaiting their doom in the Capitol, and appalling for a time the ruthless Gaul by the venerable majesty of their dress and demeanor) might seem to awe their conquerors into respect ; and though at times, when the paroxysm of wonder was broken, as in the former instance, the conquerors might insult or even massacre the objects of their adoration, still in general the sacred character would work on the superstitious mind of the barbarian. The Teuton had already the habit of contemplating the priest as the representative of divinity. According to the general feeling of polytheism, acknowledging the gods of other tribes or nations, as well as his own, to possess divine power, he arrayed the priesthood of the stranger in the same fearfulness ; the mysterious sanctity which dwelt with the Christian's God hallowed the Christian bishop.

Nor, though individual priests might and did accompany the migratory tribes, does there appear any of that strong sacerdotal spirit which belongs to an organized hierarchy, by which its influence is chiefly maintained and established, which is pledged to and supported by mutual emulation, and by fear of the reproach of treason to the common cause, or of base abandonment of the wealth, the power, and the credit of the fraternity. With these elements then of

No Teutonic
priesthood.

faith within his heart, the German was migrating into the territory as it were of a new God, and was encountered everywhere by the priest of that God. That priest was usually full of zeal, and, with all to whom his language was intelligible, of eloquence; confessedly in all intellectual qualities a superior being, and asserting himself to be divinely commissioned to impart the truth; seizing every opportunity of vicissitude, of distress, of sickness, of affliction, to enforce the power and goodness of his God; himself perhaps in perfect faith turning every one of those countless incidents, which to a barbarian mind was capable of a supernatural tinge, into a manifest miracle; opening a new and more distinct and terrible hell and a heaven of light and gladness, and declaring himself to possess the keys of both.

At no time, under no circumstances, would Christianity appear more sincere, more devout, ^{Effect on} more commanding, or more amiable. ^{Christians.} As has always been observed during a plague, an earthquake, or any other great public calamity, men become either more recklessly godless, or more profoundly religious; so during the centuries of danger, disaster and degradation, which were those of barbarian invasion and conquest, the fire must, as it were, have been trying the spirits of men. Those who had no vital or rooted religion would fall off, as some of them would assert, from a God who showed them no protection. These while free would waste away the few remaining years or days of their wealth, or at all events of their freedom, in licentiousness and luxury; if slaves, they would sink to all the vices, as well as the degradation of slavery. The truly religious, on the other hand.

would clasp more nearly to their heart the one remaining principle of consolation and of dignity. They would fly from a world which only offered shame and misery, to the hope of a better and more happy state of being. Death was their only release, but beyond death, they were secure, they were at peace; they would take refuge, at least in faith, from the face of a tyrannical master, or what to a freeborn Roman was as galling and humiliating, a lord and proprietor, in the presence of the Redeemer. They would flee from down-trodden servitude on earth to glory and beatitude in heaven. The darker the calamity, the more entire the resignation; as wretchedness would be more rampant, so devotion would be more devout. The Provincial with his home desolated, his estate seized, his family outraged or massacred or carried away into bondage, would, if really Christian, consider himself as taking up his cross; he would be a more fervent, as it were, a desperate believer. In the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, we find the Bishop of Clermont writing to Martenus, the Bishop of Vienne, for the form of certain litanies or rogations, which were used in that city during an earthquake and conflagration; he proposes to institute the same solemn ceremonies in apprehension of the invasion of the Goths into Provence. Salvian bitterly reproaches the Roman Gauls with their passion for theatric games, which they indulged during such days of peril and disaster only with more desperate intensity. But, even if the true Christians in those hours of trial were fewer in number, it cannot be doubted that their piety took a more vehement and impassioned character. It was the time for great Christian virtues, as well as for more profound Christian con-

solutions, virtues which in some points would be strikingly congenial to barbaric minds, as giving a sublime patience and serenity in suffering, a calm contempt of death. The Germans would admire the martyr whom in their wantonness they slew, if that martyr showed true Christian tranquillity in his agony. There was no danger which the better bishops and clergy would not encounter for their flocks; they would venture to confront unarmed the fierce warrior; all the treasures of the unplundered churches were willingly surrendered for the redemption of captives. The austerities practised by some of the clergy, and by those who had commenced the monastic life, would arrest the attention and inthral the admiration of barbarians, to whom self-command, endurance, strength of will, would appear kindred and noble qualities. In the early period, when the Germans still dwelt separate in their camps, or in the ceded settlements within the frontier, the captives would be, and as history shows, were the chief missionaries. The barbarians on the one hand would more and more feel the intellectual superiority of their bond-slaves, which would induce them to look favorably on their religion. The captives, some of them bishops, some females of high rank and influential beauty, where they were truly Christians, would be urged by many of the purest, and many less holy motives, to convert their masters. The sacred duty of disseminating the Gospel, the principle of love which would impart its blessings to all mankind; the strong conviction that they were rescuing the barbarians from eternal damnation, the doom of all but the true believers in Christ; and so in the noblest form the returning good for evil, would conspire with the pride and con-

solation of ruling their rulers ; of maintaining in one sense the Roman supremacy over the minds of men. The end would sanctify all arts, dignify all humiliations ; Christian zeal and worldly ambition would act together in perfect harmony.

Where the Teutonic nations had penetrated more into the midst of the Roman Empire ; where they had settled down, as they did successively, in all the provinces, as lords of the soil, they would be more fully in the presence and concentrated influence of Christianity. Themselves without temples, without shrines, without altars, perhaps without a priesthood, they would be daily spectators of the lofty and spacious edifices, perhaps the imposing processions, the ceremonial, which had already begun to assume some grandeur, of the Christian churches. If admitted, or forcing their way within, or hearing from without the hymns and the music, the ordinary ceremonial which they would witness, and still more perhaps the more solemn mysteries which were jealously shrouded from their sight, would lay hold upon their unpreoccupied religiousness, and offer them as almost ready captives to the persuasive teacher of these new and majestic truths. Their conversion therefore was more speedy, and comparatively more complete. They too contributed much to establish that imposing, but certainly degenerate form of warlike and sacerdotal Christianity, which had been growing up for two or three centuries. No doubt they retained and infused into the Christianity of the conquered provinces many of their old native superstitions and modes of religious thought and feeling, but far less than survived in Germany itself. There the nature-worship lingered be-

Teutons in
the midst
of the Em-
pire.

hind in the bosom of Christianity; and under the sublime Monotheism of Christianity, as the old beneficent or malignant deities of paganism, became angels or spirits of evil. Everywhere among the converted tribes, the groves, the fountains, the holy animals, preserved their sanctity. As we accompany the missionaries in their spiritual campaigns we shall encounter many curious circumstances, which will appear more striking when in their proper position, than brought together and crowded in one general view. The character of the Christianity which grew up out of these discordant elements will be best discerned in the progress of its growth.¹

About the year 300 Christianity had found its way among the Goths and some of the German tribes on the Rhine. The Visigoths first embraced the Gospel, as a nation; they were followed by the Ostrogoths; with these the Vandals and the Gepidæ were converted during the fourth century. At the close of the fifth century the Franks were converted, and at the beginning of the sixth, first the Alemanni, then the Lombards; the Bavarians in the seventh and eighth, the Frisians, Hessians, and Thuringians in the eighth; the Saxons by the sword of Charlemagne in the ninth. Our present inquiry limits itself to the conversions within the pale of the Roman Empire, and closes with that of the Franks. With the exception of the latter, the whole of these nations were the conquests of Arian Christianity, or embraced it during the early period

Successive
conversion
of Teutonic
tribes.

Arianism of
first converts

¹ The description of the Holstenians by Helmold (i. 47) will apply more or less to most of the early German converts: "Nihil de religione nisi nomen tantum Christianitatis habetis . . . nam lucorum et fontium ceterarumque superstitionum multiplex error apud vos habetur."

of their belief. That diversity of religious creed which perplexed the more mature Christian, especially the disputatious Greek and imaginative Asiatic, touched not these simple believers. The Arian Goth had submissively received the lessons of his first teacher, and with some tribes the difference was so little felt, that he did not persecute on account of it. Nations changed their belief with but slight reluctance. The Burgundians in Gaul were first Catholic, then Arian under the Visigothic rule, Catholic again with the Franks. The Suevians in Spain were first Catholic, then fell off into Arianism: it was not till the sixth century that Spain was Catholic. For soon, indeed, religious difference became a pretext for cruelty and ambition, made the Vandal in Africa a persecutor as well as a tyrant, and became the battle-word of the Frank when he would invade the dominions of the Burgundian or the Visigoth, or when he descended into Italy to protect the orthodox Bishop of Rome against the heterodox Lombard.

But of these early Arian missionaries, the Arian *Ulphilas* records, if they ever existed, have almost entirely perished. The Church was either ignorant of or disdained to preserve their memory. *Ulphilas* alone, the apostle of the Goths, has, as it were, forced his way into the Catholic records, in which, as in the fragments of his great work, his translation of the Scriptures into the Mœso-Gothic language, this admirable man has descended to posterity.¹ *Ulphilas* was a Goth

¹ The orthodox abbreviator of *Philostorgius* acknowledges, but carefully suppresses, the praises which *Philostorgius* had lavished on *Ulphilas*. We would almost have forgiven him the suppression of the praise, if he had imparted the more extensive information which *Philostorgius* seems to have preserved of this great event.

by birth, not by descent. His ancestors, during a predatory expedition of the Goths into Asia, under the reign of Gallienus, had been swept away with many other captives, some belonging to the clergy, from a village in Cappadocia, to the Gothic settlements north of the Danube.¹ These captives, faithful to their creed, perpetuated and propagated among their masters the doctrines of Christianity. Ulphilas first appears as the Bishop of the Goths, and as their ambassador at the Court of Valens.² His religion, and his descent from a Roman provincial family, as well as high influence, might designate him for this mission to the Roman Emperor of the East.³ The Goths beyond the Danube, pressed by the more powerful and ferocious Huns, requested permission to cross the Danube, and settle in Mœsia, within the Roman frontier. Among the motives which induced the Emperor to consent, and to accept this nation of hardy but dangerous subjects, was their, at least partial, conversion to Christian-

¹ The name of Eutyches, called by St. Basil, the Blessed, has survived, as having, from the same region, Cappadocia, established a church among the Scythians, (the Sarmatians,) who had been subdued, and were mingled with the Goths. St. Cyril asserts that the Scythians had no cause to envy the empire; they had their bishops, priests, deacons, sacred virgins. — Cyril Hierosolym. Catech. xvi.

² Basil, Epist. 16, tome iii.

³ It is said that the Gothic bishop, like his predecessor Theophilus, reported to have been present at the Council of Nicea (Socrates, ii. 41), had professed that creed; that he was threatened, bribed, persuaded by Valens to accede to his Arianism, and acquiesced in it as a mere verbal dispute. *Οὐκ εἶναι δογμάτων ἐφη διαφορὰν, ἀλλὰ ματαίαν εἶναι ἐργάσασθαι τὴν διάστασιν.* — Theodoret, iv. 37. But see the very curious character and creed of Ulphilas, in the speech of his disciple Bishop Auxentius at the Council of Aquileia (A.D. 381), reported by Bishop Maximinus. This remarkable fragment was edited by Dr. Waitz from a MS. in Paris. *Über das Leben und die Lehre des Ulfila*, von George Waitz. Hanover, 1840. Also the Preface to the new and excellent Edition of the Bible of Ulfilas, by the very learned H. F. Massmann. Stutgard, 1856.

ity. Ulphilas was called by the grateful Christian Goths, who might now pasture their herds in the rich plains of Thrace, the Moses, who had led them into the land of promise.¹ But the disciples of Ulphilas formed but a small part of the vast migration, which, partly under permission, partly by bribery of the Imperial officers, partly by stealth, and partly by force, came swarming over the river, and took possession of the unprotected Roman province. The heathen part of the population brought over their own priests and priestesses, with their altars and rites; but on those mysterious rites they maintained an impenetrable silence; they disguised their priests in the garb and manners of Christian bishops. They had even fictitious monks clothed in black, and demeaning themselves as Christian ascetics.² Thus, relates the heathen historian, who makes this curious statement, while they faithfully but secretly adhered to their own religion, the Romans were weak enough to suppose them perfect Christians. But once on the Roman side of the Danube, the more martial Goths spurned the religion which they had condescended to

¹ Philostorg. ii. 5. Auxentius (apud Waitz, p. 20) uses the same comparison to Moses and the Red Sea (the Danube), and adds, "eo populo in solo Romanis ubi sine illis septem annis triginta et tribus annis veritatem prædicavit, &c."—and so makes up the forty years of Moses.

² This remarkable passage of Eunapius is one of the most important historical fragments discovered in the Palimpsest MSS. by Monsignor Mai. It was of course unknown to the older historians, including Gibbon. — Mai, p. 277. In the reprint of the Byzantines (Bonn, 1829, edit. Niebuhr), p. 82. Eunapius speaks of the false bishops having much of the fox. The hatred of Eunapius to the monks breaks out in his description of these impostors. "The mimicry of the monks was not difficult; it was enough to sweep the ground with black robes and tunics, to be good for nothing and believed in." Οὐδὲν ἐχούσης τῆς μμήσεως πραγματῶδες καὶ δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ ἐξήκει φαιά ἱμάτια σῦρονσι καὶ χιτῶνια, πονηροῖς τε εἶναι καὶ πιστεύεσθαι

feign with barbarian cunning.¹ Ulphilas, as a true missionary of the Prince of Peace, aspired not merely to convert his disciples to Christianity, but to peaceful habits. In his translation of the Scriptures he left out the Books of Kings, as too congenial and too stimulative to their warlike propensities.² The Goths divided into two factions, each with its great hereditary chieftain: of the one, the valiant Athanaric; of the other Fritigern, the friend of Ulphilas. Strife among
the Goths.

The warlike and anti-Christian party appealed to their native Gods, and raised a violent persecution.³ The God of their fathers was placed on a lofty wagon, and drawn through the whole camp; all who refused their adoration were burned, with their whole families, in their tents. A multitude, especially of helpless women and children, who took refuge in their rude church, were likewise mercilessly burned with their sacred edifice.⁴ But while in their two great divisions, the Ostrogoths and Visigoths, the nation, gathering its descendants from all quarters, spread their more or less rapid conquests over Gaul, Italy, and Spain, Ulphilas formed a peaceful and populous colony of shepherds and herdsmen on the pastures below Mount Hæmus.⁵

¹ Are we to attribute Jerome's triumphant exclamations to these events? Probably not altogether. "*Getarum rutilus et flavus exercitus, Ecclesiarum circumfert tentoria.*"—*Ad Læt.* "*Stridorem suum in dulce crucis fregerunt melos.*"—*Ad Heliod.* "*Hunni discunt Psalterium.*"—*Ad Læt.*

² *Philostorgius*, loc. cit.

³ These persecutions are by some placed before the migration over the Danube. I think the balance of probability favors the view in the text.

⁴ *Sozomen*, iv. 37. Compare the legend of St. Saba. *apud Bolland*, April 12—remembering that it is a legend.

⁵ "*Gothi minores, populus immensus cum suo Pontifice ipsoque Primæ Wulfila . . . ad pedes montis. Gens multa sedit, pauper et imbellis, nisi armento, diversi generis pecorum et pascuis, silvæque lignorum, parum habens tritici.*"—*Jornandes*, c. lii.

He became the Primate of a simple Christian nation. For them he formed an alphabet of twenty-four letters, and completed (all but the fierce Books of Kings) his translation of the Scriptures. Thus the first Teutonic Christians received the gift of the Bible, in their own language, from the Apostle of their race.¹

No record whatever, not even a legend remains, of the manner in which the two great branches of the Gothic race, the Visigoths in France, the History of conversion unknown, Ostrogoths in Pannonia, and the Suevians in Spain, the Gepidæ, the Vandals, the mingled hosts which formed the army of Odoacer, the first king of Italy, and at length the fierce Lombards, were converted to Christianity.² They no doubt yielded — but secretly and imperceptibly — to those influences described above; the faith appears to steal from nation to nation, and wins king after king; and it is only when they become sovereigns of great independent kingdoms, conquerors like Alaric, founders of dynasties like Theodoric in Italy and the Visigothic and Suevian monarchs in France and Spain, or raise fierce persecutions, like the Vandals in Africa against the Catholics, that we recognize them as professed Christians, and Christians holding a peculiar form of faith.³

Of the Burgundians alone, and the motives of their

¹ It is difficult to discriminate between the rhetoric and the facts recorded by Jerome. If we are to take his words in their plain sense, theologic studies were far advanced among the Goths: "Quis hoc crederet ut barbara Getarum lingua Hebraicam quæreretur veritatem? et dormitantibus imo contententibus Græcis, ipsa Germania Spiritus Sancti eloquia scrutaretur." — *Epist. ad Junianum et Fretilam*, tom. ii. p. 626.

² Idacius (*Chron.* 448) says the Suevians were first Catholic; if so, they were converted to Arianism by the Goths.

³ Compare a modern book of research and judgment, and on the whole, of candor, *L'Arianisme des Peuples Germaniques*, par Ch. J. Reveillot. Paris: Besançon, 1850.

conversion, remains a curious detail in one of the Byzantine ecclesiastical historians. The ^{except of Burgundians.} Burgundians occupied at that time the left bank of the Rhone, had acquired peaceful habits, and employed themselves in some kind of manufacture.¹ The terrible invasion of the Huns broke in upon their quiet industry. Despairing of the aid of man, they looked round for some protecting Deity; the God of the Romans appeared the mightiest, as worshipped by the most powerful people. They set off to a neighboring city of Gaul, requested, and after some previous fasting, received baptism from the bishop. Their confidence in their new tutelar Deity gave them courage, they discomfited with a small body of troops, about 3000, a vast body of the Huns, who lost 10,000 men. From that time the Burgundians embraced Christianity, in the words of the historian, with fiery zeal.²

But all these nations were converts to the Arian form of Christianity, except perhaps the Burgundians,³ who under the Visigoths fell off to Arianism. Ulphilas himself was a semi-Arian, and acceded to the creed of Rimini. Hence the total silence of the Catholic historians, who perhaps destroyed, or disdained to preserve the fame of Arian conquests to the common Christianity.⁴ The first conversion of a Teutonic nation to the faith, of which any long and par-

¹ Socrates, Ecc. Hist. vii. 30. *Οἱ τοὶ βίον ἀπράγμονα ζῶσαν ἀεὶ, τέκτορες γὰρ ἀγεῖν πάντες εἰσιν.* Of what were they artisans? This was during the reign of Theodosius II., A.D. 408-449.

² *Τὸ ἔθνος διατόπως ἐχρημάτισεν,* loc. cit.

³ Orosius, vii. 22.

⁴ Salvian is absolutely charitable to the errors of the German Arians. *Hæretici ergo sunt, sed non scientes. Errant ergo, sed bono animo errant non odio sed affectu Dei.* But this is to contrast them with the vices of the orthodox. — De Gubern. Dei.

ticular account survives, was that of the Franks, and that by Catholic prelates into stern proselytes to the Catholic faith.¹

This conversion of the Franks was the most important event in its remote as well as its immediate consequences in European history. It had great influence on the formation of the Frankish monarchy. The adoption of the Catholic form of faith, by arraying on the side of the Franks all the Catholic prelates and their followers, led to their preponderance over the Visigothic and Burgundian kings, to their descent into Italy under Pepin and his son, and to their intimate connection with the Papal see; and thus paved the way for the Western Empire of Charlemagne. They were the chosen champions of Catholicism, and Catholicism amply repaid them by vindicating all their aggressions upon the neighboring kingdoms, and aiding in every way the consolidation of their formidable power. The Franks, the most barbarous of the Teutonic tribes (though in cruelty they seem to have been surpassed by the Vandals), had settled in a Christian country, already illustrious in legendary annals for the wonders of Saints, as of Martin of Tours, the foundation of monasteries, and the virtues of Bishops like Remigius, who gave his name to the great cathedral city of Rheims. The south of France was ruled by Arian sovereigns. Clovis was a pagan, then only the chief of about 4000 Frankish warriors, but full of adventurous daring and unmeasured ambition. His conversion, if it had not issued in events of such pro-

¹ Gregory of Tours is the great authority for this period: he wrote for those "qui appropinquante mundi fine desperant." — In Prolog. See Loebel, Gregor von Tours; Ampère, *Hist. Lit. de la France*.

found importance to mankind, might have seemed but a trivial and fortuitous occurrence. The influence of a female conspires with the conviction that the Christians' God is the stronger God of battle ; such are the impulses which seem to bring this bold yet crafty barbarian, who no doubt saw his advantage in his change of belief, to the foot of the Cross, and made him a strenuous assertor of orthodox faith. Clovis had obtained in marriage the niece of Gundebald, king of the Burgundians. The early life of this Princess was passed amid the massacre of her parents and kindred ; it shows how little Christianity had allayed the ferocity of these barbarians.

Gundicar, king of the Burgundians, left four sons. The fate of the family was more like that of ^{Gundicar the} a polygamous Eastern prince, where the sons ^{Burgundian.} of different mothers, bred up without brotherly intercourse in the seraglio, own no proximity of blood. Gundebald, the elder son, first slew his brother Chilperic, tied a stone round the neck of Chilperic's wife, and cast her into the Rhone, beheaded his two sons and threw their bodies into a well. The daughters, of whom Clotilda was one, he preserved alive. Godemar, his next brother, he besieged in his castle, set it on fire, and burned him alive. Godesil, the third brother, as will be related at a subsequent period, shared the same fate. Gundebald, as yet only a double fratricide, either felt, or thought it right to appear to feel, deep remorse for his crimes. Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, saw or imagined some inclination in the repentant king to embrace Catholicism. In far different language from that spoken by Ambrose to the Emperor Theodosius, the Bishop addressed the bloody monarch, — " You weep

with inexpressible grief at the death of your brothers, your sympathizing people are afflicted by your sadness. But by the secret counsels of God, this sorrow shall turn to joy; no doubt this diminution in the number of its princes was intended for the welfare of the kingdom, those alone were allowed to survive who are needed for the administration of the kingdom."¹

Gundebald, however, resisted these flattering arguments, and remained obstinately Arian; but Clotilda, his niece, it is unknown through what influence, was educated in orthodoxy. Clotilda took the opportunity, when the heart of her husband Clovis might be softened by the birth of her first-born son, to endeavor to wean him from his idolatry. Clovis listened with careless indifference; yet with the same indifference common in the Teutonic tribes, permitted the baptism of the infant. But the child died, and Clovis saw in his death the resentment of his offended Gods; he took but little comfort from the assurance of the submissive mother, that her son, having been baptized, was in the presence of God. Yet with the same strange versatility of feeling, he allowed his second son also to be baptized. This child too declined, and Clovis began to renew his reproaches; but the prayer of the mother was heard, and the child restored to health.²

It was not, however, in this gentler character that the Frank would own the power of the Christians' God. The Franks and the Alemanni met in battle at Tolbiac, not far from Cologne. The Franks

¹ Alcimi Aviti Epist. apud Sirmond. oper. vol. ii.

² According to Gregory of Tours, she argued with her husband against the worship of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury. Was it ignorance or did Gregory suppose that he was writing like a Roman?—Gregor. Turon. ii

were worsted, when Clovis bethought him of Clotilda's God. He cast off his own inefficient divinities; he prayed to Christ, and made a solemn vow, that if he were succored, he would be baptized as a Christian. The tide of battle turned; the king of the Alemanni was slain; and the Alemanni, in danger of total destruction, hailed Clovis as their sovereign.¹

Clotilda, without loss of time, sent the glad tidings to Remigius, Bishop of the city, which afterwards took his name. Clovis still hesitated, till he could consult his people. The obsequious warriors declared their readiness to be of the same religion as their king. To impress the minds of the barbarians the baptismal ceremony was performed with the utmost pomp; the church was hung with embroidered tapestry and white curtains; odors of incense like airs of Paradise were diffused around; the building blazed with countless lights. When the new Constantine knelt in the font to be cleansed from the leprosy of his heathenism, "Fierce Sicambrian," said the Bishop, "bow thy neck: burn what thou hast adored, adore what thou hast burned!" Three thousand Franks followed the example of Clovis. During one of their subsequent religious conferences, the Bishop dwelt on the barbarity of the Jews in the death of the Lord. Clovis was moved, but not to tenderness, — "Had A.D. 496. I and my faithful Franks been there, they had not dared to do it."

At that time Clovis the Frank was the only orthodox sovereign in Christendom. The Emperor

¹ "Invocavi enim Deos meos, sed, ut exuperior, elongati sunt ab auxilio meo, unde credo eos nullius esse potestatis præditors, qui sibi obedientibus non succurrunt. Te nunc invoco, et tibi credens desidero, tantum ut eruar ab adversariis meis." — Greg. Turon. ii. 30.

Clovis the only orthodox sovereign. Anastasius lay at least under the suspicion of favoring the Eutychian heresy. The Ostrogoth Theodoric in Italy, the Visigothic¹ and Burgundian kings in France, the Suevian in Spain, the Vandal in Africa were Arians. If unscrupulous ambition, undaunted valor and enterprise, and desolating warfare, had been legitimate means for the propagation of pure Christianity, it could not have found a better champion than Clovis. For the first time the diffusion of belief in the nature of the God-head became the avowed pretext for the invasion of a neighboring territory.² Already the famous Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, has addressed a letter to Clovis, in which he augurs from the faith of Clovis the victory of the Catholic faith; even the heterodox Byzantine emperor is to tremble on his throne; Catholic Greece to exult at the dawning of this new light in the West. The wars of Clovis with Burgundy were all but openly declared wars of religion; the orthodox clergy hardly condescended to disguise their inclination to the Franks, whom they supported with their prayers, if not with more substantial assistance.³ Before the war broke out,

¹ Euric, the greatest of the Visigothic kings, was now dead; he had left but feeble successors. Euric labored under the evil fame of a persecutor; he had attempted what Theodoric aspired to effect in Italy, but with far less success, the fusion of the two races — the Roman and Teutonic; but that of which Sidonius so bitterly complains, of so many sees vacant by the intolerance of Euric, the want of bishops and clergy to perpetuate the Catholic succession, ruined churches, and grass-grown altars, reads as too eloquent. Reveillot admits that the views of Euric were political rather than religious (p. 141).

² The rebellion of Vitalianus in the East was a few years later.

³ The barbarous Clovis must have heard, it must not be said, read, still less, considering the obscure style of the prelate, understood, the somewhat gross and lavish flattery of his faith, his humility, even his *mercy*, to which the saintly Bishop scrupled not to condescend: "*Vestra fides nostra victoria est. . . . Gaudeat ergo quidem Græcia se habere principem legis nostræ*

a synod of the orthodox Bishops met, it is said, under the advice of Remigius, at Lyons. With Avitus at their head, they visited King Gundebald, and proposed a conference with the Arian bishops, whom they were prepared to prove from the Scripture to be in error.¹ The king shrewdly replied, — "If yours be the true doctrine, why do you not prevent the King of the Franks from waging an unjust war against me, and from caballing with my enemies against me?"² There is no true Christian faith where there is rapacious covetousness for the possessions of others, and thirst for blood. Let him show forth his faith by his good works." Avitus skilfully eluded this question, and significantly replied, that he was ignorant of the motives of Clovis, "but this I know, that God overthrows the thrones of those who are disobedient to his law."³ When after the submission of the Burgundian kingdom to the payment of tribute to the Franks, Gundebald resumed the sway, his first act was to besiege his brother Godesil, the ally of Clovis, in Vienne. Godesil fled to the Arian church, and was slain there with the Arian Bishop.⁴

Numquid fidem perfecto prædicabimus quam ante perfectionem sine prædicatore vidistis? an forte humilitatem . . . an *misericordiam* quam solutus a vobis adhuc nuper populus captivus gaudiis mundo insinuat lacrymis Deo?" The mercy of Clovis! — Avitus, Epist. xli.

¹ It is remarkable that all the distinguished and influential of the clergy appear on the Catholic side. The Arians are unknown even by name. It is true that we have only Catholic annalists. But I have little doubt that the Arian prelates were for the most part barbarians, inferior in education and in that authority which still, in peaceful functions, attached to the Roman name. It was Rome now enlisting a new clan of barbarians in her own cause, and under her own guidance, against her foreign oppressors.

² The Bishop Avitus of Vienne was in correspondence with the insurgent Vitalianus in the court of the Emperor Anastasius. So completely were now all wars and rebellions religious wars.

³ Collatio Episcop. apud D'Achery, Spicileg. iii. p. 304.

⁴ M. Reveillot has very ingeniously, perhaps too ingeniously, worked out

On this occasion Avitus tried again to work on the obstinate mind of Gundebald; his arguments confounded but did not persuade the king, who retained his errors to the end of his life.

When, however, Clovis determined to attack the kingdom of the Visigoths, the monkish historian ascribes to him this language:—"I am sore troubled that these Arians still possess so large a part of Gaul."¹ Before he set out on his campaign the King of the Franks went to perform his devotions before the shrine of St. Martin at Tours. As he entered the church he heard the words of the Psalm which they were chanting,—"Thou hast girded me, O Lord, with strength unto the battle; thou hast subdued unto me those which rose up against me. Thou hast given me the necks of mine enemies, that I might destroy them that hate me."² The oracular words were piously fulfilled by Clovis. The Visigothic kingdom was wasted and subdued by the remorseless sword of the Frank. These are not the only illustrations of the Christianity practised by Clovis, and related in

the religious history of the reign of King Gundebald (p. 189 et seq.). But he is somewhat tender to the Bishop, who "almost praises Gundebald for the murder of his brothers." The passage is too characteristic to be omitted: "*Flebatis quondam pietate ineffabili funera germanorum* (he had murdered them), *sequebatur fletum publicum universitatis afflictio, et occulto divinitatis intuitu, instrumenta moestitiæ parabantur ad gaudium* . . . *Minuebatur regni felicitas numerum regalium personarum et hoc solum servabatur mundo, quod sufficeret imperio* (the good Turkish maxim). *Illic repositum est quicquid prosperum fuit catholicæ veritati.*" This is said of an Arian, but the father of an orthodox son, Sigismund, converted by Avitus.—Epist. v. p. 95.

¹ Valde molestè fero, quod hi Ariani partem Galliarum tenent. Eamus cum Dei adjutorio, et superatis eis terram redigamus in ditionem nostram.—Greg. Tur. ii. 37.

² Psalm xviii. 39. Did Clovis understand Latin? or did the orthodox clergy of Tours interpret the flattering prophecy?

perfect simplicity by his monkish historian.¹ Gregory of Tours describes without emotion one of the worst acts which darken the reign of Clovis. He suggested to the son of Sigebert, King of the Ripuarian Franks, the assassination of his father, with the promise that the murderer should be peaceably established on the throne. The murder was committed in the neighboring forest. The parricide was then slain by the command of Clovis, who in a full parliament of the nation solemnly protested that he had no share in the murder of either; and was raised by general acclamation on a shield, as King of the Ripuarian Franks. Gregory concludes with this pious observation:—"For God thus daily prostrated his enemies under his hands, and enlarged his kingdom, because he walked before him with an upright heart, and did that which was pleasing in his sight."² Yet Gregory

Born A.D.
539-594

¹ Miracles accompany his bloody arms; a hind shows a ford; a light from the church of St. Hilary in Poitiers summons him to hasten his attack before the arrival of the Italian troops of Theodoric in the camp of the Visigoth. The walls of Angoulême fall of their own accord. Gregory Tur. ii. 37. According to the life of St. Remi, Clovis massacred all the Arian Goths in the city.—Ap. Bouquet, iii. p. 379. St. Cesarius, the Bishop of Arles, when that city was besieged by Clovis and the Burgundians, was suspected of assisting the invader by more than his prayers. He was imprisoned, his biographers assert, his innocence proved.—Vit. S. Cæsar. in Mabill. Ann. Benedic. sæc. i.

² Greg. Turon. ii. 42. "Prosternebat enim quotidie Deus hostes ejus sub vianu ipsius et augebat regnum ejus, eò quod ambulavit rectè corde omnino, et fecerit quæ placita erant in oculis ejus." There follows a long list of assassinations and acts of the darkest treachery. "Clovis fit périr tous les petits rois des Francs par une suite de perfidies."—Michelet, H. de France, i. 209. The note recounts the assassinations. Throughout, the triumph of Clovis is the triumph of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity over Arianism. "Dominus enim se verè credentibus, etsi insidiante inimico aliqua perdant, his centuplicata restituit; hæretici vero nec acquirunt, sed quod videntur habere, aufertur. Probat hoc Godigeseli, Gundobaldi, atque Godomari interitus, qui et patriam simul et animas perdiderunt."—Prolog. ad lib. iii.

of Tours was a prelate, himself of gentle and blameless manners, and of profound piety.

Throughout indeed this dark period of the contest between the Franks, the Visigoths, and the Burgundians for the dominion of France, as well as through the long dreary annals of the Merovingian kings, it will be necessary, as well as just, to estimate the character, influence, and beneficent workings of the clergy on the whole society. But the more suitable place for this inquiry will be when the two races, the Roman provincial and the Teutonic, are more completely mingled, though not fused together, for it was but gradually that the clergy, who never ceased to be Roman in the language of their services and of letters, ceased to be so in sentiment, and throughout northern France especially, in blood and descent. There is more even at this time of the first conversion of the Franks to Christianity, in the close alliance between the Roman clergy of Gaul with the Franks, than the contest of Catholicism with heterodoxy. The

Clergy
Latin.

Arian clergy of the Visigoths were probably, to a considerable extent, of Teutonic race, some of them, like Ulphilas, though provincials of the Empire by descent, of Gothic birth. Their names have utterly perished; this may partly (as has been said) be ascribed to the jealousy of the Catholic writers, the only annalists of the time. But the conversion of the Franks was wrought by the Latin clergy. The Franks were more a federation of armed adventurers than a nation migrating with their families into new lands; they were at once more barbarous and more exclusively warlike. It would probably be long before they would be tempted to lay aside their arms and

aspire to the peaceful ecclesiastical functions. The Roman Gauls might even imagine that they beheld in the Franks deliverers from the tyranny of their actual masters,¹ the Burgundians or Visigoths. Men impatient of a galling yoke pause not to consider whether they are not forging for themselves another more heavy and oppressive. They panted after release from their present masters, perhaps after revenge for the loss of their freedom and their lands, for their degradation, their servitude; and cared not to consider whether it would not be a change from bad masters to worse. Clovis, it is true, had commenced his career by the defeat of Syagrius, the last Roman who pretended to authority in Gaul, and had thus annihilated the lingering remains of the Empire; but that would be either pardoned by the clergy or forgotten in the fond hope of some improvement in their condition under the barbarian sway. It was, of course, a deep aggravation of their degraded state that their masters were not only foreigners, barbarians, conquerors—they were Arians. The Franks, as even more barbarous, were more likely to submit in obedience to ecclesiastical dominion; and so it appears that almost throughout the reign of the Merovingian dynasty the two races held their separate functions—the Franks as kings, the Latins as churchmen. The weak prince who was deposed from his throne, or the timid one who felt himself unequal to its weight, was degraded, according to the Frankish notion, into a clerk;² he lost his

¹ Gregory of Tours ingenuously admits "*quod omnes (the Catholic clergy) desiderabili amore cupiverunt eos regnare.*" I. ii. 23.

² Queen Clotilda, when her two sons seized their nephews, her favorite grandsons (the children of Chlodomir), and gave her the choice of their death or tonsure, answered like a Frankish queen, "*Satius mihi est, si ad regnum non veniant, mortuos eos videre quam tonsos.*" — iii. 18.

national eminence and distinction, but disqualified by the tonsure from resuming his civil office, according to the sacerdotal notion, he was admitted to the blessed privilege of the priesthood; while at the same time his feeble and contemptible character was a guarantee against his becoming a dangerous rival for the higher honors of the Church. Hence, on the one hand, the unchecked growth of the sacerdotal authority, and the strong Catholicity of the clergy among the Franks, the retention of all the higher offices, at least in the Church, by the Roman Provincials, till they had become of such power, wealth, and dignity, as to rouse the ambition of the noble, and even of the royal families.¹ Until that time the two races remained distinct, each in possession of his separate, uncontested function; and each might be actuated by high and noble, as well as selfish and ambitious motives. The honest and simple German submitted himself to the comparatively civilized priest of that God whom he now worshipped—the expounder of that mysterious creed before which he had bowed down in awe—the administrator in those imposing rites to which he was slowly and, as it were, jealously admitted,—the awarder of his eternal doom. On the other hand the clergy, fully possessed with the majesty of their divine mission, would hold it as profanation to impart its sanctity to a rude barbarian. Not merely would Roman pride find

¹ In the year 566 a certain Meroveus, from whose name he may be concluded to have been a Frank, appears as Bishop of Poitiers. — Greg. Turon. ix. 40. Compare Planck, *Christliche Kirchliche Verfassung*, ii. p. 96. It is a century later that, at the trial of Prætextatus, Archbishop of Rouen, are twelve prelates, six Teutons—Ragheremod, of Paris; Landowald, Bayeux; Remahaire, Coutances; Merowig, Poitiers; Melulf, Senlis; Berthran, Bourdeaux. Compare Thierry, *Récits des Temps Mérovingiens*, the one writer who, by his happy selection and artistic skill, has made the Merovingian history readable (tome ii. p. 185).

its consolation in what thus maintained its influence and superiority, and look down in compassion on the ignorance of the Teuton — his ignorance even of the language of their sacred records, and of the service of their religion; the Romans would hold themselves the heaven-commissioned teachers of a race long destined to be their humble and obedient scholars.

We return to the general view of the conversion of the German races. The effect of this infusion of Teutonic blood into the whole Roman system, and this establishment of a foreign dominant people (of kindred manners, habits and religion, though of various descent) in the separate provinces of the Empire which now were rising into independent kingdoms, upon the general Christian society, and on the Christianity of the age, demands attentive consideration. Though in each ancient province, and in each recent kingdom, according to the genius of the conquering tribe, the circumstances of the conquest and settlement, and the state of the Roman population, many strong differences might exist, there were some general results which seem to belong to the whole social revolution. In one important respect the Teutonic temperament coincided with Christianity in raising the moral tone. In all that relates to sexual intercourse, the Roman society was corrupt to its core, and the contagion had spread throughout the provinces. Christianity had probably wrought its change rather on the few higher and more distinguished individuals than on the whole mass of worshippers. Most of these few, no doubt, had broken the bonds of habits and manners by a strong and convulsive effort, not to cultivate the purer charities of life, but in the aspiration after virtue, unat-

Effects of
conversion on
Teutons.

tainable by the many. Celibacy had many lofty minds and devoted hearts at its service, but it may be doubted whether conjugal fidelity had made equal progress. Christianity had secluded a certain number from the world and its vices ; but in the world itself, now outwardly Christian, it had made in this respect far less impression. Not that it was without power. The

On moral
purity.

courts of the Christian Emperors, notwithstanding their crimes, weaknesses, and intrigues, had been awed, even on the throne, to greater decency of manners. Neither Rome, nor Ravenna, nor Byzantium, had witnessed, they would not have endured, a Nero or an Elagabalus. The females (believing the worst of the early life of the Empress Theodora) were more disposed on the whole to the crimes of ambition, and political or religious intrigue, than to that flagrant licentiousness of the wives and mothers of the older Cæsars. But the evil was too profoundly seated in the habits of the Roman world to submit to the control of religion — of religion embraced at first by so large a portion, from the example of others, from indifference, from force, from anything rather than strong personal conviction, and which had now been long received merely as an hereditary and traditional faith. The clergy themselves, as far as may be judged, did not stand altogether much above the general level. They had their heroes of continence, their spotless examples of personal purity ; but though in general they might outwardly submit to the hard law of celibacy, by many it was openly violated, by many more secretly eluded ; and, as ever has been, the denial of a legitimate union led to connections more unrestricted and injurious to public morality. Scarcely a Provincial

Council but finds itself called upon to enact more stringent, and, it should seem, still ineffective prohibitions.

Whether as a reminiscence of some older civilization, or as a peculiarity in their national character, ^{German character in this} the Teutons had always paid the highest re-^{respect.} spect to their females, a feeling which cannot exist without high notions of personal purity, by which it is generated, and in its turn tends to generate. The colder northern climate may have contributed to this result. This masculine modesty of the German character had already excited the admiration, perhaps had been highly colored by the language, of Tacitus, as a contrast to the effeminate voluptuousness of the Romans — marriages were held absolutely sacred, and producing the most perfect unity; adulteries rare, and visited with public and ignominious punishment.¹ The Christian teachers, in words not less energetic, though wanting the inimitable conciseness of the Roman annalist, endeavor to shame their Latin brethren by the severity of Teutonic morals, and to rouse them from their dissolute excesses by taunting them with their degrading inferiority to barbarians, heathens, and heretics. Salvian must be heard with some reserve in his vehement denunciation against the licentiousness of the fifth century. He is seeking to vindicate God's providential government of the world in abandoning the Roman and the Christian to the sway of the pagan and

¹ "Inesse quietiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant." — Germ. viii. "Quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. . . . Ergo septa pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum illecebris, nullis conviviis irritationibus corruptas Nemo . . . illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi sæculum videtur. . . . Sic unum accipiunt maritum, quomodo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas ne tanquam maritum, sed tanquam matrimonium ament." — xviii. xix.

the barbarian. "Among the chaste barbarians, we alone are unchaste: the very barbarians are shocked at our impurities. Among themselves they will not tolerate whoredom, but allow this shameful license to the Romans as an inveterate usage. We cherish, they execrate, incontinence; we shrink from, they are enamored of purity; fornication, which with them is a crime and a disgrace, with us is a glory."¹ Salvian describes the different races, who, though in other respects varying in their character, and some more conspicuous than others for these virtues, were all nevertheless far superior to the Romans. The Goths are treacherous, but continent; the Alemanni less treacherous, and also less continent; the Franks false, but hospitable; the Saxons savagely cruel, but remarkable for chastity.² The Vandals, if Salvian is to be credited, maintained their severe virtue, not only in Spain, but under the burning sun and amidst the utter depravity of African morals, and in that state of felicity, luxury, and wealth which usually unmans the mind. They not only held in abomination the more odious and unnatural vices which had so deeply infected the habits of Greece and Rome, but all unlawful connections with the female sex.³ According to the same authority, they enforced the marriage of the public pros-

¹ De Gubernat. Dei, l. vii. p. 66. He draws the same contrast between the Roman inhabitants of Spain and their Vandal conquerors.

² "Gothorum gens perfida sed pudica est, Alemanni impudica sed minus perfida, Franci mendaces sed hospitales, Saxones crudelitate efferi, sed castitate venerandi." — Ibid.

³ "Et certè ob eâ tantum continentissimi ac modestissimi judicandi erant quos non fecisset corruptiores ipsa felicitas . . . igitur in tantâ affluentia rerum atque luxuriâ, nullus eorum mollis effectus est . . . abominati enim sunt virorum improbitates; plus adhuc addo, abominati etiam foeminarum; horruerunt lustra ac lupanaria, horruerunt contactus concubitusque meretricum." — Ibid.

titutes, and enacted severe laws against unchastity, thus compelling the Romans to be virtuous against their will. Under the Ostrogothic kingdom, the manners in Italy might seem to revert to the dignified austerity of the old Roman republic. Theodoric indignantly reproves a certain Bardilas, who had married the wife of an officer (from his name also of Gothic blood) while the husband was absent with the army. He speaks of it as bringing disgrace on the age and on the Gothic character.¹ The Ostrogothic law is silent as to incest and the crime against nature, as if, in its lofty purity, it did not imagine the existence of such offences. This code was for the Goths alone; the Romans were still amenable to their own law.² In the laws of Theodoric the German abhorrence of adultery continued to make it a capital crime; the edict was inexorably severe against all crimes of this class: the seducer or ravisher of a free virgin was forced to marry her, and endow her with a fifth of his estate; if married, he forfeited a third of his property to his victim; if he had no property, he atoned for his crime by death: if the virgin was a slave, the criminal, being a free man, was de-

¹ "In injuriam nostrorum temporum, adulterium simulatur, matrimonii lege commissum." The husband's name was Patzena. It is amusing to hear the King of the Goths reminding unchaste women of the fidelity of turtledoves, who pine away in each other's absence, and remain in strictly continent widowhood: "Respicite impudicæ gementium turturum castissimum genus, quod si a copulâ fuerit eam intercedente divisum, perpetuâ se ab continentie lege constringit;" and this is a royal or imperial edict.

² Sartorius, *Essai sur l'Etat des Peuples d'Italie sous le Gouvernement des Goths* (p. 95). "Odious as homicide is, it would be more odious to punish than to commit that crime in certain cases, as in that of open adultery. See we not that rams, bulls, and goats avenge themselves against their rivals? Shall man alone be unable to preserve the honor of his bed? Examine the cause of Candax; if he only killed the adulterers who dishonored him, remit all his penalties; if he has slain innocent men, let him be punished." — Var. i. 37.

graded into a slave of the wife of the maiden's master, if he could not redeem his guilt by supplying two slaves; the rape of a free widow was subject to the capital punishment of adultery. The parents or guardians of a female who had suffered rape were bound to prosecute on pain of exile.

In some provinces, it must be acknowledged, that the vices as well as the religion of Rome assert their unshaken dominion; or rather there is a terrible interchange of the worst parts of each character. It is difficult to conceive a more dark and odious state of society than that of France under her Merovingian kings, the descendants of Clovis, as described by Gregory of Tours. In the conflict or coalition of barbarism with Roman Christianity, barbarism has introduced into Christianity all its ferocity, with none of its generosity or magnanimity; its energy shows itself in atrocity of cruelty and even of sensuality. Christianity has given to barbarism hardly more than its superstition and its hatred of heretics and unbelievers. Throughout, assassinations, parricides, and fratricides intermingle with adulteries and rapes.¹ The cruelty might seem the mere inevitable result of this violent and unnatural fusion; but the extent to which this cruelty spreads throughout the whole society almost surpasses belief. That King Chlotaire should burn alive his rebellious son with his wife and daughter is fearful enough; but we are astounded even in these times with a Bishop of Tours burning a man alive to obtain the deeds of an estate which he coveted.² Fredegonde sends two murderers to assassinate Childebert, and these assassins are clerks. She causes the

¹ See a fearful summary in Loëbel, *Gregor von Tours*, pp. 60-74.

² *iii.* 1.

Archbishop of Rouen to be murdered while he is chanting the service in the church; and in this crime a Bishop and an Archdeacon are her accomplices. She is not content with open violence, she administers poison with the subtlety of a Locusta or a modern Italian, apparently with no sensual design, but from sheer barbarity.

As to the intercourse of the sexes, wars of conquest, where the females are at the mercy of the victors, especially if female virtue is not in much respect, Merovingian would severely try the more rigid morals of ^{times.} the conqueror. The strength of the Teutonic character, when it had once burst the bonds of habitual or traditionary restraint, might seem to disdain easy and effeminate vice, and to seek a kind of wild zest in the indulgence of lust, by mingling it up with all other violent passions, rapacity, and inhumanity. Marriage was a bond contracted and broken on the lightest occasion. Some of the Merovingian kings took as many wives, either together or in succession, as suited either their passions or their politics. Christianity hardly interferes even to interdict incest. King Chlotaire demanded for the fisc the third part of the revenue of the churches; some bishops yielded; one, Injuriosus, disdainfully refused, and Chlotaire withdrew his demands. Yet Chlotaire, seemingly unrebuked, married two sisters at once. Charibert likewise married two sisters: he, however, found a Churchman, but that was Saint Germanus, bold enough to rebuke him. This rebuke the King (the historian quietly writes), as he had already many wives, bore with patience. Dagobert, son of Chlotaire, King of Austrasia, repudiated his wife Gomatrude for barrenness, married a Saxon slave Mathil-

dis, then another, Regnatrude; so that he had three wives at once, besides so many concubines that the chronicler is ashamed to recount them.¹ Brunehaut and Fredegonde are not less famous for their licentiousness than for their cruelty. Fredegonde is either compelled or scruples not of her own accord to take a public oath, with three bishops and four hundred nobles as her vouchers, that her son was the son of her husband Chilperic. The Eastern right of having a concubine seems to have been inveterate among the later Frankish kings: that which was permitted for the sake of perpetuating the race was continued and carried to excess by the more dissolute sovereigns for their own pleasure. Even as late as Charlemagne, the polygamy of that great monarch, more like an Oriental Sultan (except that his wives were not secluded in a harem), as well as the notorious licentiousness of the females of his court, was unchecked, and indeed unreprieved, by the religion of which he was at least the temporal head, of which the Spiritual Sovereign placed on his brow the crown of the Western Empire. These, however, seem to have been the royal vices of men gradually intoxicated by uncontrolled and irresponsible power, plunging fiercely into the indulgences before they had acquired any of the humanizing virtues of advanced civilization.

In such times the celibacy or even the continence of the clergy was not likely to be very severely observed. The marriage of bishops, if not general, was common.² Firmilio had a wife named Clara. There is an ac-

¹ "Nomina concubinarum eo quod plures erant, increvit huic chronica inseri."—Fredegar. c. 60.

² G. T. x. 10. The son of a bishop of Verdun (vi. 35). Daughter of a bishop (viii. 32). Compare throughout Loëbel, Gregor von Tours.

count of some strange cruelties practised by a bishop's wife.¹

Yet clerical incontinence was not without rebuke from above. Gregory tells a strange story of the pax with the consecrated host leaping out of a deacon's hands, and flying through the air to the altar. All agreed that the clerk must be polluted. He confessed, it was said, to several acts of adultery.²

If, however, with some exceptions, more especially this great exception of the Frankish monarchs, Christianity found an unexpected ally in the higher moral tone of the Teutonic races, the religion in other respects and throughout its whole sphere of conquest suffered a serious, perhaps inevitable deterioration. With the world Christianity began rapidly to barbarize. War was the sole ennobling occupation. Even the clergy, after striving for some time to be the pacific mediators between the conquerors and the conquered; to allay here and there the horrors of war, at times by the awe of their own holiness and that of their religion; to keep the churches during the capture of a city as a safe sanctuary for the unarmed, the helpless, the women, and the children; to redeem captives from slavery; to mitigate the tyranny of the liege lord, who as a Christian, perhaps in the ardor of a new convert, was humbly submissive to their dictates; even the clergy were at length swept away by the torrent. In

¹ Of two hermits (viii. 39), one was drunken, one had a wife!

² One priest only, three women, one of whom was Gregory's mother, witnessed this miracle. Gregory was present, but the privilege was not vouchsafed to him. "Uni tantum presbytero, et tribus mulieribus, ex quibus una mater mea erat, hæc videre licitum fuit; cæteri non viderunt. Aderam fateor, et ego huic festivitati, sed hæc videre non merui."—*De Glor. Martyr.* vol. ii. p. 361.

the fifth century we find bishops in arms, and at the head of fighting men ; and though at first the common feeling protested against this desecration, though bearing arms was prohibited by the decrees of councils ; yet where, as in some cases, the wars in which they might engage were defensive, and for the preservation of the most sacred rights of man ; the step once taken, the sight once familiarized to this incongruous confusion of the armed warrior and the peaceful ecclesiastic, the evil would grow up with fatal rapidity. When the ecclesiastical dignities and honors, from their wealth and authority, began to tempt the barbarians, who would no longer leave them to the exclusive possession of the Romans, those barbarians would be the more disposed to assume them, if they no longer absolutely imposed inglorious inactivity or humiliating patience. While on the other hand, the barbarian invested in the priesthood would more jealously justify himself for thus, in one sense, descending from his high place as a warrior, by retaining some of the habits and character of the free German conqueror. At length, though at a much later period, the tenure of land implying military service, as the land came more and more into the hands of the clergy, the ecclesiastic would be embarrassed more and more by his double function ; till at length we arrive at the Prince Bishop, or the feudal Abbot, alternately with the helmet and the mitre on his head, the crozier and the lance in his hand ; now in the field in the front of his armed vassals, now on his throne in the church in the midst of his chanting choir.¹

¹ The first bishops who appeared in arms, and actually slew their enemies, shocked Gregory of Tours. "*Salarius et Sagittarius fratres atque*

All things throughout this great social revolution tended to advance and consolidate the sacerdotal power. The clergy, whether as among the Goths and other Arian nations, who had their own bishops, or among the Franks, where they were revered for their intellectual as well as their spiritual superiority, became more completely a separate and distinct corporate body, filling up their own ranks by their own election, with less and less regard even to the assent of the laity; for the barbarous laity, of another race, ceased to pretend to any share of the election of the clergy. They possessed more completely the power of ecclesiastical legislation. In the confusion and breaking up of all ancient titles to property, more would be constantly falling into their hands. The barbarians for the good of their souls would abandon more readily lands which they had just acquired by the sword, and of which they had hardly learned the value; while the Romans, in perpetual danger of being forcibly despoiled, would more easily make over to the safer custody of Churchmen, lands which under such protection they might more securely cultivate. Already in France the kings are jealous of their vast acquisitions; King Chilperic hated the clergy for this reason, and was hated by them with emulous intensity. He com-

episcopi qui non cruce coelesti muniti, sed galeâ aut lanceâ sæculari armati, multos manibus propriis quod pejus est, interfecisse referuntur."—iv. 41. Compare v. 17. — Merovingian France still offers the most startling anomalies. While thus advancing in power, their persons are not sacred in these wild times. The Bishop of Marseilles is exposed to cruel usage. Even the strong feeling of caste has lost its influence. They are murdered and burned with as little remorse as the profane. Gregory, who stands up on some occasions for their inviolability, on others despondingly acquiesces in their fate; if not in its justice, in its being too much in the common order of things to shock public feeling. Some of them, by his own account, richly deserved their doom.

plained that all the wealth of the crown was swallowed up by the Church.¹ The Church revenged itself by consoling visions of Chilperic's damnation. The jurisdiction of the bishops, at first confined to strictly religious concerns, would gradually extend itself, perhaps from confidence in their superior justice, their intellectual superiority, the absence or the deficiency of the administrators of the Roman law, under which everywhere the Romans still lived. Where other magistrates were suppressed, or had forfeited or abandoned their functions, they would become the sole magistrates. Causes regarding property, bequests, and others of a more intricate kind, which might perplex the greater simplicity of the barbaric codes, or embarrass the straightforward justice of barbaric tribunals, would be referred to their superior wisdom. The bishops thus gradually became more independent of their college of presbyters; they grew into a separate order in the State as well as in the Church.

Nor can it be wondered that partly in self defence, partly for his own relative aggrandizement, the weaker and conquered Roman, conscious of his intellectual superiority — especially the Roman ecclesiastic — should abuse his power, and make, as it were, reprisals on the rude and ignorant barbarian conqueror.² His own religion would become more and more superstitious, for the more superstitious the more awful. Art and cunning are the natural and constant weapons of

¹ "Aiebat enim plerumque, ecce pauper remanet fiscus noster, ecce divitiæ nostræ ad ecclesias translatae: nulli penitus nisi soli episcopi regnant; perithonos noster, et translatus est ad episcopos civitatum." — vi. 46.

² The Jews were their rivals in wealth. Cantinus, the cruel Bishop of Tours, has large money dealings with the Jews. Eufrañius borrows large sums of the Jews to buy the same bishopric. — iv. 35.

enfeebled civilization against strong invading barbarism. Throughout the period the strongest superstitious terrors cross the most lawless and most cruel acts.¹ There are several curious instances in the Frankish annals in which the ecclesiastical kindred speaks more strongly to the alarmed conscience than that of blood to the heart. Those who without compunction, murder their nearest relatives, their children or their husband, have some reluctance to shed the blood of those whom they have held over the baptismal font. Brunehaut spares Borthefrid because she has been godmother to his daughter.

The ecclesiastics must have been almost more than men, certainly far beyond their time, to have resisted the temptation of what would seem innocent or beneficent fraud, to overawe or to control the ignorant barbarian.

The good Bishop Gregory of Tours is himself concerned in an affair in which the violence and religious fears of King Chilperic singularly contrast with the subtlety of the ecclesiastics. Chilperic sends a letter to St. Martin of Tours requesting the Saint to inform him whether he might force Meroveus out of the sanctuary. It will hardly be doubted that he received an answer; and that the majesty of the sanctuary suffered no loss. St. Martin of Tours was the great oracle of the Franko-Latin kingdoms:² kings flock to his shrine to make their offerings, to hear his judgments. No two cities

¹ A bishop of Rheims gives a safe conduct under oath on a chest of relics; but having first stolen away the relics, holds the oath not binding. — Fredegar. c. 97. Eichhorn quotes a similar fraud of Hatto, Archbishop of Mainz. — i. p. 514.

² Michelet writes in his flashing way, "Ce que Delphes était pour la Grèce.

in the north of France, not even the royal residences, approached the two great ecclesiastical capitals, Rheims and Tours. Lands and wealth were poured at the feet of the Church. Dagobert bestowed twenty-seven hamlets or towns on the monastery of St. Denys.¹ His son bestowed on St. Remaclus of Tongres twelve square leagues in the forest of Ardennes.² The Church of Rheims possessed vast territories, some of which it may have received from the careless and lavish bounty of Clovis himself; much more, by a pious anachronism, was made to rest on that ancient and venerable tenure.³

¹ *Gesta Dagobert.* c. 35.

² This subject is resumed when the clergy are considered as co-legislators with the Teutonic kings and people.

³ *Vit. St. Sigebert. Austras.*, c. 4. *Script. Franc.* See the curious passage in Frodoard, quoted by Michelet.

CHAPTER III.

THEODORIC THE OSTROGOTH.

THE Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy shows the earliest and not the least noble form of this new so-^{Ostrogothic}ciety, which grew out of the yet unfused kingdom. elements of the Latin and Teutonic races. To the strong opposition between the barbarian and Roman parts of the community was added the almost stronger contrast of religious difference. The Sovereign of Italy, the civil monarch of the Papal Diocese, was an Arian.

Theodoric's invasion of Italy was the migration of a people, not the inroad of an army.¹ His Goths were accompanied by their wives and children, with all the movable property which they had possessed in their settlements in Pannonia. Theodoric had extorted from the gratitude and the fears of the Eastern Emperor, if not a formal grant of the kingdom of Italy, a permission to rescue the Roman West from the dominion of Odoacer. The Herulian king, after two great battles, and a siege of three years in Ravenna, wrested from Theodoric a peace, by the terms of which the Herulian and the Gothic monarchs were to reign over Odoacer

¹ Compare, on the number of the Gothic invaders, Sartorius, *Essai sur l'Etat Civil et Physique des Peuples d'Italie sous le Gouvernement des Goths*, note, page 242.

Italy, in joint sovereignty. Such treaty could not be lasting. Odoacer, either the victim of treachery, or his own treacherous designs but anticipated by the superior craft and more subtle intelligence of Theodoric, was assassinated at a banquet.¹ The Herulians were dispossessed of the third portion of the lands which they had extorted from the Roman proprietors, and dispersed, some into Gaul, some into other parts of the Empire. The Gothic followers of Theodoric took their place, and Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, commenced a A.D. 493-526. reign of thirty-three years, in which Italy reposed in peace under his just and vigorous, and parental administration.

Throughout the conquest, and the establishment of the Gothic kingdom, the increasing power and importance of the Christian ecclesiastics forces itself upon the attention. They are ambassadors, mediators in treaties, decide the wavering loyalty or instigate the revolt of cities. Even before the expiration of the Empire, Glycerius abdicates the throne, and retires to the bishopric of Salona, not, it should seem, from any strong religious vocation, or weariness of political intrigue. He is afterwards concerned in the murder of another of his short-lived successors, the Emperor Nepos, and is promoted, as the reward of his services, to the Archbishopric of Milan. Epiphanius, the Bishop of Pavia, bears to Theodoric at Milan the surrender and offer of allegiance from that great city.

Bishops employed.

¹ The most probable view of this transaction is, that the Herulian chieftains, impatient of the equal dominion of the Goths, had organized a formidable insurrection, of which Odoacer, possibly not an accomplice, was nevertheless the victim. The Byzantine writers, Procopius, Marcellinus, betray their hatred. Ennodius and Cassiodorus of course favor Theodoric. Gibbon declares against him.

John, the Bishop, was employed by Odoacer to negotiate the treaty of Ravenna.¹ Before this time, whenever a difficult negotiation occurred, Epiphanius was persuaded to undertake it. He had been ambassador from Ricimer to Anthemius, from Nepos to Euric the Visigoth. Theodoric admired the dignified beauty and esteemed the saintliness of character in the Catholic Epiphanius, and perhaps intended that his praises of the bishop should be heard in Pavia, where from his virtues and charities, he enjoyed unbounded popularity: "Behold a man whose peer cannot be found throughout the West: he is the great bulwark of Pavia; — to his care I may intrust my wife and children, and devote myself entirely to war."² Epiphanius was permitted to plead the cause of the Herulians who had risen in arms in the north of Italy after the death of Odoacer. The eloquence of the Bishop arrested the inexorable vengeance or justice of Theodoric. He was employed even on a more apostolic mission — to rescue from slavery those who had been sold or had fled into slavery beyond the Alps. Gundebald the Burgundian and his chieftains melted at the persuasive words of Epiphanius, who entered Pavia at the head of 6000 bond-slaves, rescued by his influence from slavery. Epiphanius made a third journey to Ravenna, to obtain a remission of taxes in favor of his distressed people.³

The Ostrogothic kingdom was an intermediate state between the Roman Empire and the barbarian mon-

¹ Procop. l. i. c. i. p. 9, Edit. Bonn.

² Ennodii Vita Epiphan.

³ Ennodius says of Epiphanius, — "Inter dissidentes principes solus cœset, qui pace frueretur amborum." — p. 1011. He even overawed the fierce Rugians, at one time masters of Pavia.

Union of the races archies. It was the avowed object of Theodoric to fuse together the Teutonic vigor with the Roman civilization, to alloy the fierceness of the Gothic temperament with the social culture of Italy.¹ The Romans still held many of the chief civil offices. Liberius, Symmachus, Boethius, Cassiodorus, were the ministers of the Gothic king. Yet the two elements of the society had no tendency to assimilation or union, the justice and wisdom of the king might mitigate, he could not reconcile this discord, which could only be finally extinguished by years of mutual intercourse, by intermarriages, and above all by perfect community of religious faith. The Gothic and the Roman races stood apart in laws, in usages, in civil position, as well as in character. Possessors, by the right of conquest, of the one-third of the lands in Italy, of which they exacted the surrender, and for which they tacitly engaged to protect the whole from foreign invasion,² the Goths settled as an armed aristocracy among a people who seemed content to purchase

¹ "Ii semper fuerint (Gothi, sc.) in laudis medio constituti, ut et Romanorum prudentiam caperent, et virtutem gentium possiderent. . . . Consuetudo nostra feris mentibus inseratur donec truculentus animus vivere velle consuescat."—Cassiod. Var. Epist. iii. 23. In another passage he exhorts the Goths to put on the manners of the toga, and to cast off those of barbarism. "Intelligite homines non tam corporeâ vi quam ratione præferri."—Lib. iii. Epist. 17. When he invaded Gaul, Theodoric declared himself the protector of the Romans: "Delectamur jure Romano vivere quos armis vindicamus. . . . Nobis propositum est, Deo juvante, sic vivere, ut subjecti se doleant nostrum dominium tardius acquisisse."—iii. 43. But the most clear and distinct indication of his views is in the formula for the appointment of the Count of the Goths: "Unum vos amplectatur vivendi votum, quibus unum esse constat imperium." The anonym. Vales. says that the poor Roman (miser) affected to be a Goth, the rich (utilis) Goth to be a Roman.

² "Vos autem Romani magno studio Gothos diligere debetis, qui in pace numerosos vobis populos faciunt, et universam rempublicam per bella defendunt."—Cassiod. vii. 3

their security at the price of one third of their possessions. This transfer was carried on with nothing of the violence and irregularity of plunder or confiscation, but with the utmost order and equity. It was, in truth, but a new form of the law of conquest, which Rome had enforced, first upon Italy, afterwards on the world. Nor was it an obsolete and forgotten hardship, the expulsion of a free, and flourishing, and happy peasantry from their paternal homesteads, and hereditary fields; they were only like those more partial no doubt, but more cruel ejectments, when the conquering Triumvir, during the later republic, confiscated whole provinces, and apportioned them among his own soldiery.¹ The followers of Odoacer had already, ^{Division of lands.} if not to so great an extent, enforced the same surrender, and the Goth only expelled the Herulian from his newly acquired estate. Large tracts in Italy were utterly desolate and uncultivated — almost the whole under imperfect culture.² This, in the best times of the Roman aristocracy, had been the natural and recorded consequence of the vast estates accumulated by one proprietor, and cultivated by slaves or at best by poor métayers, and was now aggravated by the general ruin of that aristocracy, the difficulty of maintaining slaves, and the effects of long warfare. This revolution at least assisted in breaking up these overgrown properties, combining as it did with constant aliena-

¹ Theodoric considered that he had succeeded to the right of the Roman people in apportioning land: he prohibited the forcible entrance upon farms without authority.

² "Vides universa Italise loca originariis viduata cultoribus." Read the whole speech of Theodoric to Epiphanius of Pavia on the desolation especially of Liguria. — Ennod. Vit. p. 1014. "Latifundia perdidere Italiam," the axiom of all the Roman economists.

tions to the Church, and afterwards to monasteries. Agriculture in Italy received a new impulse,¹ the more necessary, as it ceased to command foreign resources. The harvests of the East, and of Egypt and Libya, had long been assigned to the maintenance of the new capital; and Western Africa, desolated by the Vandals, no longer poured in her supplies. Theodoric watched with parental solicitude the progress of agriculture, and the irregular and uncertain supplies of corn to his Italian subjects, who were now thrown on their own resources. His correspondence is full of orders on this important subject. Italy began to export corn. The price, both of corn and wine, fell to a very moderate amount.²

The Gothic king claimed all the imposts formerly paid to the imperial treasury; the Curia were still responsible for the collection, but Theodoric inculcated moderation in the exaction of the imperial claims.³ The Goths appear to have been liable to the same taxes with the Romans.⁴ The clergy had as yet no *Theodoric*. immunities. Theodoric himself aspired to be the impartial sovereign of both races. In him met

¹ It is curious that most of these edicts prohibit *exportation*. See Cassiodorus. Var. Lib. i. 31, 34, 35 (a strange document in point of style). Lib. ii. 12, is a prohibition of the export of *bacoñ*, an important article of food; 20 gives orders to send corn from Ravenna to Liguria, which was suffering famine. The Gothic army in Gaul was supported by the province, not from Italy (iii. 41, 2), and during a famine Southern Italy and Sicily relieved Gaul (iv. 5, 7). On the other hand, Theodoric endeavored to obtain corn from Spain for the supply of Rome; but it seems the dealers had found a better market in Africa (v. 35).

² "Sexaginta modios tritici in solidum ipsius tempore fuerunt, et vinum triginta amphoræ in solidum." — Anon. Vales. Without ascertaining the exact relative value, we may infer that these were unusually low prices.

³ Var. i. 19, iv. 19.

⁴ iv. 14.

and blended the Roman and the Goth: in peace he exchanged the Gothic military dress for the purple of the Roman Emperor.¹ He preserved the ancient titles both of the Republic and of the Empire. He appointed Consuls, Patricians, Quæstors, as well as Counts of largesses, of provinces, and some of the more servile titles of the East.² The conqueror was earnestly desirous to secure for his Italian subjects the blessings of peace: though his arms were employed in Gaul for thirty out of thirty-three years of his reign, Italy, under his dominion, escaped the ravages of war.³ The police was so strict throughout Italy, that merchants thronged from all parts. A man might leave his silver or gold as safely on his farm as in a walled city.⁴ He bequeathed peace to his successors; he encouraged all the arts of peace. The posts ^{Peace of Italy.} were arranged on a new and effective footing.⁵ The great roads, the bridges, the ruined walls, and falling buildings were restored to their ancient strength and splendor. Verona, Pavia,⁶ above all Ravenna, were adorned with new palaces, porticos, baths, amphitheatres, basilicas, and, doubtless, churches. In the latter

¹ Muratori, *Annal. d' Italia*, iv. 380.

² See the sixth book of the *Epistles*.

³ Ennodius says, in *Vit. Epiphan.* — “Cujus post triumphum spoliatum vagina gladium nullus aspexit.” — p. 1012. “Ergo præclarus et bonæ voluntatis in omnibus, qui regnavit annos xxxiii. cujus temporibus felicitas est sequuta Italiam per annos xxx. ita ut etiam pax pergentibus esset (*Pergentibus* successoribus ejus).” — Wagner's note, *Anonym. Vales.*

⁴ *Anonym. Vales.*

⁵ *Epist. i. 29*, iv. 47, v. 5.

⁶ *Anonym. Vales.* This writer, in his admiration of the golden age of Theodoric, declares that he did not repair the gates of the cities, as, being now never closed, the inhabitants entering and going out by night as well as by day, they had become of no use. “Hoc per totam Italiam augurium habebat, ut nulli civitati portas faceret.”

city Theodoric avowedly aimed at rivalling the magnificence of Rome; but Rome was not plundered or sacrificed to the new capital. The care of Theodoric was extended to the restoration of her stately but injured edifices.¹ The Cloacæ, which excited the wonder of the barbarians, and distinguished Rome from all other cities, were to be repaired entirely at the public cost.² The water from the aqueducts was no longer to be directed to private use, for the turning of mills, or irrigation of gardens, but devoted to the general benefit of the citizens.³ The prefect of the city and his lieutenant, the Count of Rome, and the public architect⁴ were especially charged to keep up the forests of stately buildings, the statues which peopled the city, the herds of equestrian images.⁵ In these terms the barbarians expressed their astonishment at the yet inexhausted treasures of art in the imperial city. The florid panegyric of Theodoric describes the aged city as renewing her youth; noble edifices were completed nearly as soon as planned. Theodoric is almost a second Romulus — as it is greater to ward off the fall, than to have commenced the foundations of a city.⁶

¹ Var. i. 21. Compare ii. 34.

² Var. iii. 30.

³ Var. iii. 31.

⁴ On the general policy of Theodoric in this respect, "*Decet principem cura, quæ ad rempublicam præstat augendam, et verè dignum est regem ædificiis palatia decorare. Absit enim ut ornatui cedamus veterum, qui impares non sumus beatitudini sæculorum.*" — Var. i. 6. "*Decora facies imperii, testimonium præconiale regnorum.*" — Var. vii. 5.

⁵ "*Mirabilis sylvæ mænium, populus statuarum, greges equorum.*" — Var. vii. 5: compare vii. 13, 16. These latter are the formularies for the appointment of the Comes Romanus, and the architect of the public works. — Ennod. apud Sirmond. p. 967.

⁶ Theodoric commands marmorarii to be sent from Ravenna to Rome: these were workers in mosaic (we hear nothing of painters or sculptors), which art the barbarians seem to have especially admired. "*Qui eximie*

When Theodoric appeared in Rome, the Emperor might seem to revive in greater power and majesty than he had displayed since the days of Theodosius the Great. The largesses of corn were distributed, though to a smaller population, with a liberality which rivalled the earlier days of the Empire.¹

Though himself taking no pleasure in savage or idle amusements, the barbaric king, considering such subjects not quite beneath the care of the sovereign, perhaps not without some politic design to occupy the proud and turbulent metropolis, indulged his subjects with their ancient spectacles, in such pomp as to recall the famous names of Trajan and Valentinian.² The gladiators alone had been suppressed by the influence of Christian opinion; and even if humanity had not won this triumph, Rome had no longer barbarian captives, whom she could devote to the carnage of these mimic wars. But the arena was still open to the combats of wild beasts.³ The pantomimes, of which alone Theodoric speaks with interest, were frequent and splendid.⁴ The chariot races were attended with all the old passionate ardor, and the contending colors were espoused with fanatic zeal by the opposite factions,

divisæ conjungunt et venis colludentibus illigata naturalem faciem laudabiliter mentiantur. . . . De arte veniat, quod vincat naturam, discoloria crusta marmorum gratissimâ picturarum varietate texantur." — Var. i. 6.

¹ Anonym. Vales. Compare the formulary for the appointment of the *Præfectus annonæ*.

² Anonym. Vales. The edicts are prefaced with a kind of apology. *Licet inter gloriosas reipublicæ curas . . . pars minima videatur, principem de spectaculis loqui, tamen pro amore reipublicæ Romanæ non pigebit has cogitationes intrare.*" — Var. i. 20.

³ Var. v. 42, where the *feritas spectacula* is reprov'd. Among Theodoric's buildings is mentioned an amphitheatre at Pavia.

⁴ He calls it a wonderful art, which is often more expressive than language. — Var. i. 20.

on which the Sovereign, though he did not condescend to take a part, looked with indulgence. He allowed the utmost license to the expression of public feeling, and strongly reproved the officious or haughty interference of the Senate for attempting to repress this legitimate freedom.¹

But Theodoric, in his religious character, is the chief object of our study. The Christian sovereign must find his proper place in the history of Christianity. The King of the Ostrogoths not merely held together in peace and amity the two races, the Roman and the Barbarian, but even the Orthodox and the Arian reposed throughout his reign, if not in friendly quiet, at least without any violation of the public peace.

It was fortunate, perhaps, that in a state so divided, the Sovereign was of the religion of the few. He escaped the temptation to persecute, since it would have been idle to suppose that he could persuade or compel so strong a majority to embrace his detested opinions. If the wise spirit of toleration had not led him to moderate measures, the good sense of the Sovereign would have compelled him to respect the inveterate tenets of the larger, the more intellectually powerful part of his subjects. Still, though his Byzantine education might have warned Theodoric against the danger, if the Sovereign should plunge too deeply into ecclesiastical affairs, his forbearance was neverthe-

¹ "Mores autem graves in spectaculo quis requirit? Ad circum nesciunt convenire Catones."—i. 27. It is evident that the senate and the people had taken different sides. The senators are reproved for introducing their armed slaves among the audience. On the other hand, the complaint of a senator of personal insult was to be carried before the prætorian præfect. There is a remarkable tone of good-humored moderation in all the edicts compare Var. i. 27, 30 to 33.

less extraordinary, considering the all-searching, all-pervading activity of his administration; and that the religious supremacy had been so long a declared prerogative of that Imperial power, which had now passed into his hands. Imperial edicts since the days of Constantine had been solicited, respected, enforced by the hierarchs so long as they spoke the dominant doctrine; they had become part of the code of the Empire; even when adverse to the prevailing opinion, they had been always supported by one faction at least, and received with awe by the more indifferent multitudes. The doctrine that the clergy, the bishops, or the Roman Pontiff, were the sole legislators of Christianity, was so precarious and undefined, that we still cannot altogether withhold our admiration from the wisdom of Theodoric. The Arianism, indeed, of the Goths had not the fresh ardor or burning zeal of recent proselytism. It was a kind of religious accident, arising out of their first conversion, which happened to take place during the reign of an Arian Emperor, and through Arian missionaries. It had settled into a quiet hereditary faith. There was no peculiar congeniality in its tenets with the Teutonic mind, which was rather disposed to receive what it was taught with implicit faith; and, though no doubt averse to the subtleties of the Greek theology, neither comprehended, nor cared to comprehend, these controversies. It was content to adhere to the original creed,¹ or, possibly, might feel

¹ Salvian is inclined to judge the heresy of the barbarians with charity; perhaps that he might inveigh more fiercely against the vices of the Catholic Romans. "*Barbari quippe homines, immo potius humanæ eruditionis expertes, qui nihil omnino sciunt, nisi quod a doctoribus suis audiunt, quod audiunt, sic sequuntur . . . hæretici ergo sunt, sed non scientes.*" — *De Gubernat. Dei*, lib. v.

some pride in differing from the abject race, over which it asserted its civil and military superiority.

The serene impartiality of Theodoric's government in religious affairs extorts the praise of the most zealous Catholic.¹ He attempted nothing against the Catholic faith. Towards the close of the Gothic monarchy, the royal ambassadors to Belisarius defied their enemies to prove a case in which the Goths had persecuted the Catholics.² Theodoric treated the Pope, the Bishops, and Clergy, with grave respect: in the more distinguished, such as Epiphanius, he ever placed the highest esteem and confidence. We shall behold him showing as much reverence, and even bounty, to the Church of St. Peter, as though he had been a Catholic. The poor who were dependent on that Church were maintained by his liberality.³ The Arian clergy also shared in the tolerant sentiments of their King. Of their position, character, influence; of the churches they built or occupied; of their services, of their processions, of their ceremonies; of any aggression or intrigue on their part; of any collision, which we might have supposed inevitable with the Latin clergy, history, and history entirely written by the Catholics, is totally silent; and that silence is the best testimony, either to their unexampled moderation, as the religious teachers of the few indeed, but those few the conquerors and rulers, or to the wiser policy of the King, which could constrain even

¹ "Nihil contra religionem catholicam tentans," thus writes the anonymous historian, himself a devout Catholic. Ennodius, in praising the religion, forgets the Arianism of Theodoric. — Paneg. p. 971. Anonym. Vales.

² Procop. de bell. Gothic. ii. c. 6.

³ Procop. Hist. Arcan., p. 145, edit. Bonn.

honest religious zeal. Theodoric himself adhered firmly but calmly to his native Arianism; but, all the conversions seem to have been from the religion of the King; even his mother became a Catholic;¹ and some other distinguished persons of the court embraced a different creed without forfeiting the royal favor.² Theodoric was the protector of Church property,³ which he himself increased by large grants.⁴ This property, with some exceptions, was still liable to the common imposts. His wise finance would admit no exemptions, but in gifts he was prodigal to magnificence. The clergy were amenable to the common law of the Empire, and were summoned before the royal courts (the stern law would not be eluded) for all ordinary crimes;⁵ but all ecclesiastical offences were left to the ecclesiastical authorities.⁶ Nor, although the Herulian

¹ "*Mater Theodorici, Erivileva dicta, catholica quidem erat quæ in baptismo Eusebia dicta.*"—Anonym. Vales.

² Note of Valesius to Anonym. at the end of Wagner's Ammianus Marcellinus, page 399. — Var. x. 34 a. 26. These cases belong to the successors of Theodoric. With Gibbon, I reject the story of his beheading a Catholic priest for turning Arian in order to gain his favor! It is most probable that the man had been guilty of some capital crime, and sought to save his life by apostacy. It was not improbably either Theodorus or Count Odoïn, who had formed a conspiracy against him in Rome, and was beheaded for his treason: compare Hist. Miscel. p. 612.

³ Var. iv. 17, orders to his general Ibas in Gaul to restore certain lands to the Church of Narbonne.

⁴ "If," he writes to Count Geberic, "in our piety, we bestow lands on the church, we ought to maintain rigidly what she possesses already." — Var. iv. 20.

⁵ Januarius, Bishop of Salona, is sued for a debt, though for lights for the church; a Bishop Peter for the restitution of an inheritance; the Priest Laurence for sacrilegious violation of a tomb in search of treasure; Antony, Bishop of Pola, for the restitution of a house: compare Du Roure, Hist. de Théodoric, i. p. 353.

⁶ See the celebrated privilege accorded to the clergy of Rome by Athalaric. — Var. viii. 24. This, however, was no more than arbitration. "*Exceptos a tramite justitiæ non patimur inveniri.*"—Cassiod. ii. 29. Yet

Odoacer had claimed and exercised the right of confirming the Papal election, did Theodoric interfere in those elections until compelled by the sanguinary tumults which distracted the city. Even then he interfered only as the anxious guardian of the public peace, and declined the arbitration between the conflicting claims, which both parties, hoping for his support, endeavored to force on the reluctant monarch.

The feuds of the Roman clergy, which broke out on the customary occasion of the election of a new Pope, and brought them to the foot of their Arian sovereign,

may be traced back to a more remote source. A.D. 498.
Contested
election for
the Papedom. Anastasius, as has been seen, during his short pontificate, had deviated into the paths of

peace and conciliation. He had endeavored by mildness, and by no important concession (he insisted not on the condemnation of Acacius), to reunite the Churches of Rome and Constantinople. This unwonted policy had apparently formed two parties in the Roman clergy, one inclined to the gentler measures of Anastasius, the other to the sterner and more inexorable tone of his predecessors. Each party elected

Dec. 22.
A.D. 499. their Pope, the latter the Deacon Symmachus, the former the Archpresbyter Laurentius.¹ The rival Pontiffs were consecrated on the same day, one in the Lateran Church, the other in that of St. Mary. At the head of the party of Laurentius, stood Festus or Faustus Niger, the chief of the Senatorial order. He had been the ambassador of Theodoric at Constantinople, to demand the acknowledgment of

Theodoric, from respect, was unwilling to punish a priest. "*Scelus quos nos pro sacerdotali honore relinquimus impunitum.*"—iv. 18.

¹ Anastasius died Nov. 17. — Muratori, *sub ann*

the Goth as King of Italy. He had succeeded in his mission; perhaps had been prevailed upon to attempt the reconciliation of the two Churches, either by persuading the acceptance of the Henoticon by the Roman clergy, or more probably on the terms of compromise approved by Pope Anastasius. The two factions encountered with the fiercest hostility; the clergy, the senate, and the populace were divided; the streets of the Christian city ran with blood, as in the days of republican strife.¹ The conflicting claims of the prelates were brought before the throne of Theodoric. The simple justice of the Goth decided that the bishop who had the greater number of suffrages, and had been first consecrated, had the best right to the throne. Symmachus was acknowledged as Pope: he held a synod at Rome which passed two memorable decrees, one almost in the terms of the old Roman law, severely condemning all ecclesiastical ambition, all canvassing, either for obtaining subscriptions, or administration of oaths, or promises for the papacy during the lifetime of the Pope;² the other declared the election to be in the majority of the clergy, thus virtually abrogating the law of Odoacer. Laurentius (the rival Pope was present at this synod) subscribed its de-

¹ Each party charged the other with these cruelties. The author of the *Hist. Micell.* asserts that Festus and Probinus, of the party of Laurentius, slew in the midst of Rome the greater part of the clergy and a great number of citizens: a fragment of a writer on the other side (published by the impartial Muratori) ascribes these acts of violence, slaughter, and pillage, with many other vices, to Symmachus. Compare *Annal. d'Ital.* sub ann. 498.

² It was the language of the law *de Ambitu*, applied to ecclesiastical distinctions. It is enacted "*propter frequentes ambitus quorundam, et ecclesie puritatem, vel populi collisionem, quæ molesta et iniqua incompetenti episcopatum desiderantium generavit auiditas.*" — Labbe, *Concil.* p. 1313.

crees,¹ and returned to the more peaceful, perhaps to a wise man, the more enviable bishopric of Nocera.

During this interval of peace, Theodoric for the first time visited the imperial city. He was Theodoric in Rome, March A.D. 499. met by Pope Symmachus at the head of his clergy, by the Senate, which still numbered some few old and famous names, Anicii, Albini, Marcelli, and by the whole people, who crowded with demonstrations of the utmost joy around their barbarian sovereign. Catholic and Arian, Goth and Roman, mingled their acclamations. Theodoric performed his devotions in St. Peter's with the fervor of a Catholic. In the Senate he swore to maintain all the imperial laws, the rights and privileges of the Roman people. He celebrated the Circensian games, in commemoration of all his triumphs, with the utmost magnificence; ordered a distribution of one hundred and twenty bushels of corn annually to the poor, and set apart two hundred pounds of gold for the restoration of the imperial palace. The Bishop Fulgentius, witness of the splendor of Theodoric's reception, breaks out into these rapturous words: "If such be the magnificence of earth, what must be that of the heavenly Jerusalem!"² Theodoric remained in Rome six months, and then returned to Ravenna.

During all this period, and the three or four following years, the faction of Laurentius were Charges against Symmachus. watching their opportunity to renew the strife.³

¹ Baronius sub ann. Muratori has some doubts.

² Anonym. Vales. Vita B. Fulgentii.

³ There are two accounts of these transactions, — one that of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, or the anonymous papal biographer, favorable to Symmachus; the other the anonymous Veronensis, published by Muratori. I have endeavored to harmonize them. Both agree that some years elapsed between the accession of Symmachus and this new contest.

Fearful charges began to be rumored against Symmachus, no less than adultery,¹ and the alienation of the property of the see. Faustus, his implacable adversary, with the Consul Probinus and great part of the Senate, supported these criminations. The accusation was brought before the judgment-seat of Theodoric, supported by certain Roman females of rank, who had been suborned, it was said, by the enemies of Symmachus. Symmachus was summoned to Ravenna, and confined in Rimini. But finding the prejudices in Ravenna darkening against him, he ^{Tumults in Rome.} escaped and returned to Rome. Laurentius had also secretly entered the capital. The sanguinary tumults between the two factions broke out with greater fury; priests were sacrilegiously slain, monasteries fired, and even sacred virgins treated with the utmost indignity. The Senate petitioned the King to send a ^{A.D. 508.} visitor to judge the cause of the Pontiff. A royal commission was issued to Peter, Bishop of Altino. But instead of a calm mediator between the conflicting parties, or an equitable judge, the visitor threw himself into the party of Laurentius.² The possessions of the Church were, in part at least, seized and withholden from Symmachus; he was commanded to give up the slaves of his household that they might be examined,³ it should seem, by torture according to the ancient usage.⁴

¹ Anonym. Veron. — confirmed by Ennodius, p. 1366.

² Ennod. Apologet. pro Synod., p. 987.

³ This corresponded with the two heads of accusation. The former provided against the alleged alienation of the church property, the latter referred to that of adultery.

⁴ This is a remarkable fact, in the first place, showing that slaves formed the household of the Pope, and that, by law, they were yet liable to torture. This seems clear from the words of Ennodius, "Sed, credo, replicabitur."

Theodoric, still declining the jurisdiction over these ecclesiastical offences, summoned a synod of Italian prelates to meet at Rome. The synod held two successive sessions, and throughout their proceedings may be traced their consciousness of their embarrassing position, which is increased as the reports of these proceedings have passed through later writers.¹ They were assembled under the authority of a layman, an heretical sovereign, too powerful to be disobeyed, and acting with such cautious dignity, justice, and impartiality as to command respect. They were assembled to judge the supreme Pontiff, the Metropolitan of the west, the asserted, and by most acknowledged, head of Christendom. Symmachus himself had the prudence to express his concurrence in the convocation of this synod. At the first session he set forth to attend the Council. He was attacked by the adverse party, showers of stones fell around him; many presbyters and others of his followers were severely wounded; the Pontiff himself only escaped under the protection of the Gothic guard. The final, named the Palmary, synod was held in some edifice or hall in the palace called by that name; of this assembly the accounts are some-

veritatem quam sponte prolata in illis vox habere non poterat, hanc diversis cruciatibus e latebris suis religiosus tortor exegerat, ut dum pœnis corpora solverentur, quæ gesta fuisset noverat anima non celaret." Ennodius is so obscure and figurative that he may seem to say, in the next sentence, that this proceeding was illegal, perhaps contrary to the canons. He appears to consider it most contumelious that ecclesiastics should be judged on servile evidence.

¹ The whole question of the number and dates of the synods held at this time is inextricably obscure. I chiefly follow Muratori. The *synodus palmaris* is usually considered the fourth. One, in all probability two, were held by Symmachus before this new strife. The fourth was apparently a continuation of the third, but held in a different place — unless the third was one held by Peter of Altino.

what more full and distinct. Throughout appears the manifest struggle in the ecclesiastical senate between the duty of submitting to the King, who earnestly ^{Decree of the Palmary Synod.} urges them to restore peace to Rome and to

Italy, and the reluctance to assume jurisdiction over the Bishop of Rome. Some expressions intimate that already the Bishop of Rome was held to be exempt from all human authority, and could be judged by God alone. If the Pope is called in question the whole episcopacy of the Church is shaken to its foundation.¹

Symmachus, however, had the wisdom to suppress all jealousy of a Council² whose authority alone could completely clear him of these formidable accusations, and which he probably knew to be favorably impressed with his innocence. With the full authority of a synod of one hundred and twenty bishops he resumed the pontifical throne, without having compromised his dignity by thus condescending to their jurisdiction. In the wording of the sentence the Council claims at once the authority of the Holy Ghost, yet confines the justification of Pope Symmachus to immunity and freedom from censure before men;³ it leaves to the secret coun-

¹ "In sacerdotibus cæteris potest si quid forte nutaverit, reformari: at si papa urbis vocatur in dubium, episcopatus videbitur, non jam episcopus, vacillare." — Avit. ad Senat. apud Labbe, p. 1365. Avitus uses this argument to the senators of Rome, "Nec minus diligatis in ecclesiâ nostrâ sedem Petri, quam in civitate apicem mundi;" but Avitus acknowledges all priests, even the Pope, to be amenable to secular tribunals, of course for secular offences, "quia sicut subditos nos esse terrenis potestatibus jubet arbiter cœli; staturos nos ante reges et principes in *quacunque* accusatione prædicens; ita non facile datur intelligi, qua vel ratione, vel lege ab inferioribus (inferior in ecclesiastical order) eminentior judicetur."

² "Judicia et iste voluit, amavit, attraxit, ingressus est; et quod posset fideli corda doloris justî aculeis excitare, venerando concilio etiam contra se si mereretur, indulsit." — Ennod., p. 981.

³ "Quantum ad homines respicit (quia totum causis obsidentibus superioris designitia, constat arbitrio divino fuisse dimissum) sit immunis et

sel of God the ultimate decision which they might not presume to pronounce;¹ nevertheless, with inconsistency, which it is difficult to understand, they seem to grant permission to the Pope to offer the divine mysteries to the Christian people in all the churches of his jurisdiction.²

Content with having restored peace to the Roman see, Theodoric kept aloof from the religious dissensions which brooded in deepening darkness over the east. The Gothic king was devoting himself, dare we not say, to the more Christian office of maintaining the peace, securing the welfare, promoting the civilization, lightening the financial burdens of his people,³ in exercising for the benefit of Italy, the

Affairs of the East. liber, et Christianæ plebi sine aliquâ de objectis oblatione, in omnibus ecclesiis suis, ad jus sedis suæ pertinentibus, tradat divina mysteria." - Labbe, p. 1325.

¹ Considering the horror in which the crime of adultery was held in an ecclesiastic, we can scarcely suppose, either that the severe Theodoric would not have driven him from his presence, or that an assemblage of prelates would have attempted to shield a pontiff, of precarious and disputed title, without full and conclusive evidence of his guiltlessness.

² The decisions of this synod were indeed impeached by the enemies of Symmachus, and Ennodius found it necessary to vindicate them in an apology, as he thought, eloquent, and therefore in parts altogether unintelligible, at least so as to give but obscure glimpses of the facts. He would seem, perhaps only figuratively, to retort the charge of adultery against the partisans of Laurentius. — p. 992. At the close, Ennodius personifies Rome, who has still some compunctious feelings for the inevitable damnation of all her older heroes. "Quæ Curios, Torquatos, Camillos, quos Ecclesia non regeneravit, et reliquos misi, plurimæ prolis infœcunda mater, ad Tartarum, dum exhaustis emarcui male facta visceribus; quia Fabios servata patria non redemit, Decius multo sudore gloria parta nil præstitit profigata est operum sine fide innocentia: criminosis junctus est, aequi observantissimus Scipio." — p. 993, apud Sirmond.

³ "Sensimus auctas illationes, vos addita tributa nescitis. Ita utcumque sub admiratione perfectum est, ut et fiscus crescebat, et privata utilitas nulla damna perferret." — Var. ii. 16. The panegyric of Ennodius must be read with that reserve which these *eloquent* adulations suggest; but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that Ennodius was a Catholic and a bishop.

virtues of wisdom, justice, and humanity. His foreign wars in Pannonia, with a horde of the Bulgarian race, in Gaul, in defence of his kindred the Visigoths against the ambitious Franks, brought fame to the king, without disturbing the repose, or interrupting the progress of improvement in Italy. Far different was the state of the East; the long religious quarrel in which the Emperor Anastasius had been engaged, had shaken its throne to the base, it needed only a successful insurrection to degrade it to still lower humiliation.

The Pope Symmachus watched no doubt with profound interest the holy war which had now broken out in the East. The polemic controversies had become the causes or pretexts of revolt and battles. The formidable Scythian Vitalianus (with whom Theodoric had some political connection on account of the hostilities in which he had been involved on the Dacian frontier with the Eastern empire) had raised the standard of rebellion and of orthodoxy against the aged Anastasius. Symmachus did not live to witness the sad latter years of the Emperor Anastasius; the revolt of Vitalianus; the hollow peace on the hard conditions of religious submission; the full acceptance of the council of Chalcedon, the restoration of the exiled Catholic Bishops, and the summoning an Œcumenic Council at Heraclea. His successor Hormisdas¹ reaped the fruits of the humiliation of the eastern Emperor, and be-
Pope Hormisdas.
 came, though at first the vassal, at last the humble subject of the Arian Theodoric, the dictator of the religion of the world. Anastasius in his helpless state sought the mediation not of the civil but of the religious sovereign of Italy. He might justly fear

¹ Hormisdas, Pope from July, 514, to Aug. 6, 523.

A.D. 509. Theodoric, himself had once some years before entered into suspicious alliance with Clovis the Frank, he had meditated or threatened a descent on the coast of Italy. The Emperor addressed a letter to Hormisdas, the fame of whose mild disposition tempted him to renew a correspondence broken off by the harshness of former Popes. But Hormisdas, while he warmly approved the Emperor's disposition to peace and unity, declined this flattery at the expense of his predecessors. Yet, on the whole, the language of the Pope's reply was moderate, neither dissembling nor asserting in too haughty terms the pretensions of his See. The proposed Council of Heraclea came to nothing; a Council in the East, under present circumstances, suited the policy neither of the Pope, nor of the Emperor.¹

July 8, 515. Four ambassadors, the Bishops Ennodius and Fortunatus, the Presbyter Venantius, with Vitalis a deacon, set forth in the name of Pope Hormisdas to Constantinople. Their instructions are extant, a remarkable manual of ecclesiastical diplomacy in a nice and difficult affair. In the questionable and divided state of the Eastern clergy, especially of Constantinople, as to orthodoxy, the ambassadors were to receive their personal advances with decent courtesy, lest the episcopal character should be lowered in the estimation of the laity; but to avoid all intimate intercourse with men, who might at least be heretics; to receive no presents, not even provisions, only means of conveyance; to incur no obligations, and to decline all invitations to feasts, until they could all

¹ The story in Theophanes as to the perfidy of Anastasius in these proceedings, is altogether inconsistent with the whole course of events, as appears from existing documents.

meet together at the great feast of the Holy Eucharist. In Constantinople they were to go at once to the lodgings provided by the Emperor, but to avoid all intercourse with their own partisans, till they had presented their credentials to the Emperor.¹ Besides these credentials they were armed with letters to Vitalianus, letters however so cautiously worded, that they might acknowledge the possession of them, and though steadily declining to surrender them to the Emperor, might permit them to be read to Vitalianus in the presence of an imperial commissioner. Their instructions, how they were to fix the wavering Emperor, and extort concession after concession, are marked with the same subtle and dexterous policy. They were to demand, I., his unequivocal assent to the Council of Chalcedon, and to the letters of Pope Leo. If he yielded this point, they were to express their gratitude and kiss his breast, and then, II., to require him to demand the same assent from all the clergy of the East. If he should assert the general orthodoxy of the clergy, and their disposition to quiet submission, if affairs had not been thrown into confusion by certain unadvised letters of Pope Symmachus, they were to declare that those letters, now in their hands, contained only general exhortations to accept the Council of Chalcedon. They were to press this point with prayers and tears, to remind the Emperor of God, and of the day of judgment. Should the Emperor reply, "What would you have?"

¹ There was a preliminary caution that, as it was customary in Constantinople for all persons admitted to the emperor on ecclesiastical business to be presented by the bishop, they were to omit, if possible; receiving this courtesy from Timotheus, and if he should officiously thrust himself in the way, and enforce the right of presentation, to declare that they were directly accredited to the emperor alone.

I receive the Council of Chalcedon, and the letters of Leo:" they were to elude any assent to this protest, unless he would issue his imperial letters *compelling* a general union with the Church of Rome. Should the Emperor say, "Will you then receive the Bishop of Constantinople into communion?" Here was the nicest point of all, to avoid the recognition of either of the contending prelates, and so to bring the absolute nomination of the Bishop of Constantinople under the cognizance of the proposed Council, over which Council was to preside the representative of Rome. The instructions even anticipate a dangerous objection, which might occur to Anastasius, that the rival prelate, Macedonius, was a notorious heretic. This, they were to rejoin, is a question to be calmly considered when the Church is restored to unity. "What," should the Emperor say, "is my city to be without a bishop?" "The canons," they are to answer, "provide remedies for such a difficulty." But these inexorable terms were not all. Anastasius was not only to be compelled to be a persecutor. Besides the acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon, and the Leonine letters by the Emperor, and the compulsory enforcement of obedience from the clergy, were demanded from the Emperor, as to be ratified by the Council, III. The public anathema of Nestorius, Eutyches, Dioscorus, and also of their followers, (the maintainers of the Henoticon,) Timotheus Ælurus, Peter of Alexandria, Acacius, formerly Bishop of Constantinople, and Peter of Antioch. IV. The immediate recall from exile of all ecclesiastics in communion with Rome, the causes of their respective banishments to be examined by the Apostolic See. V. The judgment of those accused of persecuting the Catholics

to be in like manner submitted to the court of Rome. On the full acceptance of these terms, Hormisdas consented to honor the future Council with his personal presence, not to deliberate but to ratify his own solemn determinations.

But Anastasius was not reduced so low as to submit to these debasing conditions. The condemnation of Acacius was unpopular at Constantinople, the memory of the Bishop dear and sacred to a large party. Anastasius chose this point of resistance. He accepted on his own part the Council of Chalcedon, but why should the living be kept excommunicated from the Church on account of the dead? The terms of Hormisdas could not be enforced without much bloodshed.¹ A. D. 507.

The embassy returned to Rome. Anastasius continued to temporize. An imperial embassy appeared in Rome, accredited to the Senate as well as to the Pope. It entreated the intervention of that venerable body with the glorious Theodoric to unite the afflicted Christian Church and Empire. Hormisdas treated these lay ambassadors, who presumed to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs, with supercilious contempt. The churches of Illyria, of which the opinions had as yet hung in doubt, had now given their unqualified adhesion to Hormisdas and the Council of Chalcedon. Far from retracting, he rose in his demands; he condescended indeed to send a second legation, Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, and Peregrinus, Bishop of Misenum, to Constantinople. His answer by them was a vehement and implacable invective against the memory of Acacius.² That Bish-

¹ "Grave esse clementia nostra iudicat de ecclesiâ venerabili propter mortuos vivos expelli, nec sine multâ effusione sanguinis scimus posse ea, quæ super hoc scribitis, ordinari." — Epist. Anastas. Labbe, p. 1432.

² Epistola Hormisdæ apud Labbe.

op's communion with the followers of Dioscorus and of Eutyches infected him with their most heinous guilt. All who hated those heretics, must hate Acacius. The crime of Acacius was darker than that of the original authors of the heresy. The condemnation of Acacius, the unpardonable Acacius — Acacius who had claimed equality with the Pope — was now the only obstacle to the peace between Eastern and Western Christendom, a consummation to which the West, even the remotest Gaul (so wrote Hormisdas, alluding to the Catholic Franks) looked forward with eager interest. Anastasius was now more secure upon his throne, his formidable subject, Vitalianus, had lost his power. To his honor, he would not abandon even the memory of Acacius, who had been guilty only of firmly carrying out the Emperor's scheme of toleration; he broke off all further communication with the merciless Prelate. "We may submit to insult, we may endure that our decrees be annulled, but we will not be commanded.¹ Hormisdas must await the accession of a new Emperor Justin, before the Churches of Rome and Byzantium are reunited by the sacrifice of him, who besides his communion with Eutychians, had dared to equal himself with the successor of St. Peter."

But with the age and decay of Anastasius the strength of the Chalcedonian party increased rapidly. Timotheus, the Bishop of Constantinople, gave hopes at least, that he would secure himself by timely concession. Hormisdas addressed encouraging letters to the Catholic bishops, and though Anastasius ventured to punish with severity certain monks who strove to stir up rebellion, he dared not to resent this treasonable

¹ Epist. Anastas. Labbe, p. 1460.

correspondence with his subjects. The monks in Syria, of that party, appealed from the Emperor, whom they accused of contemptuously rejecting their humble supplications for protection and redress against their rivals, charged with the massacre of their brethren in the church, to the representative of St. Peter and St. Paul.¹

The strife ended with the death, if we are to believe Baronius, the damnation of Anastasius. The death of an old man, at least of eighty-one, more likely eighty-eight years of age, was ascribed to the visible vengeance of God. There was a terrible tempest, and that tempest transported away the affrighted soul of the Emperor, or struck him dead by its lightning. His death was revealed to a saint at a great distance, who communicated the awful fact to three of his brethren, intimating at the same time that he himself was summoned to appear before the tribunal of God within ten days, to bear witness against the Emperor.² This Elias departed before the end of ten days on his charitable errand, so necessary to enlighten Omniscience as to the deeds of a mortal man. So deeply had the passion of hatred, offering itself to the heart in the garb of religious zeal, infected the Christian mind, that Cardinal Baronius, reviving the inexorable resentment which had slept for centuries, calls upon the Church to sing a hymn of rejoicing over this new Pharaoh, this Emperor, thus, for his resistance to the Pope, judged, damned, and thrust down into hell.

Justin, a rude unlettered Dacian peasant, seized the throne of Constantinople; and there was an instan-

¹ *Relatio* Archimandrit. et Monach. ii. *Syriæ apud Labbe*, 1461

² *Baronius*, sub ann. 518, with his authorities.

Accession of Justin.
July 9, 518. taneous religious revolution in the Byzantine court and city, and throughout the East. Justin, though ignorant, was known to be of unbending orthodoxy. Only six days after his proclamation, the July 15. Emperor, with his wife Lupicina, who had been his slave and concubine, and who took the more decorous name of Euphemia, entered the great church. The populace broke out in acclamations, "Long life to the new Constantine and the new Helena." Their clamors ceased not with these loyal expressions: "Away with the Manicheans, proclaim the Council of Chalcedon." They demanded the degradation of Severus of Antioch, immediate reconciliation with Rome, and even that the bones of the Manicheans (the Emperor Anastasius and his party) should be torn up from their sepulchres. John of Cappadocia, the Patriarch of Constantinople, a man of servile mind, though unmeasured ambition, had acquiesced without remonstrance in all the measures of Anastasius. He now ascended the pulpit, declared his adhesion to the four great Councils, especially that of Chalcedon. The populace summoned him to utter his anathema against Severus; the Prelate obeyed. The next day was celebrated a festival in honor of the Council of Chalcedon. John of Cappadocia hastily assembled a Council of forty bishops, which confirmed all the demands of the rabble; Justin ratified their decrees by an imperial edict, commanding the recall of all the exiled bishops, and the expulsion of those who had usurped their sees. A second edict disqualified all heretics from holding civil or military office. The whole East followed the example of the capital, and became orthodox with the orthodox Emperor. Hera-

clea, Nicea, Nicomedia, Gangra, Jerusalem, Ptolemais, Tyre, restored the Chalcedonian bishops. Antioch shook off the yoke of Severus. ^{Close of the schism} Thessalonica and Alexandria alone made resistance, but were awed into submission. The death of the Eunuch Amantius, who had aspired to dispose of the empire, which he could not usurp himself; by whose gold, intrusted to him for other purposes, Justin had bought the crown; had been demanded as a sacrifice by the populace, and was readily conceded by Justin, his treason being aggravated by his notorious Manicheism. Theocritus, whom he had intended to raise to the empire, shared his unpopularity and his doom. But Vitalianus, the pillar of orthodoxy, met no better fate, he was treacherously invited to Constantinople, promoted to the highest dignity, and in the seventh month of his consulate assassinated by the agents of Justinian, the Emperor's nephew, now clearing the way for his own accession to the throne. Even before these necessary precautions for the security of his reign, the zealous Emperor had opened negotiations with Rome.¹ All opposition shrunk away. Hormisdas had the satisfaction not merely of compelling, by the aid of the Emperor, the whole East to accept his theologic doctrines, but his anathemas also of the living and of the dead. At the demand of his legates, the names of Acacius, and all who communicated with him, those of the Emperors Zeno and Anastasius, were erased from the diptychs. John the Patriarch vainly struggled to save the blameless names of Euphemius and Macedonius from the same ignominy: they were included with the rest (they were severely orthodox, but

¹ The first letter of Justin was dated August 1; the second, September 7

they had been guilty of acknowledging Acacius and his successor as legitimate patriarchs);¹ yet, nevertheless, the East has continued to reverence them as of undoubted orthodoxy. John however contrived a happy expedient to elude the direct recognition of the supremacy of Rome, by declaring that the Churches of old and new Rome were one. He assumed, by the permission of Justin, the yet pregnant title of œcumenic Patriarch. So closed the schism which had lasted for thirty-five years. Latin and Greek Christianity held again one creed—East and West were at peace.

March 28,
A.D. 519.

Theodoric had stood aloof, whether in contemptuous indifference, or, as he might suppose, intent on nobler objects, from all these intrigues, embassies, and negotiations. He left his subject, the Bishop of Rome, to assert, as he might, his ecclesiastical superiority over Constantinople; to league with the rebellious subjects of Byzantium against the eastern Emperor; to treat with Justin almost as an independent sovereign. Theodoric was now at the height of his fame and power, his kingdom of its peace and felicity. His dominion extended without rival, without opposition, from the Alps to Calabria. His sovereignty extended over the ancient provinces of Noricum and Pannonia, and some large adjacent, if not distinctly bounded territories; over the whole south of France, and even parts of Spain. But not all the victories, not all the virtues, not the wisdom, justice, and moderation of Theodoric, nor the prosperity of Italy under his rule, could secure his repose, or enable him to close his reign without strife, injustice, persecution, and blood-

Theodoric at
the height of
prosperity.

¹ Compare Walch, vii. p. 109.

shed. His firm character might overawe the elements of civil dissension, the jealousy of the two races which formed his subjects, and the feeble impatience of Rome under the barbarian sway. It was religious strife which broke up the quiet of his life and reign, and perhaps, by imbittering his temper in the decline of his days, by awakening suspicions not altogether groundless, and fears not without warrant, led to the crimes which have so deeply sullied his memory, the death of Boethius and of Symmachus. Notwithstanding the natural repugnance of the Romans to a foreign sway, and the secret dissatisfaction with which the Emperor of the East must have beheld the West altogether severed from the Roman Empire, yet Theodoric the Goth might have lived and ruled, and transmitted his sceptre in peace to his posterity; but an orthodox empire would not repose in unreluctant submission under an Arian. It was the unity of the Church, upon the accession of Justin, which endangered his government. Heresy, at the head of a prosperous kingdom, and a powerful fleet and army in the West, had commanded respect, so long as Eutychianism, or the no less odious compulsory toleration of the Henoticon, sate on the throne of Constantinople. Catholicism had concentrated all its hatred on the Manicheans, as they were called, who refused the Council of Chalcedon; but no sooner were those dissensions healed, than it began to resent, to look with holy jealousy upon, and to burn with fiery zeal against the older heterodoxy; it would no longer brook the equality of the detested Arians.

The first aggression was confined to the East. Justin in a terrible edict commanded all Mani-

A.D. 528

cheans to leave the empire on pain of death ; all other heretics, who were ranked with pagans and Jews, were incapacitated for all civil and military offices, excepting the Goths, and other foreign soldiers in the service of the empire.¹ The exception might seem intended to lull the jealousy of Theodoric ; yet the Arians of the East could not but see that this, hard measure as it was, was only the beginning of the persecution ; they looked to the Sovereign of Italy for protection, for the continued possession of that tacit exemption which they had long enjoyed, from the intolerant rigor in force against other heretics. It was precisely at this juncture that rumors were spread abroad of dangerous speeches—at least concerning their independence of the Gothic yoke, of the assertion of the liberties of Rome—having been ventured in the capital. Vague intelligence reached Ravenna, of an actual and widespread conspiracy which involved the whole Senate ; but of which Albinus, the most distinguished

Rumors of conspiracies. of the Roman patricians, was the head. Indignation, not without apprehension, at this sudden, and, as it appeared, simultaneous movement of hostility, seized the soul of Theodoric. The whole circumstances of his position demand careful consideration. Nothing could be more unprovoked than the religious measures of Constantinople, as far as they menaced the West, or assailed the kindred of Theodoric in the East or even those who held the same faith. His equity to his Catholic and Arian subjects was unimpeachable ; to the Pope he had always shown respectful deference ; he had taken no advantage of the contention for the Pontificate to promote his own

¹ Theophanes. Cedrenus in loc.

tenets. Even as late as this very year, he ^{A.D. 528.} had bestowed on the Church of St. Peter two ^{Of Theodoric's reign 31.} magnificent chandeliers of solid silver. But the Catholics resented, no doubt, the unshaken justice with which Theodoric had protected the Jews.¹ At Rome, at Milan, and at Genoa the Jews had been ^{The Jews.} attacked by the irrepressible hostility of the Catholics: their synagogues had been burned or destroyed, or their property unjustly seized. Theodoric compelled the restoration of the synagogues at the public expense. The Catholics had taken the pretext of the demolition of a small chapel dedicated to St. Stephen at Verona, probably for the fortification or embellishment of the city, as another indication of aggression on the part of Theodoric.² These were slight but significant signs of the growing hostility. Nor was it in the East alone that Catholicism menaced the life of Arianism. The Council of Epaona, in Burgundian Gaul, at which bishops from the territories of Theodoric had met, had passed severe canons closing the churches of the Arians.

Though Clovis was now dead, orthodoxy was still the battle-cry of the Franks; in all the Gothic kingdoms the government might dread the prayers, if not the more active interference of the Catholic clergy on the side of their enemies.

It was in connection with the bad feeling, which caused and was no doubt aggravated by the demolition of the chapel in Verona, that Theodoric took the strong measure of totally disarming the Roman popu

¹ Hist. of the Jews, v. iii. p. 115.

² Gibbon supposes that Theodoric may have been anathematized from the pulpit of that chapel.

lation. He prohibited them from bearing any offensive weapons; the only instrument permitted was a small knife, for the common purposes of life.

No less doubtful and menacing was the aspect of civil affairs. The heir of Theodoric was a child. His gallant son-in-law Eutharis, the hopeful successor to his valor, his wisdom, as well as his religious opinions, was now dead. Notwithstanding all her virtues and her accomplishments, Amalasuntha, his only daughter, as a female could hardly cope with the difficulties of the times, sole guardian of a boy-king. Theodoric knew that the Emperor of the East in his pride, still considered the barbarian king as his vassal, as originally holding Italy by his grant, and so, no doubt, claimed the power of revoking that grant. The Goths might be safe from hostile aggression, so long as the aged Justin, who was sixty-eight years old, at his accession, occupied the throne: but he could not be ignorant of the character, the unmeasured and unscrupulous ambition, the unbending orthodoxy of Justinian. Theodoric's prophetic sagacity might well anticipate the events which in a few years would not merely endanger, but extinguish the Italian kingdom of the Goths.

It was at this juncture, when the Emperor of the East might be at least suspected of designs, if he had not committed overt acts, in order to recover and reunite the severed empire; when he might seem to be enlisting all the religious and all the Roman sympathies of Theodoric's subjects in a kind of initiatory treason, in a deep, if yet silent and inactive dissatisfaction, that these dark rumors began to spread of secret intelligence between the senate of Rome and the East.

Men, it is asserted by Boethius himself, of infamous character, yet who had held, and who afterwards held high offices of trust and honor, accused Albinus, the chief of the Senate, of disloyal correspondence with Constantinople.

Albinus was the friend of Boethius. Boethius the senator, the patrician, the descendant and Boethius. head of the noble Anician family, who connected himself with the old republic by the name of Manlius; the philosopher, the theologian, the consummate master of all the arts and sciences known at that period—had been raised to the highest civil honors; not only had he himself received the ensigns of the Consulate, but the father had seen his two sons in the same year raised to that honor, which still maintained its traditional grandeur in the Roman mind. On the day of their inauguration, Boethius, too, pronounced a panegyric on his munificent Gothic sovereign, and displayed his own magnificence by distributing a noble largess to the people at the games. In his public capacity Boethius had declared himself the protector of the Romans against the oppressions of Theodoric's ministers. He had repressed the extortions of Cunegast, the more violent tyranny of Treguella, the chamberlain of Theodoric's household—(these names betray their Gothic origin). By a dangerous exercise of his authority he had rescued many unfortunate persons from the rapacity of the barbarians; he had saved the fortunes of many other provincials from private exaction, and from unjust and inordinate taxation. He had opposed the Prætorian Præfect in certain measures, by which a famine in Campania would have been greatly aggravated; on this act he had received the public approba-

tion of the King. He had plucked Paullinus, a man of senatorial rank, from the very jaws of those hounds of the palace, who had already in hope devoured his confiscated estate. Such, according to Boethius himself, were his merits towards his own countrymen, the causes of the hostility towards him among the Gothic courtiers of Theodoric. And even under the rigid equity of Theodoric, such abuses might be almost inevitable in that form of society. Boethius hastened to Verona to confront the accuser Cyprianus, the great referendary, when he heard the accusation of treason against Albinus,¹

Charges
against
Albinus. and in the face of the Emperor declared, "If Albinus is criminal, I and the whole Senate are equally guilty." The generous boldness of Boethius awoke no admiration or sympathy in the heart of Theodoric. Instead of saving his friend, Boethius was involved in his ruin. Three persons, one of whom Basilus (according to Boethius) had been dismissed ignominiously from the royal service, and whom poverty drove to any crime; two others, Opilio and Gaudentius, who had been exiled, had taken refuge in the sanctuary of a church, and had been threatened, if they should not leave Ravenna in a certain number of days, with branding in the forehead, were admitted as witnesses against Boethius. He was accused of more than hoping for the freedom of Rome. His signature, forged as he declared, was shown at the foot of an address, inviting the Emperor of the East to reconquer Italy.² Boethius was refused permission to examine

¹ Gibbon says that Albinus was only accused of *hoping* the liberty of Rome. The Anonym. Vales. declares the charge to have been of treasonable correspondence with the East.

² The specific charges against Boethius were, that he had endeavored to maintain inviolate the authority of the senate; that he had prevented an

the informers. He admits the latent, but glorious treason of his heart. "Had there been any hopes of liberty, I should have freely indulged them. Had I known of a conspiracy against the King, I should have answered in the words of a noble Roman to the frantic Caligula, you would not have known it from me." The King, now, in the words of Boethius, eager to involve the whole Senate in one common ruin,¹ condemned Boethius to imprisonment. He was incarcerated in Calvenzano, a castle between Milan and Pavia.²

In the mean time the religious affairs of the East became more threatening to the kinsmen, and to those who held the same religious creed with Theodoric. The correspondence between the monarchs Correspondence between East and West. had produced no effect. Theodoric had written in these words to Justin:—"To pretend to a dominion over the conscience, is to usurp the prerogative of God; by the nature of things the power of sovereigns is confined to political government; they have no right of punishment but over those who disturb the public peace;³ the most dangerous heresy is that of a sovereign who separates himself from part of his subjects, because they believe not according to his belief." Golden words! but mistimed above twelve hundred years.

informer from forwarding certain documents inculcating the senate to the king; that he had been privy and assenting to an address from the senate to the Emperor of the East.

¹ *Avidus communis exitii.*

² The narrative of these events is perplexed by making, as many writers (following the Anonym. Vales.) have done, the death of Boethius immediately consequent upon his imprisonment. But he had time during that imprisonment to write the *De Consolat. Philosophiæ.*

³ *Cassiod. ii. 6, iii. 28.*

Justin coolly answered, that he pretended to no authority over men's consciences, but it was his prerogative to intrust the public offices to those in whom he had confidence; and public order demanding uniformity of worship, he had full right to command the churches to be open to those alone who should conform to the religion of the state. The Arians of the East were thus stripped of all offices of honor or emolument, were not only expelled from the Catholic churches, but their own were closed against them, and they were exposed to all the insults, vexations, and persecutions of their adversaries, who were not likely to enjoy their triumph with moderation, or to repress their conscientiously intolerant zeal. Great numbers who held but loosely to their faith, conformed to the state religion; the more sincere appealed in the strongest terms to the protection of Theodoric. The King of Italy at first maintained something of his usual calm moderation; he declined all retaliation, to which he had been incessantly urged, on the orthodox of the

Theodoric
sends Pope
John to Con-
stantinople.

West. He determined on an embassy to Constantinople to enforce upon the Eastern Emperor the wisdom of mutual toleration, the ambassador whom he selected for this mission of peace was the Pope himself, not the vigorous Hormisdas, but John the Ist. who had quietly succeeded to the See of Rome on the death of that Prelate.¹ This extraordinary measure shows either an overweening reliance in Theodoric on his own power, or a confidence magnanimous, but equally unaccountable, a confidence bordering on simplicity, that for his own uninterrupted exercise of justice, humanity, and moderation he had a

¹ John, Pope, August 18, A.D. 528.

right to expect the return of fidelity and gratitude. Could he fondly suppose that the loyalty of the Pope would be proof against the blandishments of the Eastern court, that the Bishop of Rome would be zealous in a cause so directly at issue with his own principles? The Pope summoned to Ravenna, was instructed to demand of Justin the reopening of their churches to the Arians, perfect toleration, and the restoration to their former faith of those who on compulsion had conformed to the Catholic religion.¹ To the Pope's remonstrances and attempts to limit his mediatorial office, to points less unsuited to his character, Theodoric angrily replied, by commanding the envoys instantly to embark on the vessels which were ready for the voyage.² The Pope, attended by five other bishops and four senators, set forth on a mission of which it was the ostensible object to obtain indulgence for heretics, heretics under the ban of his Church, heretics looked upon with the most profound detestation.

Hitherto the Pope had remained in his unmoved and stately dignity within his own city. Excepting in the case of the exiled Liberius, he had hardly ventured further than the court of Ravenna, or on such a service as that of Leo to the camp of Attila. The Pope had not even attended any of the great Councils. Aware, as it might almost seem, that much of the awe which attached to his office, arose from the seat of his authority, he had but rarely departed from the chair of St. Peter; and but recently Hormisdas had demanded the unconditional submission of the Emperor of Constanti-

¹ This seems the meaning of the sentence in the Anonym. Vales. "*ut reconciliatos hæreticos in catholicâ restituat religione.*" — p. 626.

² Their names in the Anonym. Vales.

nople to his decrees, as the price of his promised condescension to appear at a Council in that city.

The Pope was received in Constantinople with the most flattering honors, as though he had been St. Peter himself. The whole city, with the Emperor at its head, came forth to meet him with tapers and torches, as far as ten miles beyond the gates. The Emperor knelt at his feet and implored his benediction. On Easter day he performed the service in the great Church, Epiphanius the Bishop ceding the first place to the more holy stranger. It was hinted in the West that the Pope had placed the crown on the head of Justin. But of the course and the success of his negotiations all is utterly confused and contradictory. By one account, now abandoned as a later forgery, he boldly confirmed the Emperor in the rejection of all concessions, and himself consecrated all the Arian Churches for Catholic worship.¹ By another, he was so far faithful to his mission, as to obtain liberty of worship, and the restitution of their Churches to the Arians. The Emperor refused only the restoration of those Arians who had embraced the Catholic faith.² All that is certainly known is, that John the Pope on his return was received as a traitor by Theodoric, thrown into prison, and there the highest ecclesiastic of the West languished for nearly a year, and died. But before his return, the deep and wide spread conspiracy, which Theodoric had discovered, or supposed that he had discovered, led to the death of a far greater

Pope John in Constantinople.

March 30, 526.

Imprisonment and death of John.

May 18, 526.

¹ Baronius rested this on a supposititious letter of Isidorus Mercator; this letter is exploded by Pagi, sub ann. 526.

² Anonym. Vales. p. 627. Histor. Miscell. apud Muratori.

man, Boethius, and subsequently to that of the virtuous father-in-law of Boethius, the Senator Symmachus. Boethius had lightened the hours in his dreary confinement by the composition of his famous book, the Consolation of Philosophy, <sup>Boethius's
Consolation of
Philosophy.</sup> the closing work of Roman literature. Intellectually, Boethius was the last of the Romans, and Roman letters may be said to have expired with greater dignity in his person, than the Empire in that of Augustulus. His own age might justly wonder at the universal accomplishments of Boethius. Theodoric himself, writing by the hand, and no doubt in the pedantic language of his minister Cassiodorus, had paid homage to his knowledge. "Through him Pythagoras the musician, Ptolemy the astronomer, Nicomachus the arithmetician, Euclid the geometer, Plato the theologian, Aristotle the logician, Archimedes the mechanician, had learned to speak the Roman language." Boethius had mingled in theologic controversy, had discussed the mysterious question of the Trinity without any suspicion of heresy, and steered safely along the narrow strait between Nestorianism and Eutychianism. He is even said, for a time, to have withdrawn to the monastic solitudes, and to have held religious intercourse with Benedict of Nursia, and his followers. All this constitutes the extraordinary, the peculiar character of the Consolation of Philosophy, which appears as the last work of Roman letters, rather than as eminent among Christian writings. It is equally surprising that in such an age and by such a man, in his imprisonment and under the terrors of approaching death, Consolation should be found in Philosophy rather than in Religion; that he should have sought

his examples of patience in Socrates with his hemlock cup, or among the arguments of the Garden or the Porch, rather than in the Gospel or the Legends of Christian martyrdom. From the beginning of the book to the end, there is nothing distinctly Christian; its religion is no higher than Theism; almost the whole might have been written by Cicero in exile, or by Marcus Antoninus under some reverse of fortune. The long and enduring popularity of the *Consolation of Philosophy* during the dark ages completes the singular and anomalous character of the work itself.

This all-accomplished, all-honored man was not only torn away from his library, inlaid with ivory and glass, from the enjoyment of ample wealth and as ample honor, from the esteem of his friends and the love of his family, left to pine in a remote and lonely prison, and then released by the public executioner—the manner of his death, if we are to trust our authorities, was peculiarly inhuman. He was first tortured, a cord was tightly twisted round his forehead, whether or not to extort confession of his suspected treason; and he was then beaten to death with a club.¹

Nor was the vengeance of Theodoric satiated with the blood of Boethius. Theodoric, dreading the influence of Symmachus, the head of the Senate, a man of the highest virtues; and suspecting, lest, in his indignation at the death of his son-in-law, he should engage or had engaged in some desperate plot against the Gothic kingdom, summoned him to Ravenna, where his head was struck off by the executioner.² This was followed by the imprisonment

¹ Anonym. Vales. p. 626.

² Anonym. Vales. p. 627.

of Pope John, and his death. Throughout these melancholy scenes, the historian is reduced to a sad alternative. He must either suppose that the clear intellect and generous character of Theodoric had become enfeebled by age; his temper soured by the sudden and harassing anxieties, which seemed to break so unseasonably on the peace of his declining years, and the ingratitude of his Roman subjects for above thirty years of mild and equitable rule; those subjects now would scarcely await his death to attempt to throw off the yoke, and would inevitably league with the East against his infant heir. Theodoric, therefore, blinded by unworthy suspicions, yielded himself up to the basest informers, and closed a reign of justice and humanity, with a succession of acts, cruel, sanguinary, and wantonly revengeful. Or, on the other hand, he must conclude, that notwithstanding his protestations of innocence, Boethius and his friends, dazzled by patriotic visions of the restoration of the Roman power, or, what is less likely, considering the philosophic tone of his religion, by orthodox zeal, had tampered at least with the enemies of the existing government; and that the Roman Senate looked forward in more than quiet prophetic hope, in actual traitorous correspondence, to that invasion from the East, which took place not many years after the death of Theodoric. Both views are perhaps true. Theodoric was a father, a Goth. Kings discriminate not between the aspirations of their subjects for revolt, and actual plans for revolt; they are bound to be far-sighted; their vision becomes more jealously acute, the more remote and indistinct the objects; treason in men's hearts becomes treason in act. On the other hand, insolent Roman vanity, stern

religious zeal, were not likely to be coldly, timorously prudent; desires, hopes would find words; words eager hearers, hearers become informers; and informers are not too faithful reporters. Goths, Arians, courtiers, might, even with no dishonest or sinister intent, hear conspiracy in every boast of Roman freedom, in every reminiscence of Roman pride.

Theodoric was now in his 74th year; almost the last act of his reign was the nomination of the successor of John. His interposition was enforced by the fierce contentions which followed the death of that prelate. His choice fell on Felix, a Samnite, a learned and a blameless man. But the clergy and the people, who

Pope Felix,
A.D. 526.
Consecrated
July 12.

were agitated with strife, threatening the peace of the city, and a renewal of the bloody scenes at the election of Laurentius and Symmachus, united in stern resistance to the nomination, in which they had been allowed no voice.¹ Theodoric in his calm wisdom came to an agreement to regulate future elections — an agreement, which in theory subsisted, till the election of the Pope was transferred to the College of Cardinals. The Pope was to be chosen by the free suffrages of the clergy and people, but might not assume his office till confirmed by the sovereign. For his confirmation the Pope made a certain payment to be distributed among the poor. On this understanding the clergy and the city acquiesced in the nomination of Pope Felix.²

¹ Cassiod. Var. viii. 15. This nomination was absolute. Athalaric writes thus: "Oportebat enim arbitrio boni principis (Theodorici) obediri, qui sapienti deliberatione pertractans, quamvis in *aliend religione*, talem visus est pontificem delegisse, ut nulli merito debeat displicere. . . . Recepistis itaque virum, et divinâ gratiâ probabiliter institutum, et regali examinatione laudatum."

² He took quiet possession of the throne July 12, 526.

Theodoric died in the month following the peaceful accession of Felix to the Pontifical throne. ^{Death of Theodoric Aug. 526.} The glory of his reign passed from the memory of man with the peace and prosperity of Italy. But the hatred of his heretical opinions survived the remembrance of his virtues. He is said to have committed to a Jew, named Symmachus Scolasticus, the framing of an edict, for the expulsion of the Catholics from all their churches; ¹ a statement utterly irreconcilable with his judicious and conciliatory conduct on the election of the Pope. Theodoric, it was observed, died by the same disease which smote the heresiarch Arius in the hour of his triumph. The Greek historian of the Gothic war, who may be taken as representing the Byzantine aversion to the memory of Theodoric, has described him as dying in a terrific agony of remorse at his own crimes. A large fish was placed before Theodoric at his supper. The King ^{Fate after death.} beheld in it the gory head of Symmachus, with the teeth set and gnawing the lower lip, and the eyes rolling in a fierce frenzy, and sternly menacing his murderer. Theodoric, shivering with cold, rushed to his chamber; he called for more clothes to be heaped upon his bed, but nothing could restore the warmth of life; he sent for his physician, and bitterly, and in an agony of tears, reproached himself with the death of Symmachus and of Boethius. ¹ He died a few days after; and even Procopius adds, that these were the first and the last acts of injustice committed by Theodoric against his subjects. But later visionaries did not the less pursue his soul to its eternal condemnation;

¹ Anonym. Vales.; Agnell. in Vit. Pontific. Ravennat

² Procop. de bello Gothico, i. pp. 11, 12.

he was seen by a hermit hurled by the ministers of the divine retribution into the volcano of Lipari: volcanoes in those days were believed to be the openings to hell.¹

Ravenna still, among the later works of Justinian and the Byzantine Exarchs, preserves some memorials of the magnificence of Theodoric. Of his stately palace remain but some crumbling and disfigured walls. Byzantine art has taken possession of his churches; Justinian and Theodora still dimly blaze in the gold and purple of the mosaics.² The monument of Theodoric, perhaps the oldest work of Christian art, is still entire, marking some tendency to that transition from the Roman grandeur of bold and massy arches to the multiplicity of mediæval details. Yet in these remains nothing can be traced which realizes those singular expressions of Cassiodorus, so prophetic it might seem of what was afterwards characteristic of the so-called Gothic architecture—the tall, slender, reed-like pillars, the lofty roof supported, as it were, by clustered lances.³

¹ Gregor. i. Dialog. iv. 36. On this work, see hereafter.

² If we may trust a passage in Agnelli (*Vit. Pontific. Ravenn. apud Muratori*, iii. p. 95), the church of San Vitale, erected in a city the capital of an Arian sovereign, was unequalled in its splendor, we presume in the West. It cost 26,000 golden solidi. Taking the golden solidus (according to Dureau de la Malle, *Economie Polit. des Romains*, i. p. 46) at 15 francs 10 c., about 12s. 6d., between £15,000 and £16,000.

³ "Quid dicimus columnarum junceam proceritatem. . . . Erectis hastilibus contineri moles illas sublimissimas fabricarum." — Cassiod. viii. 15.

CHAPTER IV.

JUSTINIAN.

HISTORY scarcely offers a more extraordinary contrast than that between the reign and the character of the Emperor Justinian. Under the nephew, colleague, and heir of Justin, the Roman Empire appears suddenly to resume her ancient majesty and power. The signs of a just, able, and vigorous administration, internal peace, prosperity, conquest, and splendor surround the master of the Roman world. The greatest generals, since the days perhaps of Trajan, Belisarius and Narses appear at the head of the Roman armies. Persia is kept at bay, during several campaigns if not continuously successful, yet honorable to the arms of Rome. The tide of barbarian conquest is rolled back. Africa, the Illyrian and Dalmatian provinces, Sicily, Italy, with the ancient Capital, are again under the empire of Rome; the Vandal kingdom, the Gothic kingdom fall before the irresistible generals of the East. The frontiers of the empire are defended with fortifications, constructed at enormous cost;¹ but become necessary now that Roman valor had lost its spell of awe over the human mind; and that the perpetual migrations and movements from the North and

¹ Procopius de *Ædificiis*, passim. The first book describes the ecclesiastical buildings of Constantinople; the rest the fortifications and defensive buildings throughout the empire.

the East were continually propelling new and formidable nations against the boundaries of the Roman world. Justinian aspires to be the legislator of mankind ; a vast system of jurisprudence embodies the wisdom of ancient and of imperial statutes, mingled with some of the benign influences of Christianity, of which the author might almost have been warranted in the presumptuous vaticination, that it would exercise an unpealed authority to the latest ages. The cities of the empire are adorned with buildings, civil as well as religious, of great magnificence and apparent durability, which, with the comprehensive legislation, might recall the peaceful days of the Antonines. The empire, at least at first, is restored to religious unity : Catholicism resumes its sway, and Arianism, so long its rival, dies out in remote and neglected congregations. In Spain alone it is the religion of the sovereign.

The creator of this new epoch in Roman greatness, at least he who filled the throne during its creation, the Emperor Justinian, unites in himself the most opposite vices, — insatiable rapacity and lavish prodigality, intense pride and contemptible weakness, unmeasured ambition and dastardly cowardice. He is the uxorious slave of his empress, whom, after she had ministered to the licentious pleasures of the populace as a courtesan, and as an actress, in the most immodest exhibitions (we make due allowance for the malicious exaggerations in the secret history of Procopius), in defiance of decency, of honor, of the remonstrances of his friends, and of religion, he had made the partner of his throne. In the Christian Emperor seem to meet the crimes of those, who won or secured their empire by the assassination of all whom they feared, the passion for public

diversions without the accomplishments of Nero or the brute strength of Commodus, the dotage of Claudius. Constantinople might appear to retrograde to paganism. The peace of the city and even the stability of the empire are endangered not by foreign invasion, not at first by a dangerous rival for the throne, nor even by religious dissensions, but by the factions of the Circus, the partisans of the Blue and of the Green, by the colors worn in the games by the contending charioteers. Justinian himself, during the memorable sedition, the Nike, had nearly abandoned the throne, and fled before a despicable antagonist. "The throne is a glorious sepulchre," exclaimed the prostitute whom he had raised to that throne, and Justinian and the empire are saved by her courage. This imperious woman, even if from exhaustion or lassitude she discontinued, or at least condescended to disguise those vices which dishonored her husband, in her cruelties knew no restraint. And these cruelties, exercised in order to gratify her rapacity, if not in sheer caprice, as a substitute for that excitement which had lost its keenness and its zest, are almost more culpable indications of the Emperor's weakness. This meanness of subservience to female influence becomes the habit of the court, and the great Belisarius, like his master, is ruled and disgraced by an insolent and profligate wife. Nor do either of them, in shame, or in conscious want of Christian holiness, stand aloof from the affairs of that religion, whose precepts and whose spirit they thus trample under foot. Theodora, a bigot without faith, a heretic, it might almost be presumed, without religious convictions, by the superior strength of her character, domineers in this as in other respects over the whole court, mingles in all religious intrigues,

appoints to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, sells the Papacy itself. Her charities alone (if we except her masculine courage, and no doubt that great ability which mastered the inferior mind of her husband), if they sprung from lingering womanly tenderness, or that inextinguishable kindness which Christianity sometimes infuses into the hardest hearts, if they were not designed as a deliberate compromise with heaven for her vices and cruelties, may demand our admiration. The feeling which induced the degraded and miserable victim of the lusts and contempt of men to found, perhaps, the first penitentiaries for her sisters in that wretched class, as it shows her superior to the base fear of awakening remembrances of her own former shame, may likewise be considered as an enforced homage to female virtue. . Even in Theodora we would discover the very feeblest emotions of Christianity. Justinian aspires too to be the legislator not of the empire alone,¹ but of Christendom, enacts ordinances for the whole Church ; and unhappily, not content with establishing the doctrines of Nicea and Chalcedon as the religion of the Empire, by his three Chapters replunges Christendom into religious strife.

The reign of Justinian, during the period between the death of Theodoric and the conquest of Italy, was occupied by the Persian and African wars, and the commotions arising out of the public games in Constantinople. The only event which commands religious interest is the suppression of the schools in Athens. That last vain struggle of

Persian and
African
wars.
A.D. 526-538.

¹ I have studied, besides the ordinary authorities, a life of Justinian by Ludewig.—Hal. Salic. 1731. To the great lawyer the vices and weaknesses of Justinian are lost in admiration of his jurisprudence.

Grecian philosophy against Christianity, which had so signally failed even with an Emperor Julian at its head; that Platonic theism which had endeavored to give new life to paganism, by enlisting the imagination in its service, and establishing a sensible communication with the unseen world; which, in order to command the innate superstition of mankind, had allied itself with magic; and which still (its better function) promulgated noble precepts of somewhat dreamy morality; ^{Suppression of Schools at Athens.} was not allowed to expire like a worn-out veteran in peaceful dignity. It was forcibly expelled from the ancient groves and porches of Athens, where recently, under Proclus, it had rallied, as it were, for a last gleam of lustre; it was driven out by the impatient zeal of Justinian. Seven followers of Proclus, it is well known, sought a more hospitable retreat in Persia; but the Magianism of that kingdom was not much more tolerant than the Christianity of the East. Philosophy found no resting-place; and probably few of her disciples could enjoy the malicious consolation which might have been drawn from the manner in which she had long been revenging herself on Christianity by suggesting, quickening with her contentious spirit, and aiding with all her subtleties of language those disputes, which had degraded the faith of Jesus from its sublime, moral, and religious dictatorship over the human mind.

Justinian, when he determined to attempt the reconquest of Africa, might take the high position of the vindicator of the Catholics from long, cruel, and almost unrelenting persecution. The African Catholics had enjoyed a short gleam of peace during the reign of Hilderic, who had deviated into toleration, unknown to the Arianism of the Vandals alone: he had restored

about two hundred bishops to their churches. The Catholics might behold with terror the overthrow of the just Hilderic by the stern Gilimer, and might reasonably dread a renewal of the dark days of the great persecutors, of Thrasimund and of Hunneric. The voices of those confessors, who are said to have spoken clearly and distinctly after their tongues had been cut out down to the root; who might be heard to speak publicly (for one of them was a deacon) by the curious or the devout in Constantinople itself, might excite the compassion and animate the zeal of Justinian.¹ The

¹ This is the one post-apostolic miracle which appears to rest on the strongest evidence. If we are to trust Victor Vitensis, we cannot take refuge in the notion that their speech was imperfect. Of one at least, the Deacon Reparatus, he asserts that he spoke both clearly and distinctly. The words of Procopius are ἀκραιφνεί τῇ φωνῇ. If we listen to Æneas of Gaza, it is equally impossible to recur to the haste, or slovenly execution of the punishment by the barbarian executioner: he states, from his own ocular inspection, that the tongue had been torn away by the roots. — Victor Vitens. v. 6; Ruinart, p. 483, 487; Æneas Gazensis in Theophrasto in Biblioth. Patr. viii. p. 664, 665; Justinian, codex i. tit. xxvii.; Marcelli in Chronic. Procop. de Bell. Vandal. i. 7, p. 385; Gregor. Magn. Dialog. iii. 32. The question is, the credibility of such witnesses in such an age. A recent traveller has furnished a curious illustration of this one post-apostolic miracle which puzzled Gibbon. The writer is describing Djezzar Pasha's cruelties: — "Each Emir was held down in a squatting position, with his hands tied behind him, and his face turned upwards. The officiating tefëketchy now approached his victim; and standing over him, as if about to extract a tooth, forced open his mouth, and, darting a hook through the top of the tongue, pulled it out until the root was exposed: one or two passes of a razor sufficed to cut it out. It is a curious fact, however, *that the tongues grew again sufficient for the purposes of speech.*" — Colonel Churchill's Lebanon, vol. iii. p. 384. A friend has suggested this more extraordinary passage: — "Zal Khan (condemned by Aga Mohammed Khan to lose his eyes) loaded the tyrant with curses. 'Cut out his tongue' was the second order. This mandate was imperfectly executed; and the loss of half this member deprived him of speech. Being afterwards persuaded that its being cut close to the root would enable him to speak so as to be understood, he submitted to the operation, and the effect has been, that his voice, though indistinct and thick, is yet intelligible to persons accustomed to converse with him. *This I experienced from daily intercourse.* He

frugal John of Cappadocia, the minister of Justinian, remonstrated against an expedition so costly and so uncertain in its event as the invasion of Africa. His apprehensions seemed justified by the disastrous and ignominious failure of that under Basiliscus. But John was silenced by a devout bishop. The holy man had seen a vision, which commanded the Catholic Emperor to proceed without fear to the rescue of his Catholic brethren. Africa, subdued by the arms of Belisarius, returned at once under the dominion of the ^{Conquest of} empire and of Catholicism. The Vandal ^{Africa.}

Arianism had made no proselytes among the hereditary disciples of Cyprian and Augustine, the hearers of Fulgentius and of Augustine's scholars. Persecution had its usual effect when it stops short of extermination; it had only strengthened the inflexible orthodoxy of the province. One imperial edict was sufficient A.D. 528. to restore all the churches to the Catholic worship. Donatism, which still survived, though included under

often spoke to me of his sufferings. . . ." Sir John Malcolm adds, that he is "ignorant of anatomy, . . . but the facts are as stated, and I had them from the very best authority, old Zal Khan himself." — *Sketches of Persia*, ii. p. 116. This mutilation, in fact, is common in the East. I have the authority of Sir John Macneill, "that he knew several persons who had been subjected to that punishment, who spoke so intelligibly as to be able to transact business. More than one of them, finding that my curiosity and interest was excited, *showed me the stump.*" Sir John Macneill's description of the mode of operation fully coincides with the following opinion of the most distinguished surgical authority in England:—"There seems to me nothing mysterious in the histories of the excision of the tongue. The modification of the voice forming articulate speech is effected especially by the motions of the soft palate, the tongue, and the lips, and partly by means of the teeth and cheeks. The mutilation of any one of these organs will affect the speech as far as that organ is concerned and no further, the effect being to render the speech more or less imperfect, but not to destroy it altogether. The excision of the whole tongue is an impossible operation." What Colonel Churchill attributed to the growth of the tongue is explained in another manner

the same condemnation, was endowed with more obstinate vitality, and was hardly extinguished before the final disruption of Africa from the great Christian system by Mohammedanism.

The Ostrogothic kingdom of Theodoric, in the mean time, was declining through internal dissension ; the inevitable consequence of female sway, and that of a king too early raised to the throne, too soon emancipated from his mother's control by the mistaken fondness of the Goths, who, while they desired to

Ostrogothic
kingdom.

educate him as a warlike Amala among his noble peers, abandoned him to the unchecked corruption of Roman manners. Rome conquered Athalaric by her vices. Premature debauchery wasted

Death of
Athalaric.

the bodily frame, and paralyzed the intellect of the young Gothic king. Even the accomplished Amalasuntha, who spoke the languages of all her subjects with the most exquisite perfection, and, in some degree, blended the virtues of both races, yet wanted somewhat of the commanding strength of character which hallowed the noble Teutonic female. In an evil hour, while her son was sinking towards the

Marriage and
death of

Amalasuntha. dom on her cousin, the unworthy Theodotus. Theodotus, master of the crown, imprisoned Amalasuntha, and soon put her to death. He then

Witiges
king.

dragged out a few years of inglorious sovereignty, till the indignant Goths wrested away the sceptre to place it in the hands of the valiant Witiges.

Justinian watched the affairs of Italy without betraying his ambitious designs ; but all who were dissatisfied with the state of affairs, turned their eyes to the

East. Amalasuntha at one time had determined to abandon the kingdom, to place herself under the protection of Justinian: the fleet was ready to sail to Dyrrachium. Constant amicable intercourse was still taking place between the Catholic clergy of the East and West, between Constantinople and Rome, between Justinian and the rapid succession of Pontiffs, who occupied the throne during the ten years between the death of Theodoric and the invasion of Italy.

Felix IV. had just been acknowledged as Pope when Theodoric died; his peaceful pontificate ^{Pope Felix IV.} lasted four years. The contests for the Pa- ^{526-530.}

pacy were not prevented by the agreement under Theodoric. A double election took place on the death of Felix. The partisans of either faction were prepared for a fierce struggle, when the timely death of his rival Dioscorus left Boniface II. in undisputed possession of the throne. Yet so exasperated ^{October 14.} were the parties, that Boniface would not ^{Boniface II.} ^{A.D. 530.}

allow his competitor to sleep in his grave; he fulminated an anathema against him as an anti-Pope, and compelled the clergy to sign the decree. It was revoked during the next pontificate. Boniface was of Gothic blood,¹ perhaps promoted by the Gothic party. He attempted a bold measure in order to get rid of the disgraceful and disastrous scenes of violence ^{A.D. 531.}

and bribery, which now seemed inveterate in the Papal elections. He proposed that during his lifetime the Pope should nominate his successor; he proceeded to designate Vigilius, a deacon, who afterwards ascended the Papal throne. An obsequious Council ratified this

¹ He was the son of Count Sigisbult or Sigisvult, though called a Roman by Anastasius. — Anastas. in Vit.

extraordinary proceeding. Both parties, however, equally resented this attempt to wrest from them their A.D. 532. undoubted privilege, and thus to reduce the Papacy to an ordinary inheritance at the disposition of its possessor. In a second Council they showed their repugnance and astonishment at the daring innovation. The Pope acknowledged his own decree to be an act of treason against ecclesiastical and even civil law, burned it in public, and left the election of his successor to proceed in the old course.¹ There were again at the death of Boniface fierce strife, undisguised bribery, and shame and horror after all was over. Remedies were sought for this ineradicable disease. Dec. 31, 532. On the death of Boniface, the Roman Senate resumed some of its ancient authority, and issued an edict prohibiting these base and venal proceedings, during which the funds designed for the poor were loaded with debts, even the sacred vessels sold for these simoniacal uses. Athalaric confirmed this edict.² John II., whose former name was Mercurius, ruled for three years. During his papacy arrived a splendid embassy from the East, with magnificent offerings, golden vessels, chalices of silver, jewels, and curtains of cloth of gold for the Church of St. Peter. The pretext was a deferential consultation with the Pope, concerning A.D. 534. the *sleepless* monks, who were still not without some Nestorian tendencies. At the same time

¹ Anastas. in Vit., and Labbe, p. 1690.

² "Ita facultates pauperum extortis promissionibus ingravasse, ut (quod dictu nefas est) etiam sacra vasa emptioni publicæ viderentur exposita." — Athalar. Reg. Epist. apud Labbe, p. 1748. This law annulled all bargains made for the appointment to bishoprics. It declared the offence to be sacrilege; and limited the payments to the chancery on contested elections, — for the papacy to 3000 golden solidi, for archbishoprics or bishoprics to 2000. The largess to the poor was restricted to 500.

came an ambassador to Theodotus, now Ostrogothic King, with expostulations, or rather imperious menaces, on alleged violations of the treaties between the Gothic kingdom and the Empire. During the short and troubled reign of Theodotus, Justinian received petitions from all parts of Italy, and from all persons, lay as well as clerical, with the air and tone of its Sovereign.

The aged Agapetus had succeeded to the Roman See before Justinian prepared for the actual invasion of Italy. In the agony of his fear ^{Agapetus. June 8, 536.} Theodotus the Goth had recourse to the same measure which Theodoric had adopted in his pride. He persuaded or compelled the Pope to proceed on an embassy to Constantinople, to ward off the impending danger, to use his influence and authority lest a Roman and orthodox Emperor should persist in his attempt to wrest Italy and Rome from a barbarous Arian; and Theodotus commanded the Prelate to be the bearer of menaces more befitting the herald of war. He was to declare the determination of the Goth, if Justinian should fulfil his hostile designs, to put the Senate to the sword, and raze the city of the Cæsars to the ground.¹ Like his predecessor, Agapetus was received with the highest honors. Justinian had already suspended, for a short time, his warlike preparations; but Agapetus found affairs more within his province, which enabled him to display ^{Agapetus in Constantinople.} the despot of the East the bold and independent tone assumed even against the throne by the ecclesiastics of the West. The See of Constantinople was vacant. The all-powerful Theodora summoned Anthi-

¹ The embassy was in Constantinople, Feb. 2, 536.

mus, bishop of Trebisonde, to the Metropolitan diocese. Anthimus was suspected as tainted with Eutychian opinions. Agapetus resolutely declined to communicate with a Prelate, whose appointment not merely violated the Canon against translation from one see to another, but one likewise of doubtful orthodoxy. The venal partisans of Anthimus and of Theodora insinuated countercharges of Nestorian inclinations against the Bishop of Rome.² Agapetus, in a conference, condescended to satisfy the Emperor as to his own unimpeachable orthodoxy. Justinian sternly commanded him to communicate with Anthimus. "With the Bishop of Trebisonde," replied the unawed ecclesiastic, "when he has returned to his diocese, and accepted the Council of Chalcedon and the letters of Leo." The Emperor in a louder voice commanded him to acknowledge the Bishop of Constantinople on pain of immediate exile. "I came hither in my old age to see, as I supposed, a religious and a Christian Emperor, I find a new Diocletian. But I fear not Kings' menaces, I am ready to lay down my life for the truth." The feeble mind of Justinian passed at once from the height of arrogance to admiration and respect: he listened to the charges advanced by Agapetus against the orthodoxy of Anthimus. In his turn the Bishop of Constantinople was summoned to render an account of his theology before the Emperor, convicted of Eutychianism, and degraded from the see. Mennas, nominated in his room, was consecrated by the Pope. Thus one patriarch of Constantinople was de-
April 22, 533. graded, another promoted by the influence, if not by the authority (the distinction was not marked,

² Libellus de Reb. Gestis ab Agap. ad Constant. apud Baronium, 536.

as in later theologic disputes) of the Bishop of Rome. Agapetus did not live long to enjoy his triumph; he died at Constantinople; his funeral rites were celebrated with great magnificence; his body sent to Rome. His memory was venerated alike in the East and in the West.

But the next few years beheld the Papacy degraded from its lofty and independent dignity. Rome ^{Justinian conquers Italy and Rome.} was now within the dominions of the sole Emperor of the world. Belisarius, in his unchecked career of conquest, had subdued Africa, Sicily, Naples; he entered undefended Rome as its master.¹ The Pope became first the victim, then the base instrument of the temporal power: Rome, now a city of the Eastern Empire, was brought at once within the sphere of the female intrigues of Constantinople; one Pope, Silverius, suffered degradation; another, the most doubtful character who had yet sat on the throne of St. Peter, received his appointment through the arts of the infamous Theodora, and suffered the judicial punishment of his weaknesses and crimes, — persecution, shame, remorse. Silverius, the new Pope, was the son of the former Pontiff Hormisdas, the legitimate son, born before the father had taken holy orders. Silverius was ^{Rome surrendered to Belisarius.} Bishop of Rome by command of Theodotus, yet undegraded from the Ostrogothic throne.² But the Romans saw with undisguised but miscalculating pride, the Roman banners, floating over the army of Belisarius, approach their walls. The Pope dared (the Goths were in confusion at the degradation of The-

¹ See the war in Gibbon, ch. xli.

² *Sine deliberatione decreti*, Vit. Sylv. Confer. Marcell. Chron. Jaffe Regesta, sub ann. 536. He was consecrated June 8.

odotus, and the elevation of Witiges) to urge the Romans to send an ambassador to hail the deliverer of the city from the barbaric Goth.¹ The Bishop of Rome received the General of the East, and, as it were, restored Rome to the Roman empire. Belisarius was lord of the Capitol, and at once the consequence of Rome's subjugation to the East broke upon the Pope and upon Rome. Theodora had never abandoned her hopes of promoting her favorite, Anthimus, to the See of Constantinople; she entered into a league with the Deacon Vigilus, who had accompanied the Pope Agapetus into the East. Vigilus was a man of unmeasured ambition, and great ability;² he had been designated as his successor by Pope Boniface; and when the unanimous voice of the clergy and the people wrested from Boniface the usurped right of nominating his successor, Vigilus was left to brood over other means of obtaining the pontificate. The compact proposed by the Empress, and accepted by the unscrupulous Vigilus, stipulated on her part the degradation of Silverius, and a large sum of money, no doubt to secure his election, and to consolidate his interest in Rome; on that of the ecclesiastic, no less than the condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon, and the acknowledgment of Anthimus, as Bishop of Constantinople. The degradation of Silverius was intrusted not to the all-powerful Belisarius alone, but to the surer hands of his wife Antonina, the accomplice of the Empress in all her intrigues of every kind, and her counterpart in the

¹ Μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς Σιλβέριος εἰς τοῦτο ἐνήγγεν, ὃ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἀσχερεὺς. Procop. de B. G. i. c. 14.

² "Lubenter ergo suscepit Vigilus permissum ejus, amore episcopatus et auri." — Liberat. Breviar. c. xxii.

arbitrary power with which she ruled her glorious but easy husband. The Pope Silverius was accused of treasonable correspondence with the Goths, witnesses were suborned to support this improbable charge against him who had yielded up the city to the conqueror. Belisarius, it is said, endeavored to save the Pope from degradation, by inducing him to ^{February,} accede to the wishes of Theodora, to con- ^{March, 537.} demn the Council of Chalcedon, and to communicate with Anthimus. The resolution of Silverius, who firmly rejected these propositions, left him the defenceless victim of Vigilius and of Antonina. The successor of St. Peter was rudely summoned to the Pincian Palace, the military quarters of Belisarius. In the chamber of the General sat Antonina on the bed, with her husband at her feet. "What have we done," exclaimed the imperious woman, "to you, Pope Silverius, and to the Romans, that you should betray us to the Goths?" In an instant the pall was rent from his shoulders by a subdeacon, he was hurried into another room, stripped of the rest of his dress, and clad in that of a monk. The clergy who accompanied him were informed of his degradation in a few careless words, "The Pope Silverius is deposed, and is now a monk." The most extraordinary part of this strange transaction is the utter ignorance of Justinian of the whole intrigue. From Patara, the place of his banishment, Silverius made his way to Constantinople, and to the amazement of the Emperor preferred his complaint of the unjust violence with which he had been expelled from his See. Justinian commanded his instant return to Rome. If, on further investigation, it should appear that he had been unjustly accused of treason, he was

to be reinstated in his dignity. The sudden reappearance of Silverius in Rome (he had outsailed the messengers of Theodora) embarrassed for a time, only for a short time, the unscrupulous Vigilius, and his more than imperial patrons. By the influence of Antonina, Silverius was delivered up to his rival, and banished by him who aspired to be the head of Christendom, to the island of Pandataria, infamous as the place of exile to which the worst heathen emperors had consigned the victims of their tyranny. On this wretched rock Silverius soon closed his life, whether in the course of nature or by violent means, seems to have been known with no more certainty in his own days than in ours.¹

Vigilius was now, by command of Belisarius,² the undisputed Pontiff of Rome.³ He had paid already a fearful price for his advancement, — false accusation, cruel oppression, perhaps murder. At Rome he declares his adhesion to the four councils and to the letter of Leo; he approves the anathema of Mennas of Constantinople against the Monophysites.⁴ But four years after, Theodora demanded, and Vigilius dared not refuse, the rest of his unholy covenant, at least the base and secret adoption of all her heretical opinions. In a letter still extant,⁵ but con-

¹ Anastasii vita. Liberatus writes briefly and significantly, "Solus ingressus a suis ulterius non est visus." — Breviar. c. xxiii.

² Ἐρεπον δὲ ἀρχιερέα. ὀλίγω ἔσπερον Βεγγίλιον θρόνον κατεστήσατο. So writes the Greek Procopius of Belisarius.

³ The date of his accession is a point of grave dispute. If it is reckoned from his first nomination to the see, he can only be held an uncanonical usurper of an unvacated see, and that nomination must have been null and void. A second election therefore has been supposed; but of this event there is no accredited record. It is impossible so to connect the broken links of the spiritual genealogy.

⁴ A.D. 540, September 17. — Mansi. ix. 35, 38.

⁵ The letter is given by Liberatus. One main argument against its au-

tested on account of its damning effect on one who was, or who afterwards became Pope, rather than from any mark, either external or internal, of spuriousness, Vigilus gave his deliberate adhesion to Eutychianism. The busy and restless theology of the East had now raised a new question, and Justinian aspired to the dignity of a profound divine, and a legislator of Christian doctrine as well as of Christian civil affairs. He plunged with headstrong zeal into the controversy.¹ The Church was not now disturbed by the sublime, if inexplicable, dogmas concerning the nature of God, the Persons of the Trinity, or the union of the divine and human nature of Christ; concerning the revelations of Scripture, or even the opinions of the ancient fathers: the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of certain writings by bishops, but recently dead, became the subject of Imperial edicts, of a fifth so called Œcumenic Council, held at Constantinople, and a religious war between the East and the West. Under the name of the three Chapters, the Emperor and the obsequious Council

thenticity is, that he was never charged with it by his enemies or by Justinian. But it was a private letter to Theodora, and contains this sentence, "*Oportet ergo, ut hæc quæ vobis scribo, nullus agnoscat.*" The letter may not have come to light till after the death of Theodora. But, with some mistrust of their own feeble critical arguments, the high papal writers assert that Vigilus, when he wrote this letter, was only an antipope and a schismatic. His subsequent legitimate election arrayed him in perfect Christian faith and virtue. He became officially orthodox. *Binii not. in Liberatum.* Dupin ventures to say that *Liberatus* is better authority than either *Baronius* or *Binius*.

¹ Justinian had already made an essay of his theological powers. In Palestine the controversy concerning the opinions of Origen had broken out again, and caused violent popular tumults. Pelagius, the legate of the Pope, and the Patriarch of Constantinople Mennas, urged the interference of Justinian. The emperor threw himself headlong into the dispute, and issued an encyclic letter, condemning the Origenists: the imperial anathema was subscribed by Mennas and many other bishops of Constantinople.

condemned certain works of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa.¹ These writings, though questionable as the source of, or as infected with Nestorianism, had passed uncondemned by the Council of Chalcedon. The imperial edict usurped the form of a confession of faith, and trespassed on the exclusive right of the clergy to anathematize the holders of erroneous doctrines. Great part of the submissive or consentient East received the dictates of the imperial theologian; the West as generally and resolutely refused compliance. Vigilius was peremptorily summoned to Constantinople. He set forth, loaded with the imprecations of the Roman people, and assailed with volleys of stones, as the murderer of Silverius, and a man of notorious cruelty. It was said that he had killed one of his own secretaries in a fit of passion, and caused his nephew, the son of his sister, to be scourged to death. "May famine and pestilence pursue thee; evil hast thou done to us, may evil overtake thee wherever thou art." A strong guard protected his person first to Sicily, and thence after near two years' delay to Constantinople.

His departure from Rome was fortunate for himself, fortunate perhaps for the dignity of the Papacy. During his absence, Rome was besieged by the Goths. A supply of corn sent by Vigilius from Sicily was inter-

¹ The condemnation of the three chapters implied at least a covert censure of the Council of Chalcedon. I. The fathers of that council had received Theodoret into communion, and, content with his condemnation of Nestorius, had not demanded his retraction of his writings against Cyril of Alexandria. II. They had inserted in their proceedings a letter from Ibas of Edessa to the Persian Maris, in which he highly praised Theodorus of Mopsuestia, the master of Nestorius, blamed Cyril, and accused the Council of Ephesus as having too hastily condemned Nestorius. — Anastas in Vita.

cepted on the Tiber by the barbarians; the Bishop Valentinus, who accompanied it, was summoned before the savage conqueror, and appearing to prevaricate, was mutilated by cutting off both his hands. It was fortunate on another account: Constantinople alone witnessed the weakness and tergiversations of Vigilius, who at least three times pliantly yielded to, and then desperately resisted the theologic dictatorship of Justinian; three times condemned the three Chapters, three times recanted his condemnation. Constantinople alone witnessed the personal indignities, the persecutions of which reports, perhaps exaggerated, reached the West, but which were neither rendered glorious to a servant of Christ by Christian blamelessness (the sense of which might have allayed their bitterness) or by Christian meekness and resolution, which might have turned them to his honor and to his peace. He had the sufferings, but neither the outward dignity nor the inward consolation of martyrdom.

It was a perilous crisis for a Prelate so ambitious, yet so double-minded, so trammelled by former obligations, and so bound by common guilt to one of the A.D. 548. contending parties. For there was division in the court; Justinian and Theodora, as throughout in religious interests, were on opposite sides; the East and the West were irreconcilably adverse. Vigilius was emboldened by his honorable reception in Constantinople; the Emperor and the Pope are said to June 11, 534. have wept, when they first met.¹ The death of Theodora soon relieved Vigilius from some part of his embarrassment. Yet he miscalculated his power, and dared to resist the Imperial will; he refused to condemn the

¹ Anastas. in Vit.

three Chapters. He even ventured to address the Emperor under the favorite appellation, bestowed on all imperial opponents of ecclesiastical authority, as a new Diocletian. He excluded from his communion Mennas, the Patriarch of Constantinople; he excommunicated Theodorus of Cesarea, and even the departed Empress herself. Mennas threw back the anathema, and on his side excommunicated the Pope. Vigilius was ere long obliged to withdraw his censures, and to reconcile himself with the rival Prelate. Scarcely, indeed, had many months passed before the Pope at the head of a Council of seventy bishops, issued his A.D. 548. infallible anathema *against* the three Chapters. The West at once threw off its allegiance, and refused to listen to the ingenious sophistry with which Vigilius attempted to reconcile his solemn judgment with his former opinions. Illyricum, Africa with all her old dauntless pertinacity, even his own clergy revolted against the renegade Pope. He revoked his imprudent concessions, recanted his recantation, and prevailed on the Emperor to summon a Council, in order, it should seem, either to obtain the support of the Council against the Emperor, or to compel the Western bishops to give up their resistance. The Eastern prelates assembled in great numbers at the Council, the Western stood aloof. Vigilius refused to sanction or recognize the Council in the absence of the Western bishops. Justinian, indignant at the delay, promulgated a new edict, condemning the three Chapters in still stronger terms on his own plenary authority. Vigilius assembled as many bishops as he could collect, solemnly protested against the usurpation of ecclesiastical authority, and cut off from his com-

munion all who received the edict. But a Byzantine despot was not to be thus trifled with or boldly bearded in his own capital, and the Eastern bishops refused to hold communion with the successor of St. Peter. Apprehensive of violence, the Pope took refuge in a sanctuary; but neither the Emperor nor his troops were disposed to reverence the sacred right of asylum. They attempted to drag him forth by the feet, he clung to the altar, and being a large and powerful man, the pillars of the baldachin gave way, and the whole fell crumbling upon him.¹ The populace could not behold without compassion these personal outrages, heaped on a venerable ecclesiastic; the imperial officers were obliged to retire and leave Vigilius within the church. He was persuaded, however, on certain terms to leave his sanctuary. Again he suffered, according to rumors propagated in the West, still more barbarous usage; he was said to have been dragged through the city with a rope round his neck, and reproached with his crimes and cruelties, then committed to a common dungeon, and kept on the hardest prison diet, *a.d.* 552. bread and water. A second time escaped to his sanctuary, and from thence by night fled over the sea to Chalcedon. There he took refuge in the more awful and inviolable sanctuary of Saint Euphemia. The Emperor condescended to capitulate on honorable terms with the Prelate. He revoked his edict, and left the three Chapters to the decrees of the Council. Vigilius had promised to be present at the Council; but dared not confront alone the host of Eastern bishops who com-

¹ Vigilius himself relates the former outrage, but does not mention particularly the other indignities: but he says, "*Dum multa mala intolerabilia sæpius pateremur quæ jam omnibus nota esse confidimus.*" — *Epist. Enycl. apud Labbe*, p. 330.

posed it. The Council, according to the dominant sentiment of the East, renewed the condemnation of the three Chapters. Vigilius with difficulty collected A.D. 553. sixteen Western bishops, issued a protest against the decree, and a Constitution, solemnly acquitting the three Chapters of heresy. The wrath of the Emperor was again kindled; ¹ Vigilius was once more seized and sent in exile to the dreary and solitary rock of Proconnesus. There his courage or his patience failed. Alarming reports reached him, that his name was to be struck out of the diptychs; that orders were preparing for Rome to elect a new bishop. He intimated that now, at length, on more studious examination, he had detected the subtle and latent errors which had so long escaped his impeccable judgment, A.D. 554. and was prepared with a Constitution, condemnatory of those baneful writings. He was recalled to Constantinople, obtained leave, after his full June 7, 554. submission, to return to Rome, but died in Sicily of the stone, before he could reach his see.

Such was the miserable fate of a Pope who came into direct collision with the Imperial despotism of Constantinople. A Prelate of unimpeachable character, uncommitted by base subserviency to the court, and who had not owed his elevation to unworthy means, or one of more firm religious courage, might have escaped some portion of the degradation and contempt endured by Vigilius; but it is impossible not to observe again how much the Papal power owed to the position of Rome. Even its freedom, far more its

¹ Theodorus of Cesarea was the ecclesiastic who ruled the mind of Justinian. See the imperfect anathema and sentence of deposition against him. — Labbe.

authority, arose out of its having ceased to be the seat of Imperial government, and the residence of the Emperor. During the conquest of Italy by the Eastern Emperors, and for some time after, the Pope was not confronted indeed in Rome by a resident Emperor, but summoned at the will of the Emperor to Constantinople, or in Rome rebuked before a victorious general, or an Exarch, who, though he held his court at Ravenna, executed the commands of a sovereign accustomed to dictate, rather than submit to ecclesiastical power. At scarcely any period did the papal authority suffer greater degradation, or were the persons of the Popes reduced to more humiliating subserviency. Nor is this passive humiliation, which, by the patient dignity with which it is endured, may elevate the character of the sufferer; he is mingled up in the intrigues of the court, and contaminated with its base venality. He is hardly more independent or authoritative than the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The successor of Vigilius was Pelagius I. Pelagius had been the legate or ambassador of Vigilius A.D. 556. at the court of Constantinople. He had won the favor of Justinian, and accumulated considerable wealth. He returned to Rome, a short time before it was besieged by Totila; and the wealth, obtained it might seem by doubtful means in the East, was nobly dispensed among the poor and famishing inhabitants of the beleaguered city. Pelagius during the popedom of Vigilius had been employed on the most important services. When the Goths again contested the dominion of Italy, he had undertaken an embassy in the name of the Romans to avert the wrath of Totila; he had been received with stately courtesy, but dismissed

with no concession on the part of the Goth.¹ After the capture of the city, when the victorious Totila entered the church of St. Peter to perform his devotions, he was met again by Pelagius, with the Gospel in his hands. "Have mercy on thy subjects," implored the earnest priest. "Now," tauntingly replied Totila, "you condescend to appear as a suppliant." "God," answered Pelagius, "has made us your subjects, be merciful to us on that account." His calm and submissive demeanor arrested the wrath of the conqueror. Rome owed to his intercession the lives of her citizens, and the chastity of her females. Massacre and violation were arrested; the discipline of the Goths respected the command of their king. Pelagius A.D. 549. was sent by Totila as his ambassador to Constantinople to demand peace, under the menace, that the Goth, if Justinian persisted in his hostility, would destroy Rome, and put the Senate to the sword.² Pelagius again in Constantinople, adhered as a faithful partisan to Vigilius, with him he resisted the theologic tyranny of Justinian; and, if he did not share his hard usage and exile, was left to neglect and misery. With Vigilius, having shown himself too pliant to the imperial doctrines, he returned to Rome, and on the death of Vigilius, by the command of Justinian, was elevated to the See.³ But now in Rome, all his former benefactions to the city were forgotten in his treacherous abandonment of the orthodoxy of the West, and his servile compliance with the will of the Emperor; he could not assemble from all the reluctant order three

¹ Procop. de Bell. Gothic., iii. 16.

² Procop. de Bell. Gothic., iii. 20.

³ According to Victor Turon, he at first defended, then recalled from exile, condemned the three chapters (ap. Roncagl. ii. 377).

bishops for the ceremonial of his consecra- June 7, 556.
tion; it was performed by two bishops and a presbyter.¹ His favor with Justinian exposed him to worse, doubtless to unjust suspicions. He was accused of having been the instigator in Constantinople of all the cruelties suffered by Vigilius. The monks, many of the clergy, and of the nobility of Rome, withdrew from his communion. Even when Narses reconquered Rome, the avowed protection of the Emperor's victorious representative could not restore the public confidence to Pelagius. The Pope, with the general by his side, went in solemn procession, chanting a Litany, to the Church of St. Peter; and there Pelagius ascended the chancel, and holding above his head the Book of the Gospels, and the Cross, solemnly declared that he had never wrought or suggested any evil against Vigilius. Pelagius added, and to this he demanded the assent of the people, a strong denunciation of all, who from the door-keeper up to the bishop should attempt to obtain any ecclesiastical office by simony.²

Rome, after this expurgation, acquiesced in the rule of her Pontiff. But the Western bishops could not forgive his adhesion to the fifth Council of Constantinople, whose decrees had in some degree impeached those of the great Council of Chalcedon. Even in Italy the bishops of Tuscany would not admit his name into their sacramental liturgy. Pelagius bitterly reproached them with thus yielding to vulgar clamor; by separating themselves from the communion of an Apostolic See they had separated themselves from the communion of all Christendom. But he thought it necessary to declare his unreserved acceptance of all

¹ Victor Turon., apud Roncagl.

² Marcell. Chronic. apud Roncagli.

the four great Councils (maintaining a prudent silence as to the fifth), and the Letter of his predecessor Leo. Whoever should not be content with this declaration, might demand further explanation from the Pope himself. Yet he condemned all that his predecessors had condemned, venerated as orthodox all that they received, especially the saintly prelates, Theodoret and Ibas.¹ The Pope addressed a letter to the whole Christian world, in which, after reasserting his allegiance to the four Councils, he attempted to justify the fifth as in no way impeaching the authority of Chalcedon. A new royal theologian, Childebert, king of the Franks, entered the field, and required a more explicit statement. With this the Pope condescended to comply; he sent his confession of faith to the King, with an admonition to the orthodox sovereign to exercise vigilance over all heretics within his dominions. Still some obstinate dioceses, chiefly of Venetia and Istria, refused communion with all who adhered to the Synod of Constantinople. Pelagius had recourse to the all-powerful Narses to enforce submission; the most refractory, the Bishop of Aquileia and the Bishop of Milan, who had uncanonically consecrated that prelate, were sent prisoners to Constantinople.

On the death of Pelagius,² Rome waited in obsequious submission the permission of the Emperor to July 14, 560. inaugurate her new Pope, John III. The period between the accession of John III. and that of Gregory the Great is among the most barren and obscure in the annals of the papacy. One act of misjudging authority, and one of intercession, are recorded during the pontificate of John. He received, accord-

¹ *Mansi.* ix. 17.

² Pelagius died 560.

ing to the permission of the Frankish King, Gunthram, the appeal of two bishops, Salonius of Embrun and Sagittarius of Gap,¹ who had been deposed for crimes most unbefitting their order by a synod at Lyons. These were the first Christian bishops who had appeared in arms, the prototypes of the warlike and robber-prelates of later times. The Pope urged their restoration, the King assented: but the reinstated prelates returned to their lawless and unepiscopal courses, and were again degraded by the common indignation.

The act of intercession was more worthy of the head of Western Christendom. The Eunuch Nar- A.D. 552-567. ses had ruled Italy and Rome as Exarch for fifteen years since the conquest, with vigor and justice. Justinian and Theodora had gone to their account; the throne of the East was occupied by Justin the younger. But the province groaned under the rapacity of Narses. Petitions were sent to Constantinople with the significant words, that the yoke of the barbarian Gauls was lighter than this Roman tyranny. Narses was superseded by the Exarch Longinus, insult was added to his degradation. "Let him to his distaff," is the speech ascribed to the imperious wife of the Emperor Justin the younger. "I will weave her such a web as she will find it hard to unravel," rejoined the indignant Eunuch. He returned to Naples, from whence he entered into negotiations with the terrible Lombards, who had once already invaded Italy. Revolt, with Narses at its head, threatened the peace of Italy. The Pope undertook an embassy to Naples, appeased the wrathful Eunuch, who return-

¹ Ebrodonum. Vapincum.

ed to Rome, and closed his days as a peaceful subject of the empire.

The few years of the pontificate of Benedict I. were occupied with the miseries of the Lombard invasion. His successor Pelagius II. in those disastrous times was consecrated without awaiting the sanction of the Emperor.¹ Pelagius in vain endeavored to reduce the bishops of the north of Italy to accept the fifth Council of Constantinople. Some who were now under the Lombard dominion paid no regard to his expostulations; a synod at Grado rejected his mandates, and the bishops defied the power of the Exarch, through whom Pelagius sought to awe them to submission. Yet Pelagius, in one respect, maintained all the haughtiness of his See. The Bishop of Constantinople had again assumed the title of Œcumenic Patriarch, the assumption was confirmed by a Council at Constantinople. Pelagius protested against this execrable, sacrilegious, diabolic usurpation: but in Constantinople his invectives made no impression. Pelagius was succeeded by Gregory the Great.

Since the conquest of Italy the Popes had been the humble subjects of the Eastern Emperor. They were appointed, if not directly by his mandate, under his influence. They dared not assume their throne without his permission. The Roman Ordinal of that time declares the election incomplete and invalid till it had received the imperial sanction.² Months elapsed, in the case of Benedict ten months, before the clergy ventured to proceed to the consecration.

¹ *Sine jussione Principis*, Vit. Pelag. II.

² Compare Schroeck, xvii. p. 236.

Pelagius II. was chosen when Rome was invested by the Lombards; for this ignominious reason he had been consecrated without the consent of the Emperor.

The conquest of Italy by the Greeks was, to a great extent at least, the work of the Catholic clergy. Their impatience under a foreign and an Arian yoke is by no means surprising; nor could they anticipate that the return to Roman dominion would be the worst evil yet endured by Italy. Rome suffered more under the alternate sieges and alternate capture by the Byzantines and the Goths than it had from Alaric or even Genseric, as much perhaps as in its later sieges by Robert Guiscard, and by the Constable Bourbon. The feeble but tyrannical Exarchs soon made Italy regret the just, if oppressive and ungenial rule of the Goths. The overthrow of the Gothic kingdom was to Italy an unmitigated evil. A monarch like Witiges or Totila would soon have repaired the mischiefs caused by the degenerate successors of Theodoric, Athalaric and Theodotus. In their overthrow began the fatal policy of the Roman See, fatal at least to Italy (however, by the aggrandizement of the Roman See, it may have been, up to a certain time, beneficial to northern Christendom), which never would permit a powerful native kingdom to unite Italy, or a very large part of it, under one dominion. Whatever it may have been to Christendom, the Papacy has been the eternal, implacable foe of Italian independence and Italian unity; and so (as far as independence and unity might have given dignity, political weight, and prosperity) to the welfare of Italy. On every occasion the Goths, the Lombards, as later the Normans and the House of Arragon, found their deadliest enemies in the popes. As

now from the East, so then from beyond the Alps, they summoned some more remote potentate, Charlemagne, the Othos, Charles VIII., Charles of Anjou, almost always worse tyrants than those whom they overthrew. From that time servitude, servitude to the stranger, was the doom of Italy. To Rome herself, the foreign sovereign (the tyranny of the Eastern Emperor and his Exarchs was an admonition of what the transalpine emperors might hereafter prove) was hardly less dangerous than a native and indigenous sovereign would have been. And if the papacy had been more confined to its religious power, less tempted or less compelled to assume temporal as well as ecclesiastical supremacy, that power had been immeasurably greater, as less involved in political strife, less exposed to that kind of personal collision with the temporal monarchy, in which a sovereignty which rests on the awe and reverence of men must suffer; it might have maintained its ecclesiastical supremacy over obedient and tributary Christendom, even held as vast possessions on the tenure not of a temporal principedom, but of an ecclesiastical endowment; and thus more entirely ruled the minds of men by confining its authority to that nobler and, for a time at least, more unassailable province.

Rome, jealous of all temporal sovereignty but her own, for centuries yielded up, or rather made Italy a battle field to the Transalpine and the stranger; and at the same time so secularized her own spiritual supremacy as to confound altogether the priest and the politician, to degrade absolutely and almost irrevocably the kingdom of Christ into a kingdom of this world.

CHAPTER V.

CHRISTIAN JURISPRUDENCE.¹

CHRISTIANITY had been now for more than two centuries the established religion of the Roman Empire; it was the religion of all those independent kingdoms which were forming themselves within the dissevered provinces of Rome. Between the religion and the laws of all nations must subsist an intimate and indissoluble connection. During all that period the vast and august jurisprudence of Rome had been constantly enlarged by new imperial edicts or authoritative decrees, supplementary to, or corrective and interpretative of, the ancient statutes.

I. The jurisprudence of the old Roman Empire at first admitted, but only in a limited degree, this modifying power of Christianity. The laws which were purely Christian were hardly more than accessory and supplementary to the vast code which had accumulated from the days of the republic, through the great lawyers of the empire, down to Theodosius and Justinian. But the complete moral, social, and in some sense political revolution, through Christianity, could not be with-

¹ Let me not be suspected of the vain ambition of emulating Gibbon's splendid chapter on Roman Law, which has become the text-book in universities (see my edition of Gibbon). My object is more narrow and limited; and appeared necessary to the history even of Latin Christianity; to show the interworking of Christianity into the Roman jurisprudence.

out influence, both as creating a necessity for new laws adapted to the present order of things, or as controlling, through the mind of the legislator, the general temper and spirit of the legislation. A Christian Em-

First effects
of Christian-
ity.

peror could not exclude this influence from his mind, either as affecting his moral appreciation of certain obligations and transgressions, or as ascertaining and defining the social position, the rights and duties, of new classes and divisions of his subjects. Under Christianity a new order of men of a peculiar character, with special privileges, immunities, and functions, had grown up throughout the whole society; new corporate bodies, the churches and the monasteries, had been formed, holding property of every kind by a new tenure; certain offences in the penal code were now looked on with a milder or more severe aspect; a more strict morality had attempted to knit more closely some of the relations of life; vices which had been tolerated became crimes against social order; and an offence, absolutely new in the extent of odiousness in which it was held, and the rigor with which it was punished, Heresy, or dissent from the dominant religion, in all its various forms, had been introduced into the criminal jurisdiction, not of the Church only, but of the Empire. The imperial legislation could not refuse, it was not inclined to refuse, to take cognizance of this novel order of things, and to adapt itself to the necessities of the age.

II. The Barbaric Codes, which embodied in written statutes the unwritten, immemorial, and traditional laws and usages of the Teutonic tribes (the common law of the German forests), assuming their positive form after the different races had sub-

Barbaric
codes.

mitted to Christianity, were more completely interpenetrated, as it were, with Christian influences. The unlettered barbarians willingly accepted the aid of the lettered clergy, still chiefly of Roman birth, to reduce to writing the institutes of their forefathers. Though these codes therefore, in their general character and main principles, are essentially Teutonic—in their broad principles are deduced from the free usages of the old German tribes—yet throughout they are modified by Christian notions, and admit a singular infusion, not merely of the precepts of the New Testament, but of the positive laws of the Old.

But III. Christianity had its own peculiar and special jurisprudence. The Christian community, or rather the separate communities, ^{Christian jurisprudence.} had originally exercised this power of internal legislation. They held each its separate tribunal, which adjudicated not only on religious matters, but, as an acknowledged wise and venerated arbitrator, in civil litigation. This legislation and administration of law had gradually become vested in the clergy alone; and, instead of each community ruling its own internal concerns, and presiding over its own separate members, the Church, as chiefly represented by the bishops, either in local or national synods, or in general councils, enacted statutes or canons, considered binding on the whole Christian world. The sanctions of this Christian jurisprudence were properly altogether religious: they rested on opinion, on the voluntary submission of each individual mind to spiritual authority. Their punishments and rewards were properly those of the life to come. The only punishments in this world were those of the penitential discipline, or excommuni-

cation from the Christian society, which was tantamount, with all who believed salvation to be the exclusive privilege of the Church, to a sentence of eternal damnation. Those who braved that disfranchisement — who either, as the Jews, never had entered within the community, or as holding heretical opinions had renounced it — were rightfully beyond its jurisdiction. The legislators and administrators of the laws had lost all cognizance over those upon whose faith or whose fears they had no hold. These were outlaws, who, as they blindly or obstinately disclaimed the inestimable privileges of the Church, could not be amenable at least to its temporal penalties. Unhappily the civil and canon, the Imperial and Christian, legislation would not maintain their respective boundaries. This arose partly from the established constitutional doctrine of Rome, that the Republic (now the Emperor) was the religious as well as the civil head of the Empire; partly from the blindness of Christian zeal, which thought all means lawful to advance the true, or to suppress erroneous, belief; and therefore fell into the irreconcilable contradiction of inflicting temporal penalties by temporal hands for spiritual offences. Athanasius

Supremacy
of the Em-
peror. hailed and applauded the full civil supremacy of the state when it commanded the exile of Arius; contested, resisted, branded it as usurping tyranny, when it would exact obedience from himself. Thus, though the Councils were the proper legislative senates of Christianity, so long as the Empire lasted in the West, even later; and in the East down to the latest times; the Emperors enacted and enforced the observation of the ecclesiastical as well as of the civil law. Theodosius and Gratian define or ratify the defi

nition of doctrines, declare and condemn heretic^e Roman
 tinian is a kind of Caliph of Christianity, at ^{Justinian a} ~~Christian~~
 the authoritative tone and in the subjects which ^{top.}
 comprehends under his decrees he is a Pope and an
 Emperor. In the barbaric codes there is the same ab-
 solute supremacy of the sovereign law — in theory the
 same, but restricted by the more limited royal power,
 and the peculiar relation of the clergy to tribes newly
 converted to Christianity. Where there is a strong
 monarchy, it assumes a dominion scarcely less full and
 complete than under the Christian Emperors. Charle-
 magne, in his imperial edicts, is at once the legislator
 of the Church and of the State.

Thus then in Christendom there are three systems of
 jurisprudence, the Roman Law, the Barbaric ^{Three sys-}
 or Teutonic Law, the Law of the Church — ^{tems of law.}
 this last, as yet but young, humble and limited in its
 pretensions, a discipline rather than a law, or confined,
 in a great degree, to the special observance of the cler-
 gy.

I. The Emperor Justinian, having now reunited the
 Eastern and Western Empires, aspired to be ^{Justinian}
 the legislator of the world; on Christendom ^{code.}
 and on the Roman Empire, according to his notions com-
 mensurate, he would bestow a full, complete, indefeasible
 Code of Law. Of the barbaric codes, if even in their
 initiatory growth or existence, the Roman law, which
 still held the whole Roman world to be its proper
 dominion, would be as disdainfully ignorant, as if they
 were yet the usages of wild tribes beyond the Rhine
 or the Danube. Even over the Church or Canon-
 ical Jurisprudence it would assert, as will immedi-
 ately appear, majestic superiority; it would admit, con-

cation tion such parts as might demand the supreme
mount^l intervention, or require imperial authority.

Justinian aspired to consolidate in his eternal legisla-
tion all the ancient and modern statutes of
the realm. The necessity for a complete and
final revisal — an authoritative reconstruction and har-
mony of the vast mass of republican, senatorial, impe-
rial decrees, or those accredited interpretations of the
law which had become law, and were admitted in the
courts of justice — had long been acknowledged. The
Roman jurisprudence must become a Code; the decis-
ions of the great lawyers must be selected, distributed
under proper heads, and rules be laid down for the
superiority of some over others. This jurisprudence
comprehended unwritten as well as written law. The
unwritten were the ancient Roman traditions, and the
principles of eternal justice. The sources of the writ-
ten law were the XII Tables, the Laws of the Repub-
lic, whether Senatus-Consults or Plebiscites, the de-
crees of the Emperors, the edicts of the Prætors, and
the answers of the learned in the law.¹ Already at-
tempts had been made to systematize this vast, multifa-
rious, and comprehensive jurisprudence in the Grego-
rian, Hermogenian, and finally the Theodosian codes.
But the enormous mass of laws which had still accu-
mulated, the conflicting decisions of the lawyers, the
oppugnance of the laws themselves, seemed to demand
this ultimate organization of the whole; and in Tri-
bonian and his Byzantine lawyers, Justinian supposed
that he possessed the wisdom, in himself the power
and authority, to establish forever the jurisprudence
of Rome.

Necessity for
consolidation
of laws.

¹ *Responsa prudentum.*

But the change which has come over the Roman Empire is manifest at once. That Justinian ^{Justinian a Christian emperor.} is a Christian Emperor appears in the front of his jurisprudence. Before the august temple of the Roman law, there is, as it were, a vestibule, in which the Emperor seats himself as the religious legislator of the world in its new relation towards God. The Christian Emperor treats all mankind as his subjects, in their religious as well as in their civil capacity. The Emperor's creed, as well as his edicts, is the universal law of the Empire. That which was accessory in the code of the former Christian Emperors, and in the Theodosian code fills two supplementary books, stands in the front, and forms the Preface to that of Justinian. His code opens with the Imperial Creed on the Trinity, and the Imperial Anathema against Nestorius, Eutyches, Apollinarius. Justinian declares indeed that he holds the doctrine of the Church, of the Apostles and their successors. He recognizes the authority of the four great Councils. He even acknowledges the supremacy of the Roman Church, and commands all Churches to be united with her. At the time of the publication of the code, John III. was Bishop of Rome ; but he had been appointed under the Exarch, his inauguration had submissively awaited the Emperor's approbation. Rome therefore, it was hoped, had become, notwithstanding the rapid advance of the Lombards, an integral, an inseparable part of the Empire. Justinian legislates therefore for Rome as for the East. But though the Emperor condescends thus to justify the orthodoxy of his creed, it is altogether of his absolute, uncontrolled, undisputed will that it is law. It might seem indeed that the clergy were the subjects, as first in rank,

whose offices, even whose lives, must first be regulated by imperial legislation.

In the following chapters the appointment, the organization, the subordination, the authority of the ecclesiastical, as of the civil magistrates of the realm, Laws for the Clergy. is assumed to emanate from, to be granted, limited, prescribed by, the supreme Emperor. Excommunication is uttered indeed by the ecclesiastics, but according to the imperial laws and with the imperial warrant. He deigns indeed to allow the canons of the Church to be of not less equal authority than his laws; but his laws are divine, and those divine laws all metropolitans, bishops, and clergy are bound to obey, and, if commanded, to publish.¹ The hierarchy is regulated by his ordinance. He enacts the superiority of the Metropolitan over the bishop, of the bishop over the abbot, of the abbot over the monk. Distinct imperial laws rule the monasteries. The law prescribes the ordinations of bishops, the persons qualified for ordination,² the whole form and process of that holy ceremony. The law admitted no immunities in the Clergy for crimes committed against the state and against society. It took upon itself the severe superintendence of clerical morals. The passion for theatrical amusements, for the wild excitement of the horse-race and the combat with wild beasts, or even more licentious entertainments,*had carried away many of the clergy, even of the bishops. A law, more than once reënacted and modified, while it acknowledged the power of the cler-

¹ Τὸς δὲ θεοῦς κανόνας οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν νόμων ἰσχύειν καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι βούλονται νόμοι. — Cod. ii. 3, 44. They are to publish τὸν θεῖον ἡμῶν τοῦτον νόμον. — Cod. ii. 3, 43.

² Especially Nov. cxxiii.; it assesses the fees to be paid on each promotion.

gy's prayers to obtain victory over the barbarians, and to obtain from Heaven extended empire, declared that for this reason they should be unimpeachable. But, notwithstanding the most solemn admonition, they could not be persuaded, not even the bishops, to abstain from the gaming-table, or the theatre with all its blasphemies and license. The Emperor was compelled to pass this law, prohibiting, under pain of suspension for the first offence, of irrevocable degradation and servitude¹ to the public corporations, any one of the clergy, of any rank, from being present at the gaming-table or at any public spectacle. These penalties, with other religious punishments, as fastings, were to be inflicted, according to the rank of the offender, by the bishop or the metropolitan. The refusal to punish, or the endeavor to conceal, such offences made both the civil officers and ecclesiastics liable to civil as well as to ecclesiastical penalties.

The Bishop was an imperial officer for certain temporal affairs. In each city he was appointed, with three of the chief citizens, annually to inspect the public accounts, and all possessions or bequests made for public works, markets, aqueducts, baths, walls and gates, and bridges. Before him guardians of lunatics swore on the Gospels to administer their trust with fidelity,² and many legal acts might be performed either in the presence of the Defensor or the bishop of the city.³ For the discharge of these temporal functions the bishops were reasonably answerable to the Emperor; and thus the empire acknowledged at

¹ *Δουλεύειν*. — Cod. i. 14, 24.

² Cod. i. 4, 27.

³ *De Episcop. Audient.*

the inspiration of Christianity a new order of magistracy.

The law limited the number of clergy to be attached to each Church. This constitution was demanded in order to check that multiplication of the clergy which exhausted the revenues of the Church, and led to burdensome debts. In the great Church at Constantinople the numbers were to be reduced to 425, besides 100 *ostiarii*.¹ The smaller churches were on no account to have more than they could maintain.

The State issued laws for the regulation of monasteries. None were to be established without the consent of the Bishop. The Bishop elected the superior from the community. Slaves might be admitted as well as freemen. A probation of three years was required from all. A slave, if a runaway or thief, might be claimed by his master during those three years. When a monk, he could no longer be claimed, unless he abandoned the monastic life. All were to live in common, to sleep in one chamber. If a monk wished to leave his monastery he went forth a beggar; the monastery retained all his property. If he entered into the army, it could only be into the lowest rank. No monk could leave one monastery for another.²

¹ 60 presbyters, 100 male 40 female deacons, 90 subdeacons, 110 readers, 25 singers. — Novell. iii. There is a curious law concerning interments in Constantinople. 1000 shops, or their rent, seem to have been bestowed on the church for the burial of the poor; they had a bier and the attendance of the clergy without charge. The rich paid according to their means and will; there was a fixed payment for certain more splendid biers and more solemn attendance. — Novell. xciii.

² The Institutes acknowledge the Bishop, with the Defensor, to have certain powers of appointing guardians. — i. 20, 5. Justinian speaks of the modesty of his times. — i. 22, 1. Two clauses (2, i. 8, 9) relate to churches. &c., iii. 28, 7. Churches named. — iv. 18, 8. Rape of nuns made a capital crime.

Such were the all-comprehending ecclesiastical laws which the Emperor claimed the power to enact. In many cases he commanded or limited the anathema or the interdict. The obedient world, including the Church, acknowledged, at least by submissive obedience, this imperial supremacy.

It is not till Justinian has thus, as it were, fulfilled his divine mission of legislating for his subjects as Christians, that he assumes his proper function, his legislation for them as Romans, and proceeds to his earthly task, the consolidation of the ancient and modern statutes of the Empire.

But the legislation of Justinian, as far as it was original, in his Code, his Pandects, and in his Institutions, within its civil domain, was still almost ^{Roman law} exclusively Roman. It might seem that ^{purely} Roman.

Christianity could hardly penetrate into the solid and well-compacted body of Roman law; or rather, the immutable principles of justice had been so clearly discerned by the inflexible rectitude of the Roman mind, so sagaciously applied by the wisdom of her great lawyers, that Christianity was content to acquiesce in those statutes, which even she might, excepting in some respects, despair of rendering more equitable. Christianity, in the Roman Empire, had entered into a temporal polity, with all its institutions long settled, its laws already framed. The Christians had in their primitive state no natural place in the order of things. That separate authority which the Church exercised over the members of its own community from its origin, and without which the loosest form of society cannot subsist, was in no way recognized by the civil power; they were the voluntary laws of a voluntary

association. But, besides these special laws of their own, the Christians were in every respect subjects of the Empire. They were strangers in religion alone. After the comprehensive decree of Caracalla, they, like the rest of mankind within the pale of the Empire, became Roman citizens; and the supremacy of the State in all things which did not concern the vital principles of their religion (for which they were still bound, if the civil power should exercise compulsion, to suffer martyrdom) was acknowledged, both in the West and in the East, both before and after the conversion of Constantine.

The influence therefore of Christianity on the older laws of the Roman Empire could only be exercised through the mind of the legislator, now become Christian; and the general moral sentiment, which became more pure or elevated, might modify, and gradually mitigate, some provisions, or more rigidly enforce certain obligations. The Roman law, in its original code, might seem indeed to take a pride in resting upon its antiquity and its purely Roman character; it admits not the language, it appears even to affect a supercilious ignorance of the religion, of the people.¹ In the *Institutes* of Justinian² it requires keen observation to detect the Christianity of the legislator. Tribonian, the great lawyer, to whom the vast work of framing the whole jurisprudence was committed by the Em-

¹ There are several quotations from Homer, not one allusion to any of the sacred writings of Christianity.

² The *Institutes* are without those prefatory chapters of Christian legislation contained in the Code. From those chapters we pass into the Roman Code, as into another land; and it demands our closest attention to discern how far, now that he has abandoned all the language of Christianity, the spirit of the religion follows the emperor into the ancient realm.

peror, has incurred the suspicion of atheism, an accusation which, just or not, is strong evidence that his work had refused to incorporate any of the statutes, and bore no signs of Christianity. The prefatory Christian laws, though now become fundamental, are altogether extraneous to the old reënacted system. They are recorded laws before Tribonian assumes his functions.

The Roman Law may be most conveniently considered, in connection with the influence of Christianity, as it regards A. Persons; B. Property; and C. Crime.¹

A. The law as regards Persons comprehends the ranks and divisions, and the relations of mankind to each other, sanctioned or recognized by the law, with the privileges, rights, and immunities it may grant, the duties it may impose on each. In nothing is the stern and Roman character of the Justinian Code more manifest than in its full recognition of slavery. Throughout, the broad distinction of mankind into freemen and slaves is the unquestioned, admitted groundwork of legislation. It declares indeed the natural equality of man, and so far is in advance of the doctrine which prevailed in the time of Aristotle, and is vindicated by that philosopher, that certain races or classes of men are pronounced by the unanswerable voice of nature, by their physical and intellectual inferiority, as designed for and irrevocably doomed to servitude. But this natural equality is absolutely and entirely forfeited by certain acknowledged disqualifications for freedom, by captivity in war, self

¹ This in some degree differs from the division adopted by many writers from the Institutes of Justinian, under which the criminal law ranks as a branch of the law of actions or obligations.

vention into slavery, or servile descent. Christianity had indeed exalted the slave to spiritual equality, as having the same title to the blessings, consolations, and promises of the Gospel, as capable of practising all Christian virtues, and therefore of obtaining the Christian's reward. This religious elevation could not be without influence, besides the more generous humanity to which it would soften the master, on their temporal and social position. It took them out of the class of brute beasts or inanimate things, to be transferred like cattle or other goods from one master to another, which the owner might damage or destroy with as much impunity as any other property; and placed them in that of human beings, equally under the care of Divine Providence, and gifted with the same immortality. But the legislation of the Christian Emperor went no further. It makes no claim to higher humanity; it does not attempt to despoil the pagan Emperors of the praise due to the first step made in that direction. It ascribes to the heathen sovereign, Antoninus, the great change which had placed the life of the slave under the protection of the law. Even his punishment was then restricted by legislative enactment.¹ But the abrogation of slavery was not contemplated even as a remote possibility. A general enfranchisement seems never to have dawned on the wisest and best of the Christian writers, notwithstanding the greater facility for manumission, and the sanctity, as it were, assigned to the act by Constantine, by placing it under the special superintendence of the clergy.

The law of Justinian gave indeed, or recognized, a

¹ Caius, i. 53; Just. Instit. i. viii. 2. Constantine, in 312, had enlarged this law. — C. Theod. de emend. serv., l. 2, 1.

greater value in the life of the slave. The edict of Antoninus had declared the master ^{Law of Slavery.} who killed his own slave without cause, liable to the same penalty as if he killed the slave of another.¹ The Code of Justinian ratified the law of Constantine, which made it homicide to kill a slave with malice aforethought; and it describes certain modes of barbarous punishment, by which, if death follows, that guilt is incurred.² The Code confirms the law of Claudius against the abandonment of sick and useless slaves; it enjoins the master to send them to the public hospitals. These hospitals were open to slaves as well as to poor freemen. "In these times, and under our empire," writes Justinian, "no one must be permitted to exercise unlawful cruelty against a slave." The motive, however, for this was not evangelic humanity, but the public good, which was infringed if any man ill-used his property.³

But while it protected the life, to a certain extent the person, of the slave, it asserted as sternly as ever his inferior condition. He was the property of his master. Whoever became a slave lost all power over his children.⁴ His testimony could be received against his master only in cases of high treason. His union with his wife was still only concubinage, not marriage.⁵ The slave had no remedy for adultery before the tribunals; it was left to the master to punish the offence. A free woman who had unlawful connection

¹ Caius, i. 53.

² Cod. Just. ix. 14.

³ "Expedi enim reipublice, ne quis re sua utatur male." — Instit. i. riii.

⁴ Instit. i. 16, and ii. 9, 3. Cod. ix. 1, 20.

⁵ Contubernium, not connubium.

with her slave, according to the law of Constantine, not, as it seems, repealed by Justinian, was to be put to death, the slave to be burned alive. But the law of Constantine, confirmed in the West by Anthemius, which prohibited the union of a freeman and a slave, at least a freeman of a certain rank, under the penalty of exile and confiscation of goods, and condemned the female to the mines, appears to have been mitigated; at least the law of Claudius, which condemned the free-woman who married a slave to servitude, was tempered to a sentence of separation. In the old Roman society in the Eastern Empire this distinction between the marriage of the freeman and the concubinage of the slave was long recognized by Christianity itself. These unions were not blessed, as the marriages of their superiors had soon begun to be, by the Church.¹ Basil the Macedonian² first enacted that the priestly benediction should hallow the marriage of the slave; but the authority of the Emperor was counteracted by the deep-rooted prejudices of centuries. Later laws appear to have attempted the reconciliation of the Christian privilege with the social distinction. The marriages of slaves were to be celebrated in the Church; slaves and freemen were to receive the same nuptial benediction, without conferring freedom on the slave.³ As late as the thirteenth century a mandate of Nicetas, archbishop of Thessalonica, excommunicates masters who refuse to allow their slaves to be married in the Church.

¹ It was thought that the marriage before the church would of itself confer civil freedom. — Biot, *sur l'Esclavage*, p. 146.

² A.D. 867–886.

³ *Constitut. Imp. xi. Jus Gr. Roman. i. p. 145. Biot, p. 212.*

The trade in slaves was still a principal and recognized branch of commerce. Man was a marketable commodity. The whole code of Justinian speaks of the slave as bearing a certain appreciable value, to be held by the same tenure, transferred by the same form, as other property. It was the weakness of Rome, not her humanity or her Christianity, which, by ceasing to supply the markets with hordes of conquered barbarians, diminished the trade; and Roman citizens were sold, with utter disregard of their haughty privileges, by barbarian or Jewish slave-venders. Throughout Greek and Latin Christendom, however the Church, by its precept and example, might rank the redemption of Christian slaves from bondage as a high virtue, the purchase and the sale of men, as property transferred from vendor to buyer, was recognized as a legal transaction of the same validity with the sale of other property, land, or cattle.

The Christian family, in its more restricted sense, comprehending the relations of husband and wife, of parent and children, had been the centre from which the Gospel worked outwards with all its beneficent energy on society. But Christianity, conscious of its more profound and extensive influence on morals, was in most respects content to rest without intruding into the province of laws.¹ It superadded its own sanctity to the dignity with which marriage had been arrayed by the older Roman law: it superadded its own tenderness to that mitigation of the arbitrary parental power with which the

¹ See throughout this chapter—the Codes, Pandects, and Institutes. Of modern works, Gibbon's celebrated chapter, with Warnkönig's notes; Ferdinand Walter, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts*, pp. 332 *et seq.*

more humane habits of later times, and the wisdom of the great lawyers, had controlled the despotism of the Roman father. The Roman definition of marriage might almost satisfy the lofty demands of Christianity. Matrimony is the union of man and woman, constraining them to an inseparable cohabitation.¹ Polygamy had been prohibited by the Prætorian Edict with a distinct severity not to be found in the New Testament.² Marriage, in the oldest Roman law, was a religious rite. The purchase of the wife, the partaking of food together,³ took place in the presence of the pontiffs. These ceremonials were at no time absolutely necessary; but even, under the Republic, marriage was altogether, as to its validity, a civil contract. With the Christians marriage had resumed a more solemn religious character. Certain forms of espousals or of wedlock are among the most unquestionable usages of the earliest Christian antiquity. On marriage the Christian is taught to take counsel of the bishop.⁴ Some kind of benediction in the Church, or

¹ "Nuptiæ autem sive matrimonium est viri et mulieris conjunctio, *individuam* vitæ consuetudinem continens." — Instit. i. ix. 1.

² "Neminein qui sub ditione sit Romani nominis binas uxores habere posse vulgo patet; cum etiam in *Edicto Prætoris* hujusmodi viri infamia notati sint: quam rem competens judex inultam esse non patietur." — Cod. v. tit. 5, 2. The silence of the New Testament as to polygamy, excepting in the doubtful text about the bishop, has been the subject of much learned contest and inquiry. The desuetude into which it had fallen among the Jews, and its prohibition by Roman manners, if not by Roman laws, accounts for this silence, in my opinion most fully, considering the popular character of our Lord's teaching and that of his apostles.

³ *Coemptio et confarreatio*. — The *confarreatio* was the more solemn form of marriage, and could only be annulled by certain tremendous rites, which represented as it were the death of the contracting parties. — Festus, *Defarreatio*. It had fallen into disuse with the extinction of the older families. The other two forms of marriage-contract were *coemptio* and *usus*.

⁴ Ignat. Epist. ad Polycarp. This passage is found in Mr. Cureton's Syriac version.

in the presence of the community, gave its peculiar holiness to the marriage ceremony.¹ Christianity did not decline some of the gayer and more innocent usages of Jewish and heathen marriages—the crowns, the ring, the veil of the virgin. Still, the Christian might hallow his union by the benediction of the Church; the betrothal or the espousals might take place in the presence of the religious community;² yet the Roman citizen was bound only by the civil contract. On this alone depended the validity of the marriage, the legitimacy and right of succession in the children. The Church, or the clergy representing the Church, had no jurisdiction in matrimonial questions till after the legislation of Justinian. It was never perfect and supreme in the East; in the West it grew up gradually with the all-absorbing sacerdotal power.

As to incestuous marriages, marriages within the more intimate degrees of relationship, Christianity might repose upon the rigor of the Roman ^{Prohibited degrees} law.³ There was no necessity to recur to the books of Moses. That law prohibited the union of brothers with sisters, of uncles and aunts with nephews and nieces: it did not proscribe that of cousins german.⁴ The Roman law extended this prohibition

¹ Tertull. ad Uxor. ii. c. 2-9; de Monogam. c. 11. "Unde sufficimus ad enarrandam felicitatem ejus matrimonii, quod ecclesia conciliat, et confirmat oblatio, et obsignat benedictio," &c. &c.: compare Augusti, Denkwürdigkeiten, x. p. 288.

² This was a voluntary rite, superinduced by Christian manners upon the law of the realm.

³ On forbidden marriages, Gaius i. 58-62; Ulpian, v. 6; Collat. Leg. Mosaic. vi. 4-17; J. C. de Nupt. 5, 4, 1 to 5.

⁴ Plutarch, Quæst. Rom. 6; Cicero, pro Cluent. 5; Capitol. M. Antonin. The Emperors Arcadius and Honorius married their cousins. Instit. i. x. The old law (Caius, Instit. p. 27) allowed a man to marry his niece on the brother's, not on the sister's, side. The Emperor Claudius availed himself

to connections formed by affinity and by adoption. Connections formed by marriage were as sacred as those of natural kindred, and an union with an adopted brother or sister was as inflexibly forbidden as in the case of blood.

But of the few passages in the Code of Justinian which reveal the Christian legislator, that extraordinary one stands out in peculiar contrast, which extends the prohibited degrees to spiritual relationship. But the manner, almost as it were furtive, in which this prohibition is introduced, shows how it grew out of the existing state of Roman feeling. The jealous law had prohibited, besides the incestuous degrees of relationship, the union of a guardian, or the son of a guardian, with his ward.¹ But a man might marry an alumna whom he had educated as a slave, but to whom he had afterwards granted liberty.² The education as a slave implied that he had not towards her the affection of a parent. No one, however, would be so impious as to marry one whom he had brought up in his house as a daughter. On this principle it was that, whether brought up in his family or not, the sponsorship in baptism implied an affection so tender and parental as to render such a marriage unholy.

of this privilege. The Roman law, in fact, was not greatly extended by the canon law, the prohibitory degrees of which are summed up in these lines,—

*Nata, soror, neptis, matertera patris, et uxor,
Et patrui conjux, mater, privignus, noverca,
Uxorisque soror, privignus nata, nurusque,
Atque soror patris conjungi lege vetantur.*

¹ Cod. Justin. v. 6, 1 et 7.

² Cod. Justin. v. 4, 26. There were other civil prohibitions: marriage of freeman with slave (see above), with a freed man or woman, by the Julian law confined to senators and their children (Inst. 16, de Sponsal.; Justinian Cod. de Nupt. 28, 5, 4), of senators with actors (Ulpian, xiii. 1, xvi. 2) or persons of infamous occupations, &c. &c. — See Walter, p. 539.

Roman pride and rigid Christian morality would concur in some of those prohibitions which interdicted free Romans from certain degrading or disreputable marriages. There could be no marriages with slaves: children born from that concubinage were servile. The Emperor Valentinian further defined low and abject persons who might not aspire to lawful union with freemen — actresses, daughters of actresses, tavern-keepers, the daughters of tavern-keepers, procurers (*lenones*) or gladiators, or those who had kept a public shop.¹

The Roman law had gradually expanded from that exclusive patrician haughtiness which would not recognize the marriage with plebeians: it had admitted unions between all of Roman birth; but till Roman citizenship had been imparted to the whole Roman Empire, it would not acknowledge marriage with barbarians to be more than concubinage. Cleopatra was called only in scorn the wife of Antony. Berenice might not presume to be more than the mistress of Titus. The Christian world closed marriages again within still more and more jealous limits. Interdictory statutes declared marriages with Jews and heathens not only invalid but adulterous. The Councils condemned marriages with heretics in terms almost of equal rigor. The legislature was silent; though Manicheans especially, being outcasts by the law, marriages with them must have been of questionable validity.²

¹ All this, however, was in the spirit of the ancient Roman law.

² *Cod. Theodos.* iii. 7, 2, ix. 7, 5, xvi. viii. 6; *Cod. Justin.* i. 9, 6. These laws, in the time of Augustine and Jerome, were by no means unnecessary.

³ *At nunc pleræque contemnentes apostoli jussionem, junguntur gentilibus et templa Christi idolis prostituunt, nec intelligunt se corporis ejus partem esse cujus et costæ sunt.* — Hieron. In Jovin. i. 10: compare Augustine.

Yet, however lofty the theory of the Roman lawyers, as to the sanctity and perpetual obligation of marriage, it was practically annulled by the admitted right and by the inveterate usage of divorce. It was a contract which either party might dissolve, almost without alleged cause. In the older law, the wife being, like the rest of his family, the property of the husband, he might dismiss her at any time from his service. Even the law of the Twelve Tables admitted divorce. But the severer morals of the older Republic disdained to assert this privilege. The sixth century of Roman greatness is said to have begun, before the public feeling was shocked by the repudiation of a virtuous but barren wife by Spurius Carvilius Ruga.¹ But in the later Republic the frequency of divorce was at once the sign, the cause, and the consequence of the rapid depravation of morals. Paulus Æmilius discarded the beautiful Papiria with a scornful refusal to assign any reason.² Cato, Cicero, exchanged or dismissed their wives. And the wives were not behind their husbands in vindicating their equal rights. Paula Valeria repudiated her husband without cause to become the wife of Decimus Brutus.³ Augustus might endeavor by laws and by immunities to compel or allure the reluctant aristocracy of Rome to marriage; he might limit divorce by statute:⁴ but his example more

de fid. et oper. c. 19. They gradually, as heathenism expired, became less denunciatory against such marriages, but maintained and even increased their rigor against Jewish connections. — Concil. Laodic. x.; but add xxxi.; Concil. Agath. lxvii.; Concil. Arelat. xl.; Illiber. xvi. xvii.

¹ Dion. Hal. ii. 93; Val. Max. ii. 1; Aulus Gellius. iv. 3. Plutarch in Numā.

² "My shoes are new and well-made, but no one knows where they pinch me." — Plutarch. Vit. Paul. Æmil.

³ Cic. ad Fam.

⁴ See the lex Papia Poppæa.

powerfully counteracted his own laws. He compelled the husband of Livia to divorce her during a state of pregnancy, and by marrying her became the father of a doubtful offspring. Mæcenas changed his wives as he changed his dress.¹ Seneca, in his lofty Stoic morality, declares that the noble women of Rome calculated the year not by the Consuls, but by their husbands.² Juvenal, in the bitterness of his satire, might describe the husband discarding his wife for the slightest infirmity;³ Martial might point an epigram against these legal adulteries;⁴ and all these writers might dwell, and with licensed exaggeration, only, or principally, on the manners of the capital and those of the higher orders; but throughout the Roman world there can be no doubt that this dissolution of those bonds which unite the family was the corroding plague of Roman society. Christianity must have subjugated public feeling to a great extent; it must have overawed, and softened, and rendered attractive the marriage state by countless examples in every part of the Empire (like that so beautifully described by Tertullian),⁵ far more than by its monastic notions of the superior dignity of virginity, before even Constantine could venture on his prohibitory law against divorce. Marriage was absolutely annulled by three causes, retirement to a monas-

¹ "Qui uxorem millies duxit." Such is the hyperbole of Seneca, who hated, perhaps because he envied, the memory of Mæcenas. "Quotidiana repudia."—De Provid. c. 2.

² Senec. de Benef. iii. 16.

³ Conlige sarcinulas, dicet libertus, et exi;
Jam gravis es nobis, et sæpe emungeris; exi
Ocius et propera: sicco venit altera naso.

Sat. vi. 148.

⁴ "Quæ nubit toties, non nubit, adultera lege est."—vi. 7

⁵ Ad uxor. ii. c. 2.

tic life, impotence, and captivity. The period at which captivity dissolved the tie, and permitted the husband or the wife to marry again, was differently defined in successive statutes. The divorce law of Constantine limited repudiation to three causes: against the husband, if he was a homicide, a magician, a violator of tombs.¹ In either of these cases the wife recovered her dowry. If she sued for a divorce for any other cause, she forfeited her dowry, her jewels, even to the bodkin of her hair, and was sentenced to deportation into a desert island. Against the wife the three crimes were adultery, witchcraft, or acting as procuress. If the husband repudiated her for one of these causes he retained the dowry; if for any other the penalty was the forfeiture of the dowry. If he married again, the repudiated wife might enter his house and seize the dowry of the new bride. But the severity of this law was mitigated by Honorius,² its penalties abrogated by Theodosius the younger. This law, which is recited in the Code and in the *Novellæ* of Justinian, adds to the causes which justify divorce: on the part of the wife, if the husband is guilty of adultery, high treason, or forgery, sacrilege, pillage of churches, robbery or harboring robbers, cattle-driving, man-stealing, having, to the disgrace of his family, connection with loose women in the sight of his wife, attempting her life by poison or violence, or scourging her in a manner insupportable to a freewoman. On the part of the husband, besides all these, frequenting the banquets of strangers without his knowledge or consent, passing the night

¹ Cod. Theod. de repud. iii. xvi.

² Novell. xvii. de repudiis ad calc. cod. Theodos. Ritter observes that the constitutions were not annulled by this edict, only the penalties.

abroad without just cause or permission, or indulging in the Circus, the theatre, or the amphitheatre, without his leave.¹

The legislation of Justinian is obviously embarrassed with the difficulty of the question of repudiation: it reenacts, but with some hesitation, the severe statutes of Theodosius: a succession of new laws explains, restricts, or confirms the plainer language of the Code. Justinian, indeed, first extended the penalties of the laws against divorce to cases of marriage without dower: if the husband repudiated an undowered wife without just cause, he forfeited to her one fourth of his property.² But the successor of Justinian was compelled to sweep away all these provisions, and to restore the liberty of divorce by mutual consent. The Emperor, as the law declares, was beset by complaints and remonstrances, that inextinguishable hatred was implanted in families by these restrictions, that secret poisonings would become common: he resisted long, but was compelled to yield to the general clamor. The manners of Constantinople, perhaps of the Roman world, triumphed over the severer authority of the Church.

Concubinage, a kind of inferior marriage, of which the issue were natural children not bastards, Concubinage. had been, to a certain extent, legalized by Augustus. The Christian Emperors endeavored to give something of the dignity of legitimate marriage to this union, by enlarging the rights of natural children to succession; but in the East it was not abolished, as a legal union,

¹ Cod. v. xvii.; Pandects, xxiv. ii.; Novellæ, xxii. cxvii. cxxxiv. The Institutes avoid the subject.

² Cod. v. xvii. ii. To the first causes were added, endeavor to procure abortion, and indecent bathing in the public baths with men.

till the time of Leo the Philosopher; in the West it was perpetuated by the pride of the conquering races, and in some respects by the practice of the clergy themselves to a much later period.¹

That primeval constitution of Roman society, which made each family a little state, with its peculiar sacrifices and peculiar jurisdiction, of which the father was Priest and King, had long fallen into disuse. The parental power, in theory absolute, had been limited by public feeling and long desuetude. Even under the old republic, Brutus and Manlius were magistrates and generals as well as fathers; the execution of their sons was a sacrifice to Roman liberty and to Roman discipline, not an exertion of parental authority. Erixo, a Roman knight in the time of Seneca, whose son died under his chastisement, was pursued through the forum by the infuriated people.² Alexander Severus limited the parental power by law. It was well perhaps for human nature that this change had taken place before the promulgation of Christianity. It was spared those domestic martyrdoms which might have taken place in many families. For that which the divine wisdom of its founder had foreshown was inevitable. Youth, in its prospective ardor, would be more prone to accept the new religion, than age, rigidly attached to ancient and established usages. It is the constant reproach, with which the apologists of Christianity have to contend, that it nurtured filial disobedience, and taught children to revolt against the authority of parents.³ But this conflict was over long

¹ Ducange, art. *Concubina*.

² Seneca de Clement. i. 14.

³ Tertull. Apologet. c. 8; Origen contra Cels.; Hieronym. Epist. ad Lætam.

before Christianity entered into Roman legislation. The life of the child was as sacred as that of the parent; and Constantine, when he branded the murder of a son with the name of parricide, hardly advanced upon the dominant feeling. Some power remained of moderate chastisement, but even this was liable to the control of law. Disinheritance remained the only penalty which the father could arbitrarily inflict upon the son; for by degrees that absolute possession of all the property of the son which of old belonged to the father had been limited. The peculium over which full power was vested in the son was extended by Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian to all which he might acquire in military service, even to captives who became his slaves, to be disposed of by gift or will; by Constantine and later Emperors to all emoluments obtained in civil employments; by Justinian to the inheritance, in certain cases, of the mother's property.

Infanticide was thus a crime by law, but the sale and exposure of children, the most obstinate *Infanticide*. vestige of the arbitrary parental power, aggravated by the increasing misery of the times, still contended with the humane severity of the laws, and the fervent denunciations of the Christian teachers.¹ The sale of children was prohibited by law, yet prevailed to late times. The Emperor Trajan had declared that a free-born child, exposed by its parents and brought up by a stranger, did not forfeit its liberty.² The Christian Emperor first declared exposure of infants a crime;³

¹ Athenagor. Apologet. Tertullian, Apologet. 9; Lactantius, D. I. vi. 20.

² Pliny, Epist. x. 7.

³ The Cod. Justin. iv. 43, 1, confirmed the declaration of the law by Diocletian. "Liberos a parentibus neque venditionis neque donationis titulo, neque pignoris jure, aut alio quolibet modo, nec sub pretextu ignorantie

at the same time he declared the children of such poor parents as should be unable to nourish them, children of the state, to be clothed and supported by the public treasury. This vast poor law could not have been carried into effect, or was necessarily modified by new laws, providing for children thus exposed. The stranger who took up such child and maintained it, might, according to a law of Theodosius the Great, bring it up as his own son, or as his slave. The father who had exposed his child, having abandoned his paternal power, could not reclaim it; he, however, who had sold his child through poverty might redeem it by paying the same price, or replacing it by another slave. But one of Justinian's supplementary laws both shows the unrepressed frequency of the practice, and by its strong language the profound sense of its inhumanity. It was now the custom to leave the children not merely in the streets, but in the churches, in order, no doubt, to appeal to the kindness of the clergy and the more pious worshippers. If, says the law, worn-out slaves, who are exposed by their masters, obtain their freedom, how much the rather freeborn infants? But, as if aware that this was rather a penalty on the charitable person, who might undertake the care of such children (for whom it might be better to be brought up as slaves than left to perish), condign punishment is threatened, it is to be presumed the penalty for murder, against the guilty parties. It is probable, however, that the practices though not so clearly trace-

accipientes, in alium transferri posse, manifestissimi juris est." Yet in the life of Paphnutus by Jerome we read: "*Mihi est maritus qui fiscalis debitu gratiâ, suspensus est et flagellatus, ac penis omnibus cruciatus, servatur in carcere. Tres autem nobis filii fuerunt, qui pro ejusdem debiti necessitate distracti sunt.*"

able, expired but slowly in the East; in the West it still required the decrees of Councils and the edicts of sovereigns to extirpate this pertinacious crime.¹

B. Christianity made no change in the tenure or succession to property. The Christian churches succeeded to that sanctity which the ancient law ^{Law of} had attributed to the temples; as soon as they ^{property.} were consecrated they became public property, and could not be alienated to any other use. The ground itself was hallowed, and remained so even after the temple had been destroyed. This was an axiom of the heathen Papinian.² Gifts to temples were alike inalienable, nor could they be pledged; the exception in the Justinian code betrays at once the decline of the Roman power, and the silent progress of Christian humanity. They could be sold or pledged for the redemption of captives, a purpose which the old Roman law would have disdained to contemplate.³ The burial of the dead made ground holy. This consecration might be made by any private person; but a public burial-ground became, in a certain sense, public property.⁴

The great law of Constantine, which enabled the

¹ Capit. vi. c. 142; Decret. Gregor. de exposit. lib. ii. 971, 972, 973.

² Instit. ii. 1, 8. Papinian lived under the reign of Severus.

³ Property might be bequeathed in general terms for the redemption of captives. c. i. 3, 48.

⁴ Instit. ii. 1, 9. If the owner gave consent, a body might be interred in any ground, which thereby became sacred; if the owner afterwards wished to withdraw his consent, he could not: his right was lost in the sanctity of the ground. Paolo Sarpi supposes, but quotes no authority, that the churches had even before Constantine received lands by bequest, but contrary to law. They were confiscated by Diocletian. The following is a law of Diocletian and Maximian, A.D. 290: "Collegium, si nullo speciali privilegio subnixum sit, hereditatem capere non posse, dubium non est."—C 8 de hered. instit.; Sarpi Opere, iv. 71.

Christian churches to receive gifts and bequests, was but an extension or transference of the right belonging to heathen temples¹ and priesthoods, many of which were endowed with large estates.² Even during the reign of Constantine some parts of the estates of the heathen temples were made over to the Christians; but the private offerings of the faithful, by donation and by will, poured in with boundless prodigality. Already *hæridipety*, seeking inheritances, by undue means, is branded as an ecclesiastical vice by the severer teachers, and restrained by law;³ already the abuses of wealth begin to appear. The Apostolic Constitutions enact that the property of the bishop should be kept distinct from that of his see,⁴ his own he may bequeath by will to his wife, his children, or other heirs; the property of the Church is to descend sacred and inviolate. Already bishops are reproached, as too much involved in worldly affairs; Councils declare that they must be relieved from the administration of the temporal concerns of their churches; a steward or *œconomus* must be appointed in each church for this end.⁵ The sovereigns, instead of endeavoring to set bounds to this tide of wealth which was setting into the Church, to the loss of the imperial exchequer, swelled it by their own munificence, as well as by the

¹ A law in the Justinian code declares all gifts or bequests to heathen persons or places (i. e. priests and temples) null and void. — Leo. l. 11, 9.

² On the church property of the ancients see the curious passage in Apian. During the pressure of the Mithridatic war, Sylla sold as much of the property devoted to sacrifices as produced 9000 pounds of gold. — De Bello Mithrid., c. xxii.

³ Hieronymus in Nepot., Epist. xxxiv. The law of Valentinian. See page 68.

⁴ Apostol. Constit. can. 33.

⁵ Chrys. Hom. lxxxvi. in Mathæum. Concil. Antioch. Synod. Chalced can. 26.

tenor of their laws. They dared not incur the reproach at once of want of respect to the clergy, of parsimony to the poor, of stinting the magnificence of the edifices, now everywhere rising for the honor of God. These were the three acknowledged purposes to which were devoted the ecclesiastical revenues.

The legislation of Justinian confirmed all the provisions of former Christian emperors for the security and enlargement of ecclesiastical wealth. A law of Leo and Anthemius was the primary palladium of Church property. It declared every kind of property in land, in houses or rents, in movables, in peasants or slaves, absolutely inalienable even with the concurrent consent of the bishop, the steward, and all the clergy. All such sacrilegious alienations by gift, bequest, or exchange, were absolutely null and void. The steward guilty of such alienation lost his office, and was bound to make good the loss out of his own property. The notaries who drew such deeds were condemned to perpetual exile; the judges who confirmed them lost their office and forfeited all their property.¹ The lease or usufruct only could be granted under certain precise stipulations.

A law of Valentinian and Marcian empowered all widows, deaconesses, or nuns to bequeath to any

¹ "Nec si omnes cum religioso episcopo et œconomo clerici in eorum possessionum alienationem consentiant." — c. i. 2, xiv. This law, which was originally limited to the church of Constantinople, was reenacted with some slight alterations by Anastasius and by Justinian. — Constit. 7. Justinian extended this law to the whole empire, including the West. — Nov. 7. Const. ix. These two constitutions (c. i. 11, 24) gave the right of claiming bequests to the church for 100 years; this was afterwards limited to 40. — Nov. Constit. iii. 131-36. The emperor might, for the public good, receive church property in exchange, giving more valuable property. — Nov. 7.

church, chapel, body of clergy, monastery, or to the poor, the whole or any part of their property. Zeno enacted that any one who had bestowed any property on any martyr, prophet, or angel, to build a house of prayer; in case he died before the work was finished, his heirs were bound to complete it.¹ The same applied to caravansaries, hospitals, or almshouses. The bishop or his officers might exact the completion to the full.² Justinian recognizes bequests simply to Jesus Christ, which might be claimed by the principal church of the city; and bequest made to any archangel or saint, without specified place, went to the nearest church dedicated to that angel or saint.³

Founders of churches possessed the right of patronage, but the bishop might refuse an unqualified priest.⁴

All church property was declared free from baser services, and from extraordinary contributions.

Thus the Church might constantly receive and never depart from property; and thus began its immunities from public burdens. In the rapid change of masters, undergone in far the larger part of the Roman world, property of all kinds was constantly accumulating in the hands of the Church, which rarely, except through fraud or force, relaxed its grasp. The Church was the sole proprietor, whom forfeiture or confiscation could never reach; whose title was never antiquated; before whose hallowed boundaries violence stood rebuked; whom the law guarded against her own waste or prodigality; to whom it was the height of piety, almost insured salvation, to give or to bequeath, sacrilege to despoil, or to defraud; whose

¹ C. i. 2, xv.

³ Cod. i. 2, 26.

² C. i. 3, 45.

⁴ Nov. 123. Nov. Constit. 57, 2.

property if alienated was held under a perpetual curse, which either withered its harvest, or brought disaster and ruin on the wrongful possessor.

C. The penal laws of the Roman Empire, excepting in the inflexible distinction drawn between the freeman and the slave, were not immoderately severe, nor especially barbarous in the execution of punishment. In this respect Christianity introduced no great mitigation. The abolition of crucifixion as a punishment by Constantine was an act rather of religious reverence than of humanity. Another law of Constantine, if more rigorously just, sanctions the cruel iniquity, which continued for centuries of Christian legislation—the torture. No one could be executed for a capital crime, murder, magic, adultery, except after his own confession, or the unanimous confession of all persons interrogated or submitted to torture.¹

Some crimes were either made capital or more rigidly and summarily punished with death by the abhorrence of Christianity for sensual indulgences. The violation of virgins, widows, or deaconesses professing a religious life, was made a capital offence, to be summarily punished.²

The crime against nature, the deep reproach of Greek and Roman manners, was capitally punished.³

But remarkable powers had been given by former Emperors, and enlarged by Justinian, or rather, it was made a part of the episcopal function, to visit every

¹ By the Justinian code, Nov. cxxiii. c. 31, torture (*βάσανος*) and exile were the punishment of any one who insulted a bishop or presbyter in the church. The disturbance of the sacred rites was a capital offence.

² Cod. i. 3, 53.

³ Two bishops were publicly executed for this offence by Justinian.—Theophanes, p. 27.

month the state prisons, to inquire into the offences of all persons committed, and to admonish the civil authorities to proceed according to the law.¹ Private prisons were prohibited; the bishop was empowered to order all such illegal places of confinement to be broken open, and the prisoners set free.²

In certain points the bishops were the legal as well as the spiritual guardians of public morality. They had power to suppress gaming of certain prohibited kinds.³ With the presidents of the provinces they might prevent women from being forced on the stage, or from being retained against their will in that dangerous and infamous profession.⁴ If the president, in his office of purveyor for the public amusement, should be the person in fault, the bishop was to act of himself, either of his own authority or by appeal to the Emperor.

A new class of crimes, if not introduced by Christianity, became multiplied, rigorously defined, mercilessly condemned. The ancient Roman theory, that the religion of the State must be the religion of the people, which Christianity had broken to pieces by its inflexible resistance, was restored in more than its former rigor. The code of Justinian confirmed the laws of Theodosius and his successors, which declared certain heresies, Manicheism and Donatism, crimes against the State, as affecting the common welfare. The crime was punishable by confiscation of all property, and incompetency to inherit or to bequeath. Death did not secure the hidden heretic from prosecution; as in high treason, he might be convicted in his grave.

¹ Cod. i. 4, 22.

² Cod. ii. 4, 14.

³ Cod. i. 4, 22.

⁴ De Episcop. Audient. ii. 4, 33.

Not only was his testament invalid, but inheritance could not descend through him. All who harbored such heretics were liable to punishment; their slaves might desert them, and transfer themselves to an orthodox master.¹ The list of proscribed heretics gradually grew wider. The Manicheans were driven still farther away from the sympathies of mankind; by one Greek constitution they were condemned to capital punishment. Near thirty names of less detested heretics are recited in a law of Theodosius the younger, to which were added, in the time of Justinian, Nestorians, Eutychians, Apollinarians. The books of all these sects were to be burned; yet the formidable number of these heretics made, no doubt, the general execution of the laws impossible. But the Justinian code, having defined as heretics all who do not believe the Catholic faith, declares such heretics, as well as Pagans, Jews, and Samaritans, incapable of holding civil or military offices, except in the lowest ranks of the latter;² they could attain to no civic dignity which was held in honor, as that of the defenders, though such offices as were burdensome might be imposed even on Jews.³ The assemblies of all heretics were forbidden, their books were to be collected and burned, their rites, baptisms, and ordinations prohibited.⁴ Children of heretical parents might embrace orthodoxy; the males the parent could not disinherit, to the females he was bound to give an adequate dowry.⁵ The testimony of Manicheans, of

¹ Cod. de Hæret. i. 5, 11.

² There was an exception for the Goths in the service of the Empire.

³ Cod. i. ix. 5.

⁴ Cod. i. 5, 21.

⁵ Cod. i. 5, 21.

Samaritans, and Pagans could not be received; apostates to any of these sects and religions lost all their former privileges, and were liable to all penalties.¹

II. The Barbaric Laws² differed from those of the empire in this important point. The Roman jurisprudence issued entirely from the will of the Emperor.³ The ancient laws, whether of the Republic or of his imperial predecessors, received their final sanction, as comprehended within his code: the answers of the great lawyers, the accredited legal maxims, obtained their perpetuity, and became the permanent statutes of the realm through the same authority. The barbaric were national codes, framed and enacted by the King, with the advice and with the consent of the great council of his nobles, the flower and representative of the nation.⁴ They were

Barbaric
codes.

¹ Cod. i. 7.

² All the barbarian codes are in Latin, but German words are perpetually introduced for offices and usages purely Teutonic. — Wergelda, Rachinburg. See Eichhorn, *Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte*, i. p. 232. See curious extract from Lombard Law on manumission, p. 331. The collection which I have chiefly used is the latest, that of Canciani, *Leges Barbarorum*, Venice, 1781.

³ Many Christians, even of honorable birth, according to Salvian, fled from the cruel oppressions of the Roman law, no doubt the fiscal part, and took refuge among the heathen barbarians. "Inter hæc vastantur pauperes, viduæ gemunt, orphani proculcantur, in tantum ut multi eorum et non obscuris natalibus editi et liberaliter instituti ad hostes fugiunt, ne persecutionis publicæ afflictione moriantur, querentes scilicet apud barbaros Romanum humanum, quia apud Romanos barbaram inhumanitatem ferre non possunt. Et quamvis ab his, ad quos confugiunt, discrepent ritu, discrepent lingua, ipso etiam, ut ita dicam, corporum atque induviarum barbaricarum fetore dissentiant, malunt tamen in barbaris pati cultum dissimilem quam in Romanis injustitiam sævientem." — De Gub. Dei, lib. v.

⁴ "Hoc decretum est apud Regem et principes ejus, et apud cunctum populum Christianum, qui infra regnum Merovingorum consistunt." — Præf. ad Leg. Ripuar. The Salic law is that of the Gens Francorum incluta, among whose praises it is that they had subdued those Romans, who burned or slew the martyrs, while the Franks adorn their relics with gold and precious stones. — Præf. ad Leg. Salic.

the laws of the people as well as of the King. As by degrees the bishops became nobles, as they were summoned or took their place in the great council, their influence becomes more distinct and manifest: they are joint legislators with the King and the nobles, and their superior intelligence,¹ as the only lettered class, gives them great opportunity of modifying, in the interest of religion or in their own, the statutes of the rising kingdoms. This, however, was of a later period. The earliest of these codes, the Edict of Theodoric, is so entirely Roman, that it can scarcely be called barbaric jurisprudence. It is Roman in its general provisions, in its language, in its penalties; it is Roman in the supreme and imperial power of legislation assumed by the King: there is, in fact, no Ostrogothic code. The silence as to ecclesiastical matters in the edicts of Theodoric and Athalaric arises from the peculiar position of Theodoric, an Arian sovereign in the midst of Catholicism dominant in Rome and throughout Italy.² But there is a singular illustration of the theory of ecclesiastical power, as vested in the temporal sovereign. The Arian Athalaric, the son of Theodoric, at the request of the Pope himself, issues a strong edict against simony, which by his command is affixed, with a decree of the Senate to the same effect, before the porch of St. Peter's. The

*Laws of
Theodoric
and Atha-
laric.*

¹ The first instance of this is in the preface to the code of Alaric. "Utilitates populi nostri propitiâ divinitate tractantes, hoc quoque quod in legibus videbatur iniquum meliori deliberatione corrigimus, ut omnis legum Romanarum et antiqui juris obscuritas, adhibitis sacerdotibus et nobilibus viris, in lucem *intelligentiâ melioris* deducta resplendeat."

² There are some provisions favorable to the church borrowed from the Roman law. The church inherited all the property of clergy dying intestate. — xxvii.: apud Canciani, i. p. 15

points in which the Ostrogothic edict departs from the Roman law are : I. The stronger difference drawn between the crimes of the nobles and of the inferior classes. Already the Teutonic principle of estimating all crimes at a certain pecuniary amount, according to the social rank of the injured person, the *wehrgelt*, is beginning to appear, as well as its consequence, that he who could not pay by money must pay by his life.¹ False witness is punished with death in the poor, by a fine in the rich ; the incendiary is burned alive if a slave or serf,² if free he has only to replace the amount of damage ; should he be insolvent, he is condemned to beating and exile. Wizards, if of honorable birth, were punished with exile ; if of humbler descent, with death ; while a freeborn adulteress was sentenced to death, in a vile and vulgar woman the crime was venial.³ In seduction, the seducer was obliged to marry the woman ; if married, to endow her with a third of his estate ; if ignoble, he suffered death.⁴ II. The edict, in the severity of its punishments, exceeds the Roman law, especially, as might be expected among the Goths, in all crimes relating to the violation of chastity. Capital punishments were multiplied, and capital punishments almost unknown to the Roman law. The author of sedition in the city or the camp was to be burned alive.⁵ The male adulterer was to be burned, the female capitally punished.⁶ Death was enacted against pagans, soothsayers, lowborn wizards ; against destroyers of tombs, against kidnappers of freemen, against forgery, against the judge who sentenced contrary to law ;⁷ against

¹ xc. 1.² cxii.³ xcvi. colonus.⁴ lxi.⁵ lxi.⁷ li.⁶ lix.

robbery of churches, or forcibly dragging persons thence, death.¹

Not only were adulterers capitally punished, but whoever lent his house for the perpetration of the crime, or persuaded the woman to its perpetration.² Rape of a free-woman or virgin was death, which extended to all who were aiding or abetting. Parents neglecting to prosecute for rape on a girl under age were condemned to exile. The consenting female suffered death.³

The law of divorce, however, remained Roman: it admitted the same causes, and was limited by the same restrictions.⁴ The Edict of Athalaric against concubinage reduced the children of the freeborn concubine to slavery. The slave concubine was in the power of the matron, who might inflict any punishment short of bloodshed. Polygamy was expressly forbidden.⁵

The Lombard laws are issued by King Rotharis,⁶ with the advice of his nobles.⁷ The Burgundian, in their whole character, are intermediate between the Roman and Barbaric jurisprudence. The bishops first appear as co-legislators among the Visigoths. Already in France Alaric the Visigoth adopts the abridgment of the Roman law, by the ^{clergy co-}advice of his priests as well as of his nobles.⁸ But it is

¹ cxxv.

² xxxix. So also the Lombard Law, ccxii. A man might defend himself from a charge of adultery by an oath or by his champion. — ccxiv.

³ xvii. xviii.

⁴ liv.

⁵ vii. vi.

⁶ The laws of Rotharis were written seventy-six years after the invasion of Italy by the Lombards. The Lombards, it must be remembered, were still Arians. The church, therefore, is not co-legislative with the nobles.

⁷ "Cum primatibus meis iudicibus." — *Prefat. in Canciani*, vol. i.

⁸ "Adhibitibus sacerdotibus ac nobilibus viris;" compare *Canciani*, in

in Spain, after the Visigoths had cast off their Arianism, that the bishops more manifestly influence the whole character of the legislation. The synods of Toledo were not merely national councils, but parliaments of the realm.¹ After the ecclesiastical affairs had been transacted, the bishops and nobles met together, and with the royal sanction enacted laws.² The people gave their assent. The King himself is subject to the Visigothic law. The unlawful usurper of the Crown is subject to ecclesiastical as well as to civil penalties, to excommunication as well as to death. Even ecclesiastics consenting to such treason are to be involved in the interdict. These ecclesiastical lawgivers, while they arm themselves with great powers for the public good, claim no immunity. Bishops are liable to fines for disregard of judges' orders.³ The clergy are amenable to the same penalty for contumacy as the laity.⁴ But great powers are given to the bishops to restrain unjust judges, even the counts.⁵ The terrible laws against heresy, and the atrocious juridical persecutions of the Jews, already designate Spain as the throne and centre of merciless bigotry.

The Salic law proclaims itself that of the noble na-

Præfat. p. xiii. Eichhorn, not reckoning the Edict of Theodoric, arranges the codes thus: I. *Lex Visigothica*—the origin of the *Fuero Juzgo*—which, however, has many late additions. II. *Lex Salica*. III. The *Burgundian*. IV. *Ripuarica*, *Alemannica*, *Bavarica*. These betray higher kingly power.

¹ Canciani, iv. p. 52.

² *Leges Visigoth.* ii. 1, 6.

³ ii. 1, 18, *ibid.*

⁴ ii. 1. 29, 30.

⁵ In the Visigothic code the observance of the Sunday and of holydays is appointed by law. The holydays were fifteen at Easter, seven before, seven after. The Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Pentecost, Ascension, and certain days at harvest and vintage time.

tion of the Franks, lately converted to the *Salic law*. Catholic faith, and even while yet barbarians untainted with heresy. In a later sentence it boasts that it has enshrined in gold and precious stones the relics of those martyrs whom the Romans burned with fire, slew with the sword, or cast to the wild beasts.¹ But it is the law of the King and the nobles: the bishops are not named, perhaps because as yet the higher clergy were still of Roman descent.

Still, however the Teutonic kings and Teutonic legislators at first perhaps in their character of conquerors, assumed supreme dominion over the Church as well as over the State, and the subject bishops bowed before the irresistible authority. St. Remigius violated a canon of the Church on the ordination of a presbyter at the command of Clovis.² Among the successors of Clovis no bishop was appointed without the sanction of the Crown.³ Theodoric, son of Clovis, commanded the elevation of St. Nicetius to the see of Treves.⁴ The royal power was shown in the shameless sale of bishoprics.⁵ The nomination or the assent of the clergy and the people was implied in the theory of the election, but often overborne by the awe of the royal authority.⁶ The Council of Orleans, which condemned

¹ Apud Canciani, vol. ii. see p. 370.

² "Scribitis canonicum non fuisse quod jussit. . . . Præsul regionum, custos patriæ, gentium triumphator illud injunxit." — Epist. S. Remigii: Bouquet iv. p. 52.

³ Planck, ii. 114. A.D. 529.

⁴ "Eum ad episcopatum jussit accersiri." — Gr. Tur.

⁵ "Jam tunc germen illud iniquum coeperat fructificare, ut sacerdotium aut venderetur a regibus, aut compararetur a clericis." — Greg. Tur. Vit. Patr. vi. 3.

⁶ "Ut nulli episcopatum præmiis aut comparatione liceat adipisci: sed cum *vobilitate regis* juxta electionem cleri ac plebis," &c. A.D. 549. Concil. Can. 10

the sale of bishoprics, fully acknowledged the supremacy of the royal will. A few years later a Council at Paris endeavored to throw off the yoke. It declared the election to be in the clergy and the people. It disclaimed the royal mandate, and condemned the bishop who should dare to obtain ordination through the King to be excluded from the fellowship of the bishops of the province.¹ But the fierce Frankish sovereigns, while they appeared to accede to these pretensions, trampled them under foot. The right seems to follow them in their career of conquest. Dalmatius, Bishop of Rhodéz, in his last will, besought the King, under the most terrible adjurations, not to grant his office to a foreigner, a covetous person, or a married man.² In 562 a synod, held under Leontius, Archbishop of Bordeaux, deposed the Bishop Emerius, as consecrated by a decree of King Chlotaire without his sanction. When the new Bishop Herculius presented himself at Paris, "What!" exclaimed King Charibert, "do men think that there is no son of Chlotaire to maintain his father's decrees, that ye dare to degrade a bishop appointed by his will?" He ordered the rash intruder to be thrown into a cart strewn with thorns, and so sent into banishment; the Bishop Emerius to be reinstated by holy men.³ He fined the synod. The royal

¹ "Nullus civibus invitis ordinetur episcopus, nisi quem populi et clericorum electio plenissimâ quæsierit voluntate. *Non principis imperio*, neque per quamlibet conditionem, contra metropolis voluntatem vel episcoporum provincialium ingeratur. Quod si *per ordinationem regiam* honoris istius culmen pervadere aliquis nimîâ temeritate præsumperit, a comprovincialibus loci ipsius episcopus recipi nullatenus mereatur, quem indebitè ordinatum agnoscunt." — Can. viii.

² Gregor. Tur. v. 47.

³ Gregor. Tur. iv. 26. Loëbel observes that Gregory, from his expression, "Et sic principis ultus est injuriam," thought the king in the right.

prerogative was perpetually asserted down at least to the time of Charlemagne.¹

In the Gothic kingdom of Spain, so long as it was Arian, the kings interfered not in the appointment of bishops. Their orthodox successors left, it should seem, affairs to take their own course.² But towards the close of the seventh century the Council of Toledo acknowledged the King as invested with the right of electing bishops.³ Ecclesiastical synods were only held by royal permission. Their decrees required the royal sanction.⁴ This theory may be traced through the numerous synods for ecclesiastical purposes in Gaul, between the conquest and the close of the sixth century.⁵ In Spain the custom appears distinctly recognized even under Arian kings.⁶

As under the Roman law no one could elude civil office by retreating into holy orders. No decurion could be ordained without special permission. No free-man could be ordained in the Barbaric kingdoms with-

¹ See instances in Loëbel. King Guntran, in 584, rejected (it seemed an extraordinary case) gifts for episcopal appointments. "Non est principatus nostri consuetudo sacerdotium venundare sub pretio, sed nec vestrum cum premiis comparare: ne et nos turpis lucri infamiâ notemur, et vos mago Simoni comparemini." — Greg. Tur. vi. 39.

² Pope Hilarius laid before a synod at Rome a letter of the Tarragonian bishops complaining that in the other provinces of Spain episcopal elections had ceased. The bishop nominated his successor in his testament. — Baron. sub ann. 466.

³ "Quod regis potestatis sit episcopos eligere."

⁴ Planck, ch. ii. p. 125; from 511 to 590, were held twenty-one Gallic synods: most of them have permission "gloriosissimi regis," or some such phrase.

⁵ Planck, note, page 130.

⁶ King Theudes, in 531, permits the orthodox bishops "in Toledanam urbem convenire, et quæcunque ad ecclesiasticam disciplinam pertinerent dicere, licenterque dicere." — Isid. in Chron. ad A.D. 531.

out the consent of the king, because thereby the king lost his military service.¹

Below the sovereign power the people maintained the right of the joint election of bishops with the clergy. This old Christian usage would fall in with the Teutonic habits. As the Teutons raised their king upon the buckler, and proclaimed him with the assent of the freemen of the tribe, so the acclamation of the people ratified or anticipated the nomination of the bishop.²

The clergy enjoyed no immunity from the laws of the land.³ In criminal cases two successive Councils, at Macon and at Poitiers,⁴ acknowledged that for all criminal offences, as homicide, robbery, witchcraft, to which the latter adds adultery, they were amenable to the civil jurisdiction.⁵ At a later period the presence of the bishop was declared necessary.⁶ If indeed the awe of the clergy might repress, or the obstinate claim to immunity embarrass, the ordinary judge, the royal authority was neither limited by fear nor scruple.⁷ Nu-

¹ Conc. Aurelian. A.D. 511, can. 6. confirmed by a capitulary, A.D. 805. I. c. 114. — Marculf i. 19. — *Præceptum de Clericatu*. — Planck, 159.

² For the usage under the Roman dominion in Gaul, from the earliest period to the fifth century, see Raynouard, *Histoire du Droit Municipal en France*, i. ch. xxvi. It continued to the twelfth century.

³ The appeal of the clergy to the civil courts for the redress of ecclesiastical grievances was strictly forbidden. — Concil. Tolet. iii. 13. Conc. Paris. A.D. 589. c. 13. Council under St. Recared, enacted, "*Ne amplius liceat clericis conclericos suos relicto Pontifice ad judicia secularia pertrahere.*" — A.D. 589. c. 13.

⁴ Concil. Matiscon. A.D. 581. Concil. Pictav.

⁵ According to Gregory of Tours, Count Leudastes of Tours had, almost every day, when he sat in justice, priests brought before him in chains. — Lib. v. c. 49.

⁶ Capit. i. 23.

⁷ At the end of the sixth century, the civil authorities in Spain took upon them to enforce clerical continence. They visited the houses of the clergy, and took out all suspicious females. With the consent of the bishops,

merous instances occur of bishops treated with the most cruel indignity by the fierce Frankish sovereigns for real or imputed crimes.¹ At times indeed they submitted to the tardier process of a previous condemnation by an ecclesiastical synod. Prætextatus, Bishop of Rouen, was accused by King Chilperic as an accomplice in the rebellion of his son, before a synod in Paris. Prætextatus was in danger of being dragged from the church and stoned by the Franks. The bishops were prepared to utter the ban. But his defence was undertaken by the historian, Gregory of Tours. Neither fear nor bribery could deter the intrepid advocate from maintaining the innocence of the bishop.² When the King could not obtain his condemnation,³ either the tearing his holy vesture, or the imprecation of the 108th Psalm against him, or even his exclusion from Christian communion, Prætextatus was suddenly hurried away to prison; on his attempt to escape, grievously beaten and sent into exile.⁴ This transaction, notwithstanding its melancholy close, shows some growing respect for ecclesiastical tribunals in cases even of high treason. The Spanish kings threaten bishops with royal as well as ecclesiastical censure.⁵

There were appeals from ecclesiastical synods to the Crown; in some cases the royal authority interposed

who seem to have approved of this procedure, they might seize the women as slaves. — Concil. Hispal. 3.

¹ Greg. Tur. vi. 24.

² "Ducentas argenti libras promisit, si Prætextatus, me impugnante opprimeretur."

³ Gregory himself admits the supremacy of the king over the clergy. "Si quis de nobis, o rex, justitiam tramitem transcendere voluerit a te corrigi potest; si vero tu excesseris, quis te corripiet?"

⁴ Greg. Tur. v. 18.

⁵ Planck, ii. 188.

to mitigate or to relieve from ecclesiastical penalties.¹

But there is a strong converse to this subjection of the Church to the power of the King or the nobility. Already in the sixth and seventh centuries, the bishops appear in all the great assemblies of the people.² They have a voice in the election of the King; before long, his coronation becomes a religious ceremony. It was not, according to one theory, that they succeeded the Druids of Gaul and the Teutonic priests in their dignity (the Druids and their religion had long ceased to maintain any influence, the German priests do not appear to have formed a part of the great warlike migrations of the tribes), nor that the bishops claimed the privilege of all free Franks to give their suffrage in the popular assembly. There were few of these regular parliaments; they were rather great councils summoned by the king. The position of the Bishops, their influence with the people, their rank in public estimation, their superior intelligence, designated them as useful members of such council. The later Gothic kings of Spain felt even more awe of the clergy: they had been rescued by their zeal, not merely from the terrible retribution which awaited heathenism, but from that of heresy. Their conversion to orthodoxy showed the power which the Latin clergy had obtained over their minds; and they would hasten to lay the

¹ See the curious Hist. of the Royal nuns (Greg. Tur. x. 20), and the excommunication of Archbishop Sisibert of Toledo: "Ut in fine vite tantum communionem accipiat, excepto, si regia pietas antea eum absolvendum crediderit." — A.D. 698. Planck, p. 194.

² According to Eichhorn, the first manifest "Concilium mixtum" was in A.D. 615. From this emanated the constitutions of Chlotaire II. which recognized the temporal powers of the hierarchy. — i. p. 520.

first fruits of their gratitude, submission, and reverence, at the feet of the clergy. Nor were the affairs discussed at these great councils strictly defined. There was no distinct line between civil and religious matters. This distinction belongs to a later period of civilization. The clergy were not unwilling to obtain the royal or the national assent to their spiritual decrees. The king naturally desired the intelligence, the love of order, the authority, the influence of the clergy, to ratify his civil edicts. The reciprocal rights of each party had been as yet too little contested to awaken that sensitive jealousy of interference which grew up out of centuries of mutual aggression.

But if in the great public assemblies the bishops had already taken this rank, each in his city held an authority partly recognized by law, partly resting on the general awe and reverence.¹ As in the East, the bishop had a general superintendence over the courts of law. He had, if not always the presidential, a seat in the judicial tribunal.² He was, if not by statute, by universal recognition, what the defensor had been in the old municipal system, only with all the increased influence of his religious character. To him the injured party could appeal in default of justice. He was the patron, the advocate of the poor. He had power to punish subordinate judges for injustice in the absence of the king. In Spain the Bishops had a special charge to keep continual watch over the administration of justice,³

¹ So King Chlotaire ordained. — Greg. Tur. vi. §1.

² On the residence of the bishops in the cities, its effect on the great increase in the power of the bishop, and on the freedom of the cities, compare Thierry. — *Récits. Mérovingiens*, i. 266.

³ "Ex decreto domini regis — simul cum sacerdotali concilio convenient ut discant quam piè et justè cum populis agere debeant." — *Concil. Tolet.* iii. §3.

and were summoned on all great occasions to instruct the judges to act with piety and justice.¹

Thus the clergy stood between the two hostile races in the new constitution of society — the reconcilers, the pacifiers, the harmonizers of the hostile elements. They were Latin in general in descent, in language, yet comprehending both races under their authority and influence; admitted to the councils of the Kings, and equal to the count or the noble in estimation; controlling one race by awe, looked up to by the other as their natural protectors; opposing brute force by moral and religious influences; supplying the impotency of the barbaric law to restrain oppression and iniquity (where every injury or crime had its commutative fine) by the dread of the religious interdict and the fears of hell; stooping unconsciously to the superstition of the times, but ruling more powerfully through that superstition. They were the guardians and protectors of the conquered, of the servile classes, whose condition was growing worse and worse, against the privileged freemen; enduring, mitigating, when they could not control, the wild crimes of the different petty kings, who were constantly severing into fragments the great Frankish monarchy, and warring, intriguing, assassinating for each fragment. The Bishops during all that period, in Spain, in France, in Italy — making every allowance for the legendary and almost adoring tone in which their histories have descended to us — appear as the sole representatives of law, order, and

¹ "Sint prospectores episcopi qualiter iudices cum populis agent, ut ipsos præmonitos corrigant, aut insolentiam eorum principum auribus innotescant. Quod si correptos emendare nequiverint, et ab ecclesiâ et a communione suspendant." — *Ibid.*: compare *Leg. Visigoth.* ii. 1, 29, 30; *Synod. Tolet A.D. 633*, can. 32.

justice, as well as of Christian virtue and humanity. There is even a cessation of religious persecution, except against the Jews. After the extinction of Arianism, the human mind had sunk into such inactivity and barrenness that it did not even produce a new heresy. Except the peculiar opinions of Felix and Elipandus, and those of Adelbert and Clement in Gaul, down to the time when the monk Gotschalk started the question of predestination, the West slumbered in unreasoning orthodoxy.

A. The Barbaric codes, like the Roman, recognized slavery as an ordinary condition of mankind.¹ Man was still a marketable commodity. The captive in war became a slave; and it was happy for mankind that he became so, otherwise the wars which swept over the whole world, civilized and uncivilized, must have been wars of massacre and extermination. The victory of Stilicho over Rhadagaisus threw 200,000 Goths or other Germans into the market, and lowered the price of a slave from twenty-five pieces of gold to one.² The well-known story of the Anglo-Saxon youths who excited the compassion of Pope Gregory I. shows that in his time the public sale of slaves was still common in Rome. The redemption of captives — that is the repurchase of slaves in order to restore them to freedom — is esteemed an act of piety in the West as in the East. The first prohibition of this traffic, both by law and by public sentiment, was confined to the sale

Rights of
persons
under Bar-
baric codes.

¹ The church lived according to the Roman law: "*Legem Romanam quæ ecclesia vivit.*" — Eichhorn, i. 297. In the Ripuarian law the wehrgeld of the clergyman was at first according to his birth, "*Servus ut servum;*" afterwards according to his ecclesiastical rank. — *Ibid.*

² Orosius, vii. 37.

of Christians to pagans, Jews, and in some cases to heretics. The Jews were the great slave-merchants of the age.¹ But it was the religion rather than the personal freedom which was taken under the protection of the law. The capture and sale of men was part of the piratical system along all the shores of Europe, especially on the northern coasts. The sale of pagan prisoners of war was authorized by Clovis after the defeat of the Alemanni; by Charlemagne after that of the Saxons; by Henry the Fowler, as to that unhappy race which gave their name to the class — the Slaves.²

The barbarian codes seem to acknowledge the legality of marriages between slaves, and their religious sanctity; that of the Lombards on the authority of the Scriptural sentence, "Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." All unlawful connection with married or unmarried slaves is forbidden.³ The slave who detected his wife in adultery might, like the freeman, kill the two criminals.⁴ Still, however, they were slaves. The law interfered to prohibit marriages between the slaves of different masters. If the marriage took place without the consent of the master, the slave was punishable, by the Salic law, either by a mulct of threepence, or was to receive a hundred stripes. The later laws became more lenient, and divided the offspring between the two masters.

The barbarian codes were as severe as the Roman in prohibiting the debasing alliance of the freeman with

¹ Hist. of Jews, iii.

² Compare Biot, p. 185, *De l'Abolition de l'Esclavage ancien en Occident* Paris, 1840.

³ Lex Salic. tit. xxviii.

⁴ Lex Salic. xxviii. 5.

the slave. The Salic and Ripuarian law ^{Marriage of freemen and slaves.} condemned the freeman guilty of this degradation to slavery;¹ where the union was between a free-woman and a slave, that of the Lombards² and that of the Burgundians³ condemned both parties to death; but if her parents refused to put her to death, she became the slave of the crown. The Ripuarian law condemned the female delinquent to slavery; but the woman had the alternative of killing her base-born husband. She was offered a distaff and a sword. If she chose the distaff, she became a slave; if the sword, she struck it to the heart of her paramour, and emancipated herself from her degrading connection.⁴ The Visigothic law condemned the female who had connection with or wished to marry her own slave, or even a freedman, to death.⁵ For the same offence with the slave of another, both were punished with a hundred stripes. For the fourth offence the woman became the handmaid of the slave's master. The Saxon law still more sternly interdicted all marriages below the proper rank, whether of nobles, free men, or slaves, under pain of death. The laws of the Lombards and of the Alemanni were more mild. The latter allowed the female to separate from her slave husband on certain conditions, if she had not degraded herself by any servile occupation.⁶

¹ Lex Sal. xxix. v. 3: Lex Ripuar. lviii. 9.

² ccxxii.

³ Tit. xxxv. 2.

⁴ Lex Ripuar. lviii. 18.

⁵ Lex Visigoth. iii. ii. 2.

⁶ Adam. Brem., Hist. Eccles. i. 5. By the Bavarian law, a slave committing fornication with a free-woman was to be given up, to be put to death if they pleased, to the parents, and not to pay any mulct: "quia talis presumptio excitat inimicitias in populo." — ii. ix.

Under the barbarian as under the Roman law, the slave was protected chiefly as the property of his master. All injury or damage was done to the thing rather than the person, and was to be paid for by a mulct to the owner, not a compensation to the sufferer.¹ By the edict of Theodoric, he who killed the slave of another might be prosecuted for homicide, or sued by a civil process for the delivery of two slaves in place of the one killed.² But slaves bore the penalty of their own offences, and even of those of their masters. If guilty of acts of violence, though under their masters' orders, they suffered death.³ The slave was not to be tortured, except to prove the guilt of his master, unless the informer would pay the master his value. If bought in order to suppress his evidence, he might be repurchased at the same price, and put to the torture.⁴ The right of life and death still subsisted in the master. According to some of the barbaric codes, here retrograding from the Roman, he had full power to make away with his own property. This usage, noticed by Tacitus as common to the German tribes, continued to

¹ In the Burgundian law, the murder of a slave is only punished by a fine, according to his value.* The humaner Visigothic code distinctly prohibited the murder of a slave. The punishment was fine and infamy. Another law recognized the image of God in the slave, and therefore interdicted his mutilation.

² The Burgundian law shows that the artisans in the mingled Roman and barbarian society were chiefly slaves. "Quicumque vero servum suum aurificem, argentarium, ferrarium, fabrum serarium, sartorem vel sutorem, in publico attributum artificium exercere permiserit," &c. — Tit. xxi.

³ Art. lxxvii.

⁴ Art. c. ci. By the Bavarian law, if a slave was unjustly put to the torture, the false accuser of the slave was to give another slave to the master. If the slave died under torture, two.†

* Tit. x.; *Leges Visigoth.* vi. v. 12; *Law of Egica*, vi. v. 12.

† Tit. viii. 12, 1, 2: compare Burgundian law, Tit. vii.

the Capitularies of Charlemagne. That code adopts the Mosaic provisions.¹ Under Lewis the Debonnaire and Lothaire, the arbitrary murder of a slave was punished by excommunication or two years' penance.²

The runaway slave was the outcast of society. At first he was denied the privilege of asylum.³ It was a crime to conceal him; he might be seized anywhere; punished by his master according to his will; and according to some codes he might be slain in case of resistance. The influence of the Church appears in some singular and contradictory provisions.⁴ The Churches themselves were slaveholders.⁵ There were special provisions to protect their slaves. By the law of the Alemanni, whoever concealed an ecclesiastic's slave was condemned to a triple fine.⁶ In the Bavarian law, whoever incited the slave of a church or a monastery to flight, must pay a mulct of fifteen solidi, and restore the slave or replace him by another. The Church gradually claimed the right of asylum for fugitive slaves. The slave who had taken refuge at the altar was to be restored to his master only on his promise of remitting the punishment.⁷

As under the Roman law, peculiar solemnity attached to the emancipation of the slave in the church

¹ Exod. xxi. 20, 21.

² Dachery, *Spicileg. Addit. ad Cap. c. 49*; Biot, p. 286

³ Edict. Theodor. lxx.; Leg. Longobard. cclxxxii.

⁴ *Lex Salica*; *Lex Ripuar.* xiv.

⁵ "Non v' era anticamente Signor Secolare, Vescovo, Abbate, Capitolo di Canonici, e Monastero, che non avesse al suo servizio molti servi." *Manumission* was more rare among the clergy than among secular masters because it was an alienation of the property of the church. — Muratori, *Ant. Italiane*, Diss. xv.

⁶ *Lex Alemann.* 3.

⁷ Concil. Aurelian.: compare the Visigothic law, ix. 1, de fugitivis.

and before the priest; and emancipation thus became an act of piety. So in some of the Teutonic codes¹, as in the Visigothic, emancipation before the parish priest was an ordinary act recognized by the law. It was a common form that it was done by the pious man for the remedy or the ransom of his soul.¹

Easter was usually the appointed time for this public manumission in the churches; and no doubt the glad influences of that holy season awoke the disposition and the emulation, in many Christian minds, of conferring the blessing of freedom upon their slaves.

Gregory the Great seems to have been the first who enfranchised slaves on the pure and noble principle of the common equality of mankind.

But the great change in the condition of the servile order arose chiefly from other causes, besides the influence of Christianity. This benign influence operated no doubt in these indirect ways to a great extent, first on the mitigation, afterwards on the abolition of domestic slavery; but it was perhaps the multiplication of slaves which to a certain extent slowly wrought its own remedy. The new relations of the different races consequent on the barbaric conquests, the habits of the Teutonic tribes settled within the Empire, the attachment of the rural or prædial slave to the soil, the change of the slave into the serf, which became universal in Europe, tended in different ways to the general though tardy emancipation. The serf was immovable as the soil: he became as it were part of it,

¹ *Leges Visigoth. v. vii.*: compare note of Canciani, and the 15th Dissertation of Muratori. This began early both in East and West. "*Servum tuum manumittendum manu ducis in ecclesiam. Fit silentium. Libellus tunc recitatur, aut fit desiderii tui prosecutio.*"—*S. August. Serm. xxxi.* It was done *pro remedio*, or *pro mercede animæ suæ*.

and so in some degree beyond the caprice or despotism of his master. Already under the Empire, the system of taxation had affixed the peasant to the soil: the owner paid according to the number of heads of slaves, as he might of cattle. Whether the cultivators were originally born on the estate ascribed to them, or settled upon it, they were equally irremovable. No one could sell his estate, and transfer the slaves to another property. The estates of the Church were no doubt, as they yet enjoyed no immunity of taxation, subject to the same laws. It may be generally said that the whole cultivation of the Roman empire was conducted, if not by slaves, by those whose condition did not really differ from slavery. The emancipation began at a period in the Christian history, centuries later than that at which we are arrived at present.¹

The barbaric codes, as well as the edict of Theodoric,² retained the high Teutonic reverence for the sanctity of marriage. In the Burgundian law, adultery was punishable by death.³ In all cases it rendered the woman infamous. A widow guilty of incontinency could not marry again—at least could not receive dower. In the Visigothic code the adulteress and her paramour were given up to the injured husband, to be punished according to his will: he might put them to death.⁴ The law of divorce under the Burgundian law

¹ Tit. xl.-xlviii.: compare the Justinian code "*De agricolis et censitis et colonis.*" Law of Constantius, i.—Law of Valentinian and Valens. "*Omnes omnino fugitivos adscriptitios, colonos vel inquilinos, sine ullo sexus, muneris conditionisque discrimine ad antiquos penates, ubi censiti atque educati natiq[ue] sunt, provinciis presidentes redire compellant.*" On the change of the slave into the serf in the Carlovingian times, compare Lahuërou, *Institutions Carlovingiennes*, page 204 *et seq.*

² See above.

³ Tit. lxviii. and lii.

⁴ *Leges Visigoth.* iii. iv. 14 *et seq.*

was Roman, excepting that the woman who divorced her husband without cause, according to an old German usage as to infamous persons, was smothered in mud.¹ Among the Visigoths, divorce was forbidden, excepting for adultery. Incest, by the Visigothic law, was extended to the sixth degree of relationship. Rape was punished by confiscation of property, or failing that, by reduction to slavery.² This code contained a severe statute against public prostitutes, rendering them liable to whipping. Incontinence in priests was corrected by penance; the woman was to be whipped. The former statute was in that stern tone towards unchastity which in the Goths Salvian contrasts with the impurity of Roman manners.³ The later laws seem gradually to soften off into mulcts or compositions for these as for other crimes.

But among the yet un-Romanized Saxons, down to the days of St. Boniface, the maiden who has dishonoured her father's house, or the adulteress, is compelled to hang herself, is burned, and her paramour hung over the blazing pile;⁴ or she is scourged or cut to pieces with knives by all the women of the village till she is dead.

¹ *Necetur in luto*, xxxiv. 1. "Ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames cœno ac palude injectâ super crate, mergunt." — Tacit. Germ. c. xii.

² Tit. iii. vi. Unnatural crimes were punished by castration. By the Bavarian law, whoever took away a nun to marry her committed adultery.

"Scimus illum crimini obnoxium esse qui alienam sponsam rapit, quanto magis ille obnoxius est crimini qui Christi usurpavit sponsam." — xii. 1.

³ iii. iv. 17. "Esse inter Gothos non licet scortatorem Gothum, soli inter eos præjudicio nationis ac nominis permittuntur impuri esse Romani." — Salvian. de Gub. Dei. vii. Lahuërou, however, observes: "Voyez quelle énorme disproportion la loi met entre les obligations et les devoirs des deux époux! Le mari peut être infidèle autant de fois et à tel degré qu'il le voudra, sans que la femme ait le droit de s'en plaindre." The German woman was in fact, though in a less degree than the Roman, the property of her husband. — Lahuërou, *Institutions Carolingiennes*, p. 38.

⁴ A.D. 743. Bonifac. Epist. ad Ethelbal. Reg. Mercie.

B. In the barbaric as in the Roman code, the law of property might seem enacted with the special view of securing to the Church wealth which could not but be constantly accumulating, ^{Law of property.} and could never diminish. Every freeman might leave his property to the Church. No duke or count had a right to interfere. The heir who ventured to reclaim such dedicated property was liable to the judgment of God and to excommunication, recognized in more than one code.¹ The freeman might retain to himself and so enjoy the usufruct during his own life, and leave his heirs beggars. The proofs of such donations were all to the advantage of the Church. The barbaric codes left the clergy to secure the inalienability of their property by their own laws. At first, and until the bishop began to be merged in the temporal feudatory, it was comparatively safe in its own sanctity. In the division of the conquered lands by the barbarians, the Church estates remained sacred. The new converts could not show their sincerity better than by their prodigality to the Church. Clovis and his first successors, ignorant of the value of their new acquisitions, awarded large tracts of land with a word. St. Remigius received a great number of lands to be distributed among the destitute churches. Their successors complained of this thoughtless prodigality. Already they had discovered that the royal revenues had been transferred to the Church.² The whole Teutonic law, which appointed certain compensations for certain crimes, would have suggested, had suggestion been nec-

¹ *Lex Alemann. et Lex Burgund., in initio.*

² "Ecce, aiebat Rex, pauper remansit fiscus noster, et divitiæ nostræ ad ecclesias sunt translate." — Greg. Tur. vi. 46.

essary, the commutation system of the Church. God, like the freeman or the King, might be propitiated by the wehrgeld; the penance of the Christian be compensated by a pecuniary mulct. Already Queen Fredegunde satisfies the conscience of two hesitating murderers whom she would employ to assassinate her brother-in-law, King Sigebert, by the promise of large alms to the Church, in order to secure them from hell or purgatory.¹ So rapidly and alarmingly was the Church in France becoming rich, that King Chilperic passed a law annulling all testaments in which the Church was constituted heir; but Gunthran, not long after, repealed the sacrilegious statute, and these murderous and adulterous and barbarous kings and nobles were again enabled to die in peace, confident in the remission of their sins by the sacrifice of some portion of their plunder (the larger the offering the more secure) on the altar of God.²

But the barbarous times, which bestowed so lavishly were by no means disposed superstitiously to respect the property of the Church. It was often but late in life that the access of devotion came on, while through all the former part, either by right of conquest, by terror, or by bribery, the barbarian had not scrupled to seize back consecrated land. Even kings were obliged to ratify and solemnize their own grants by synods or by national assemblies.³ The deepening of the imprecations ut-

¹ *Gesta Francorum*. Planck, ii. 199.

² All the laws acknowledged the right of alienating some portion from the rightful heir, "pro remedio animæ," or "in remissionem peccatorum." There are legal formulæ in Marculf to this effect. Some codes, however, prohibited the absolute disinheritance of the right heir for the good of the church. Eichhorn, p. 359: compare 368 *et seq.*

³ In a synod at Valence, King Gunthran demanded the ratification of

tered by these synods against robbers of the Church shows their necessity. These lands began to be guarded by all the terrors of superstition; wild legends everywhere spread of the awful and miraculous punishments which had fallen on such offenders.¹ In a few centuries the deliverer of Europe from the Mahommedan yoke, Charles Martel, was plunged into hell, and revealed in his torments to the eyes of men, as a standing and awful witness to the inexpressible sin of sacrilege.

The property of the Church as yet enjoyed no immunity from taxation. Gradually special exemptions were granted. At length the manse of the church (a certain small farm or estate) was entirely relieved from the demands of the state. Even the claim to absolute freedom from contribution to the public expenses was of a much later period.²

C. The criminal law of the barbaric codes tended more and more to the commutation of crime or ^{Criminal law} injury for a pecuniary mulct. High treason ^{of barbarians} alone, compassing the death of the King, corresponding with the enemies of the realm, or introducing them within its frontier, was generally a capital crime. Yet in the Visigothic code the capital punishment of treason could be commuted for putting out the eyes, ^{Lex Lombard.} shaving the hair, scourging, perpetual imprisonment, ^{Lex Visigoth.} or exile, with confiscation and attainder, and in

all the gifts which he, his wife, and daughters had bestowed on the church. All plunderers of this property "anathemate perpetui iudicii divini pleotendi atque supplicii eterni obnoxii tenendi sunt." King Dagobert confirmed his legacies in a parliament, the legacies which he had bequeathed "memor malorum quas gesserit." — Planck, 203.

¹ Gregory of Tours is full of such tales.

² Planck, ii. ch. vii. King Chlotaire, in 540, demanded a third part of the revenue of the church as an extraordinary loan. — Greg. Tur. iv. 2.

this case the criminal could not make over his property to the Church.¹ Such donations were void. But of all crimes the King had power of pardon with the consent of the clergy and the great officers of his palace. The Bavarian law adds sedition in the camp to acts of treason, but even this might be forgiven by the royal mercy.² As to other crimes, except adultery and incest, it was Teutonic usage, not Christian humanity, which abrogated the punishment of death. In the Burgundian law homicide is still a capital crime; but gradually the life of every man below the King is assessed, according to his rank, at a certain value, and the wehr-geld may be received in atonement for his blood.³ Even the sacred persons of the clergy had their price, which rises in proportionate amount with their power and influence. By the Bavarian law, should any one kill a bishop lawfully chosen,⁴ a tunic of lead was to be fitted to the person of the bishop, and the commutation for his murder was as much gold as that tunic weighed: if the gold was not to be had, the same value in money, slaves, houses, or land; if the offender had none of these, he was sold into slavery. Nor was it life only which was thus valued; every wound and mutilation of each particular member of the body was carefully registered in the code, and estimated according as the man was noble, freeman, slave, or in holy orders. The slave alone was still liable to capital punishment for certain

¹ *Lex Visigoth.* vi. 1, 2.

² "Et ille homo qui hæc commisit benignum imputet regem aut ducem si ei vitam concesserit." — *Lex Bavar.* ii. iv. 3.

³ Parricide alone, by the Visigothic law, was punished by the same death as that inflicted.

⁴ "Si quis episcopum quem constituit rex, vel populus elegit." — *Lex Bavar.* xi. 1.

offences;¹ the Visigothic code condemned him to be burned.² Torture was not only, according to Roman usage, to be applied to slaves, but even to freemen in certain cases.³

The privilege of asylum within the Church is recognized in most of the barbaric codes.⁴ It is asserted in the strongest terms, and in terms impregnated with true Christian humanity, that there is no crime which may not be pardoned from the fear of God and reverence for the saints.⁵ As yet perhaps the awe of the Christian altar only arrested justice in its too hasty and vindictive march, and in these wild times gave at least a temporary respite, for the innocent victim to obtain liberty that he might plead his cause against the fierce populace or the exasperated ruler, for the man of doubtful guilt to obtain a fair trial, or for the real criminal to suffer only the legal punishment for his offence. As yet the priest could not shield the heinous criminal. By the Visigothic code he was compelled to surrender the homicide.⁶ With the ruder barbarians the sanctity of holy places came in aid of the sacerdotal authority; and in those savage times no doubt the notion that it was treason against God to force even the most flagrant criminal from his altar, protected many innocent lives, and retarded the precipitancy even of justice itself.⁷

¹ Or scourging, for theft, by the Burgundian law. — iv. 2.

² Lex Visigoth. iii. iv. 14.

³ Lex Visigoth. vi. 1, 2, ii. iv. 4.

⁴ On the subject of asylum, compare the excellent dissertation of Paolo Sarpi, *De jure Asylorum*. — Opera, iv. p. 191.

⁵ "Nulla sit culpa tanti gravis, ut non remittatur, propter timorem Dei et reverentiam sanctorum." — Lex Bavar. vii. 3. It was an axiom of the Roman law, "*Templorum cautela non nocentibus sed læsis datur a lege*." — Justin. Novell. xvii. 7.

⁶ Lex Visigoth. vi. v. 16.

⁷ See Greg. Tur. vii. 19; iv. 18.

The right was constantly infringed by violent kings or rulers, but rarely without strong remonstrance from the clergy; and terrible legends were spread abroad of the awful punishments which befell the violators of the sanctuary¹.

Already, in the earliest codes, appears the abrogation of the ordinary tribunals of justice by appeal to arms, and to the judgment of God: even the Burgundian law admits the trial by battle.²

The ordeal is a superstition of all nations and of all ages. God is summoned to bear miraculous witness in favor of the innocent, to condemn the guilty.³ The Ripuarian law admits the trial by fire,⁴ the Visigothic by red-hot iron.⁵ The Church, at a later period, took the ordeal under its especial sanction. There was a solemn ritual for the ceremony.⁶ It took place in the church. The scalding water, the red-hot iron, or the ploughshare were placed in the porch of the church

¹ Restrictions were placed on this undefined right. In a capitular of 779 — "Homicidæ et cæteri rei, qui mori debent legibus, si ad ecclesiam confugerint, non excusentur, neque eis ibidem victus detur."

² Tit. xlv.

³ Compare Calmet and Grotius on Numbers v. 31, for the instances from classical antiquity. Pliny and Solinus mention two rivers, which either by scalding or blinding, detected perjury. — H. N. xxxi, cap. xviii. 2.

Ἦμεν δ' ἐτοιμοὶ καὶ μέτρον ἀρεῶν χερσῶν,
καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεοῦ δρκωμοτεῖν,
τὸ μῆτε δρᾶσαι, μῆτε τῷ ξυνειδέναι
τὸ πρᾶγμα βουλευσάντι μὴτ' εἰργασμένῳ.
Sophocl. Antig. 284.

"Et medium freti pietate per ignem
Cultores multâ premimus vestigia prunâ."

Virg. Æneid. xi. 787.

⁴ Tit. xxx.

⁵ Lex Visigoth. vi. 1, 3. See the very curious note of Canciani, and quotation from the Constitutions of Bæca on this passage.

⁶ See the very remarkable ritual in Canciani, ii. 453.

and sprinkled with holy-water. All the most awful mysteries of religion were celebrated to give greater terror and solemnity to the rite. Invention was taxed to discover new forms of appeal to the Deity; swearing on the Gospels, on the altar, on the relics, on the host; plunging into a pool of cold water, he who swam was guilty, he who sunk innocent; they were usually held by a cord. There were ordeals by hot water, by hot iron, by walking over live coals or burning ploughshares.¹ This seems to have been the more august ceremony for queens and empresses—undergone by one of Charlemagne's wives, our own Queen Emma, the Empress Cunegunda. The ordeal went down to a more homely test, the being able to swallow consecrated bread and cheese.

The new crimes which the Christianity of these ages had introduced into the penal code of the Empire found their place in the barbaric codes. At first, indeed, they were left to the cognizance of the clergy, and to be visited by ecclesiastical penalties. The Arianism of the primitive Teutonic converts compelled the toleration of the laws, and retained a kind of dread of touching on such subjects in the earlier codes; but in proportion as the ecclesiastics became co-legislators,

¹ The ordeal was condemned in later days by many popes as tempting God: by Alexander II., Stephen X., Honorius III. Muratori thought that it was abolished in the twelfth century. Canciani quotes later instances. That of Savonarola, a real ordeal, might suffice. Even Canciani seems to look back upon it with some lingering respect: "Ego reor Deo Opt. Max. plus placuisse majorum nostrorum simplicitatem et fidem quam recentiorum sapientum acutissimam philosophiam." — Vol. ii. p. 293. Greg. Turon. de Martyr. 69, 70. All the ritualists, Martene, Mabillon, Ducange, under the different words, Muratori in two dissertations, one on the ordeal, one on duel, furnish ample citations. Almost all, however, are later than these primitive barbaric laws.

heresies became civil crimes, and liable to civil punishments.¹ The statutes of the orthodox Visigothic kings, so terrible against the Jews, were not more merciful to heretics. The Franks were from the first the army of orthodoxy; heretics were traitors to the state, as well as rebels against the Church, confederates of hostile Visigoths, or Burgundians, or Lombards.

Witchcraft was a crime condemned by the Visigothic law.² Its overt acts were causing storms, invocation of demons, offering nightly sacrifices to devils. The punishment was 200 stripes, and shaving the head. Consulting soothsayers concerning the death of the King was punished in a freeman by stripes and confiscation of property, and perpetual servitude: wizards guilty of poisoning suffered death.

III. But external to and independent of the Imperial Law and the constitutions of the new western kingdoms was growing up the jurisprudence of the Church, commensurate with the Roman world, or rather with Christendom. Every inhabitant of the Christian empire, or of a Christian kingdom, was subject to this second jurisdiction, which even by the sentence of outlawry which it pronounced against heretics, assumed a certain dominion over those who vainly endeavored to emancipate themselves from its yoke. The Church as little admitted the right of sects to separate existence, as the empire would endure the establishment of independent kingdoms or republics within its actual pale. Of this peculiar jurisprudence of the Church the clergy were at once the legislature

¹ Laws of Recared, xii. 2, 1.

² Lex Visigoth. vi. 2, 3. There was a singular provision against judges consulting diviners in order to detect witches.

and the executive. This double power tended more and more to concentration. In the State all power resided in the Emperor alone; the unity of the empire under a monarch inevitably tended to that of the Church under one visible head. As the clergy more and more withdrew itself into a privileged order, so the bishops withdrew from the clergy, the Metropolitans rose above the bishops, and the Bishop of Rome aspired to supreme and sole spiritual empire. Had Rome remained the capital of the whole world, the despotism, however it might have suffered a perpetual collision with the imperial power, ruling in the Eternal City, would probably have become, as far as ecclesiastical dignity, an acknowledged autocracy. A people habituated for centuries to arbitrary authority in civil affairs would be less likely to question it in religion. The original independence of the Christian character which induced the first converts in the strength of their faith to secede from the manners and usages as well as the religious rites of the world, to form self-governed republics, as it were, within the social system — this noble liberty had died away as Christianity became a hereditary, an established, an universal religion. Obedience to authority was inveterate in the Roman mind; reverence for law had sunk into obedience to despotic power; arbitrary rule seemed the natural condition of mankind. This unrepining, unmurmuring servility could not be goaded by intolerable taxation to resistance. Nothing less than religious difference could stir the mind into oppugnancy, and this difference was chiefly concentrated in the clergy: when a heretic was in power the orthodox, when the orthodox the heretic, alone asserted liberty of action or of

thought. In all other respects the law of the Church, as enacted by the clergy, was received with implicit submission. In the provinces, as the Presidents, or Prefects, or Counts, in their regular gradation of dignity, ruled with despotic sway, yet were but the representatives of the remote and supreme central power, so the Bishops, Metropolitans, Patriarchs rose above each other, and culminated, as it were, to some distant point of unity. The Patriarchates had been fixed in the greatest cities of Europe, Asia, and Africa. These were the seats likewise of the highest provincial governments; the other chief provincial cities were usually the seats of local administration, and of the metropolitan sees; and so the stream of public business, civil and ecclesiastical, was perpetually flowing to the same centre. It was at once the place at which all that remained, the shadow, as it were, of the old popular assemblies, as well as the ecclesiastical synods, were convened; appeals came thither from all quarters, imperial mandates were issued to the province or theme. On this principle Constantinople continued still to rise in influence; Alexandria for above a century resisted, but resisted in vain, the advancement of the upstart unapostolic See. The new Rome asserted her Roman dignity against the East, while on every favorable opportunity she raised up claims to independence, to equality, even to superiority, against the elder Rome, now a provincial city of the Justinian empire.

Rome was the sole Patriarchate of the West, the head and centre of Latin Christianity. Rome stood alone, almost without rival or reclamation. Ravenna, as the seat of empire under the exarchs, might aspire to independence, to equality; her pretensions

were soon put down by her own impotence and by common opinion. Wherever the Latin language was spoken there was no rival to the supremacy of Rome. The African churches, distracted by the Donatists, oppressed and persecuted by the Arian Vandals, revived but as the churches of a province of the Eastern empire. Carthage was still one of the great cities of the world, her bishop the acknowledged head of the churches in Africa. But the African Church, though obedient to the East, after Justinian's conquest, and just emerging into ascendancy over the Arians, had neither ambition nor strength to assert independence. Of the Teutonic kingdoms founded within the ancient realm of Rome, three had been destroyed during the sixth century, those of the Ostrogoths in Italy, of the Vandals in Africa, of the Burgundians in France. Of the four which survived, the Lombard was still Arian, the Anglo-Saxon was heathen and not yet consolidated into one kingdom; those of the Visigoths in Spain and of the Franks in Gaul, if still of uncertain boundaries, and frequently subdivided in different proportions, accepted the supremacy of Rome as part of the Catholicism to which one had returned after a long apostacy, with all the blind and ardent zeal of a new proselyte; the other, whose war-cry of conquest had been the Catholic faith, would bow down in awe-struck adoration before the head of that faith. The Latin clergy, who had made common cause with the Franks, would inculcate this awe as the most powerful auxiliary to their own dominion.

In the West the state of ecclesiastical affairs tended constantly to elevate the actual power of the single Patriarchate. The election of the bishops in the Ro-

mán provinces and in the new Teutonic kingdoms was in the clergy and the people. Strife constantly arose; the worsted party looked abroad for aid; if they found it not with the Metropolitan, they sought still further; and as the provincial of old appealed to Rome against the tyranny of the civil governor, so the clergy against the bishop, the bishop against the Metropolitan. They fled in the last resort to what might seem to be an impartial, at least might be a favorable tribunal.

But throughout these kingdoms there was another strong bond to Rome—the common interest of the Latin part of the community against the foreign and Teutonic. The old Roman aristocracy of the provinces, except in some municipal towns, perished or were degraded from their station by the new military aristocracy of the conquerors. But the clergy could not but continue, it has been seen that they did continue, for a considerable period to be Roman. They were thus a kind of peaceful force, bound together by common descent, and still looking to Rome as their parent. Nothing is known of the Arian clergy who accompanied the Goths, the Vandals, or the Lombards, and kept up the tradition of the heterodox faith, whether they too were chiefly Roman, or had begun to be barbarian.¹ The rare collisions which are recorded, the general toleration, except among the Vandals in

¹ In the *Collatio Episcoporum*, where Avitus of Vienne challenged the Arian clergy to bring their conflicting doctrines to the issue of a public disputation, the head of the Arian clergy is named Boniface. The Arians (it is a Catholic account) were struck dumb, or replied only in unmeaning clamors; one sentence alone betrays the ground they took; they stood on the Scripture alone; the Catholics were *præstigiatores*; did they mean workers of false miracles? "*Sufficere sibi se habere scripturam, quas sit fortior omnibus præstigiis.*" The conference was in the year 419. — *D'Achery*, iii. p. 304.

Africa, might lead to the conclusion that they were the Teutonic clergy of a Teutonic people, each contentedly worshipping apart from each other, as under its separate law, so under its separate religion, until the superior intelligence, the more ardent activity of the orthodox Latins, brought over first the kings and nobles, as Recared in Spain and the later Lombard kings, afterwards the people, to the unity of the Church. The toleration of the Arians, and even writers like Orosius admit that in Gaul the Goths and Burgundians treated the orthodox Christians as brothers, was, after all, but indifference, or ignorance that there was another form of Christianity besides that which they had been taught.¹ It was more often that the Catholics provoked than suffered persecution wantonly inflicted.² That submission which the Roman paid to the clergy out of his innate and inveterate deference for law, if not from servility, arose in the Teuton partly from his inherent awe of the sacerdotal character, partly from his conscious inferiority in intellectual acquirements.³ No doubt already the Latin of the ordinary Church services had become, and naturally became more and more, a sacred language.⁴ The Gothic version of the

¹ Orosius, vii. 33. There was a kind of persecution of some bishops in Aquitaine. — Sidon. Apoll. vii. 6. Modaharius the Goth, a citizen, not a clergyman, is named by Sidonius — The name sounds like Latinized Teutonism. Of Euric, Sidonius says, "Pectori suo catholici mentio nominis acet." At this time the bishoprics of Bordeaux and eight others were vacant, no clergy ordained, the churches in ruins, herds pasturing on the grass-grown altars.

² See on the confederacy of the orthodox bishops in Burgundy with the Franks, ch. ii

³ Compare Paullus Diaconus on the conversion of the Lombards, iv. 44.

⁴ I cannot refrain from quoting the observations of a modern writer: — "Christianity offered itself, and was accepted by the German tribes, as a law and as a discipline, as an ineffable, incomprehensible mystery. Its fruits

Scriptures was probably confined to that branch of the nation for which it had been made by Ulphilas: it could not have been disseminated widely. The Latin clergy, even if they had the will, could not, during the formation of the various dialects or languages which grew up in Europe, have translated the sacred books or the services of the Church into the ever-shifting and blending dialects. Till languages grew up, recognized as their own by nations, there could be no claim to a vernacular Bible or a vernacular Liturgy. Latin would establish a strong prescription, a prescription, in fact, of centuries; and that, as on the one hand it would tend to keep the clerical office chiefly in the hands of those of Latin descent, would likewise preserve the unity of which the centre was Rome.¹

Rome throughout this period is still standing in more lonely preëminence: from various circumstances, perhaps from the continually shifting boundaries of the kingdoms, the Metropolitan power, especially in Gaul, only centuries later, if ever, assumed its full weight. On the other hand, that of the bishops over the inferior clergy became throughout the western kingdoms more arbitrary and absolute. The bishop stands alone, the companion and counsellor of kings and nobles, the

were, righteousness by works (*Werkheiligkeit*), and belief in the dead word. But in a barbarous people it is an immense advance, an unappreciable benefit. Ritual observance is a taming, humiliating process; it is submission to law; it is the acknowledgment of spiritual inferiority; it implies self-subjection, self-conquest, self-sacrifice. It is not religion in its highest sense, but it is the preparation for it." — Ritter, *Geschich.*, *Christ. Philos.* i. p. 40.

¹ Planck supposes that for half a century after the conversion of the Franks the bishops were, without exception, Latin; about 566 appears a Meroveus, Bishop of Poitiers. — *Greg. Tur.* ix. 40; Planck, ii. 96. In the eighth century the clergy were chiefly from the servile class. — p. 159.

judge, the ruler ; the College of Presbyters, the advisers, the coördinate power with the bishop, has entirely disappeared. It is rarely at this period that we discern in history the name of any one below the episcopal rank. Even in the legends of this age we scarcely find a saint who is not a bishop, or at least, and that as yet but rarely, an abbot.¹ The monasteries at first claimed no exemption from the episcopal autocracy : they aspired not yet to be independent, self-governed republics. The primitive monks, laymen in every respect, would have shrunk from the awful assertion of superiority to the common law of subjection. The earlier councils prohibited the foundation of a monastery, even of a solitary cell, without the permission of the bishop. Gradually monks were ordained, that the communities might no longer depend for the services of religion on the parochial clergy ; but this infringement on the profound humility of the monk was beheld with jealousy by the more rigid. St. Benedict admits it with reserve and caution. It was not till splendid monasteries were founded by religiously prodigal nobles, kings, and even prelates, and endowed with ample territories and revenues, that they were withdrawn from the universal subordination, received special privileges of exemption, became free communities under the protection of the King, or of the Pope.² The lower clergy were in fact in great numbers ordained slaves, slaves which the Church did not choose at hazard from the general servile class, but from her own serfs, and who were thus trained to

¹ Planck, ii. 368.

² Compare M. Guizot, *Civilisation Moderne*, Leçon xv., who has traced the change, and cites the authorities with his usual sagacity and judgment.

habits of homage and submission. The first Franks or Goths who entered into holy orders would hardly be tempted by a less prize, or stoop to a lower dignity, than that of a bishop, except as far as it might be necessary to pass rapidly through the lower orders. The clergy were so entirely under the power of the bishop that a Spanish council thinks it necessary and seemly to secure them from arbitrary blows and stripes.¹

The ecclesiastical jurisprudence, therefore, was entirely, as well as the administration of the law in its more solemn form, in the bishops. They alone attended the synods or councils, they alone executed the decrees. Their mandate or their sanction was necessary for every important act of religion.

The whole penitential system was under their control and rested on their authority. Private confession might be received, absolution for private offences be granted by the priest: public or notorious crimes could be remitted by the bishop alone.

This ecclesiastical jurisprudence had its specific laws as ordinances for the government of the clergy; its more general statutes, which embraced all mankind. Every man, barbarian or Roman, under whichever civil law he lived, freeman or slave, was amenable to this code, which had the penitential system for its secondary punishment; excommunication, which in general belief, if the excommunicated died unreconciled, was tantamount to eternal perdition, for its capital punishment. The excommunication as

¹ "Ne passim unusquisque episcopus honorabilia membra sua presbyteros sive Levitas, prout voluerit et complacuerit, verberibus subiciat et dolori."
— Syn. Bracar. iv. A.D. 675, can. 7.

yet was strictly personal: it had not grown into the interdict which smote a nation or a country.

Of this twofold law, that over the clergy and that over the laity, the administration of the first was absolutely in the bishops—that of the second only more remotely, and in the last resort. The usual penalties were different. The sacred person of the priest had peculiar privations and penalties, in some respects more severe, in others more indulgent, chastisements. The attempt to reconcile the greater heinousness of the offence in the sinful priest with the respect for his order, led at times to startling injustice and contradiction.¹

The delinquent clerk might be deprived for a time of his power of administering sacred things; he might be thrown back, an unworthy and a despised outcast, into the common herd of men, or rather lower than the common herd (for the ineffaceable ordination held him still in its trammels, in its responsibility, though he had forfeited its distinctions and its privileges), but even then the mercy of the Church provided courses of penance more or less long and austere, by which, in most cases, he might retrieve the past, and rise, to some at least, of his lost prerogatives. The monasteries, in later times, became a kind of penal settlements, where under strict provisions the exile might expiate his offences, work out the redemption of his guilt, if not permitted to return to the world, at

¹ Throughout the Penitentials, the penalties are heavier on the clergy than the laity. For murder, a clerk did penance for ten years, three on bread and water; a layman three, one on bread and water. The clergy too were punished according to their rank, where one in inferior orders has six, a deacon has seven, a priest ten, a bishop twelve years penance.—Morinus.

least die in peace; at all events his degradation was concealed from a babbling and censorious world.

The law administered by the clergy, throughout the Christian polity, comprehended every moral ^{Of the rest of the community.} or religious act; and what act of man could be beyond that wide and undefined boundary? Whatever the Church, whatever the individual clergyman, declared to be sin (the appeal even to the bishop was difficult and remote), was sin. The timid conscience would rarely dare to judge for itself: the judge therefore was at once the legislator, the expounder of the law, the executioner of the law.¹

This law had its capital punishment — excommunication, which absolutely deprived of spiritual life. Excommunication, in its more solemn form, was rarely pronounced by lower than bishops.² It was the weapon with which rival bishops encountered each other, which they reserved for enemies of high rank. It was the sentence of Councils only which cut off whole sects from the communion of the Church.

But excommunication in a milder form — the temporary or the enduring deprivation of those means of grace without which salvation was hopeless, the refusal of absolution, the key which alone opened the gates of heaven — was in the power of every priest: on his judgment, on his decree, hung eternal life, eternal death.

¹ "Itaque postquam criminum omnium occultorum poena quibuslibet presbyteris concessa est, libelli Pœnitentiales præter canones conditi sunt in quibus hæc omnia distincte in simpliciorum presbyterorum gratiam et necessariam instructionem enarrabantur, ut pœnitentiarum imponendarum officio defungi possent." — Morinus. This work of Morinus de Pœnitentiâ affords ample and accurate knowledge on the history of the Penitential law, and of the different penitentials which prevailed in the Western churches.

² Public penance was at first only adjudged by the bishops. — Sirmond. *de Pœnit. Public.*; Opera, vol. iv.

But though this, like all despotic irresponsible power, or power against which the mass of mankind had no refuge, was liable to abuse, was often no doubt abused, it was still constantly counteracted by the Penitentials which as wisely (lest men should break the yoke in utter despair) as mercifully, were provided by the religious code of Christianity. The Penitentials were part of the Christian law; how early part of the written law, is not quite clear; nor were they uniform, or in fact established by any universal or central authority — that of Pope or Council;¹ but they were not the less an admitted customary or common law, a perpetual silent control on the arbitrary power of the individual priest, a guarantee as it were to the penitent, that if he faithfully submitted to the appointed discipline, he could not be denied the inappreciable absolution. The Penitentials thus, by regulating the sacerdotal power, confirmed it; that which might have seemed a hard capricious exaction became a privilege; the mercies of the law were indissolubly bound up with its terrors. However severe, monastic; unchristian, as enjoining self-torture; degrading to human nature, as substituting ceremonial observance for the spirit of religion; debasing instead of wisely humiliating; and resting in outward forms which might be counted and calculated (so many hours of fasting, so many blows of the scourge, so many prayers, so many pious ejaculations, for each offence) yet as enforcing, it might be, a rude and harsh discipline, it was still a moral and religious discipline. It may have been a low, timid, dependent

¹ The three oldest were the Penitentials of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, of Bede, and the Roman. That of Rabanus Maurus obtained in Germany. — Morinus.

virtue to which it compelled the believer, yet still virtue. It was a perpetual proclamation of the holiness and mercy of the Gospel. It was a constant preaching, on one hand, it might be of an unenlightened, superstitious Christianity, but still of Christianity. Yet, on the other hand, it was a recognition of a divine law, submission to a religion which might not be defied, which would not be eluded — a religion which would not deny its hopes to the worst, but would have at least resolutions, promises of amendment — the best security which it could obtain — from the unreasoning and fallible nature of man. It aspired at least to effect that which no human law could do, which baffled alike imperial and barbaric legislation, to impose constraint on the unchristian passions and dispositions. When sacerdotal religion was, if not necessary, salutary at least to mankind, it was the great instrument by which the priesthood ruled the mind of man. If it increased the wealth of the clergy, it was wealth much of which lawless possessors, spoilers, robbers, had been forced to regorge. If it invested them with an authority as dangerous to themselves as to the world, that authority was better than moral anarchy. However administered, it was still law, and Christian law, grounded on the eternal principles of justice, humanity, and truth.¹

¹ It will hereafter appear in our History how the penitential system degenerated into commutations for penance by alms (alms being only part of the penance, compensated for prayer), fasting, and other religious observances; alms regulated indeed by the rank and wealth of the transgressor, but with full expiatory value; commutations became indulgences; indulgences, first the remission of certain penitential acts, then general remissions of sins for definite periods, at length for periods almost approximating to eternity; and these for the easiest of religious duties, visits to a certain church, above all ample donations.

HISTORY OF LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF

THE POPES

TO THE PONTIFICATE OF NICHOLAS V.



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HISTORY OF LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

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WESTERN MONASTICISM.

MONASTICISM ascended the papal throne in the person of Gregory the Great. As our history ^{Western} approaches this marked period in the annals ^{monasticism} of Latin Christianity, it is necessary to describe the rise and progress of those institutions, which at once tended so powerfully to propagate, to maintain, and to give its peculiar character to the Christianity of Western Christendom.

Western monasticism was very different from that of the East. It was practical more than speculative; it looked more to the performance of rigid duty, the observance of an austere ritual, the alternation of severe toil with the recitation of certain stated offices or the reading appointed portions of sacred books, than to dreamy indolence and meditative silence, only broken by the discussion of controverted points of ^{contrasted} theology. Labor was part of the rule of ^{with Eastern.} all the eastern monks; it was urged by the wiser advocates of the monastic state, Athanasius, Basil, Chrys-

ostom, even Jerome: it was enforced in the law of the monastic life brought by Cassianus from the East;¹ and it is singular that it was first repudiated by Martin of Tours and his disciples;² yet the eastern element predominated over the rule almost throughout Greek Christianity. The Greek monks have done little or nothing to advance the cultivation of barren lands, for the arts, for knowledge, or for civilization. But the hermits in the West were in general content with the wild recesses of nature, and with a rigid but secret discipline. They had neither the ingenious nor the ostentatious self-tortures which were common in the East. They had hardly one Stylites, men who stood for decades of years³ on a lofty pillar, a pillar elevated in height as the saint drew nearer to heaven and to perfection⁴—as yet no rambling and vagabond monks, astonishing mankind by the public display of their miserable self-inflicted sufferings. Nor did Coenobites disurb the peace of the western cities by crowding with arms in their hands, ready with unscrupulous and sanguinary fanaticism for slaughter, or worse than slaughter, in the maintenance of some favorite doctrine, or some favorite prelate. Under their founder

¹ "A laboring monk is troubled by one devil, an idle one by a host of devils."—Cassian. x. 28. Augustine wrote a book, *de Opere Monachorum*. M. Villemain has this striking observation: "De cette rude école du désert il sortait des grands hommes et des fous."—*Mélanges, Eloquence Chrétienne*, p. 356. The East had few great men, many madmen; the West, madmen enough, but still very many great men.

² Paulin. *de vit. Martini*, l. ii. Sulpic. Severus, c. 7.

³ Fifty-six, according to Evagrius, t. iii. l. 18; Theodoret. *Hist. Relig.*, p. 882. For Wulfilas the one Stylites of the West at Treves, see Fleury, xxiv. 22.

⁴ "The Gallic bishops ordered a pillar to be destroyed on which an ambitious Western aspired to rival the East."—Greg. Tur. i. 17. Compare Schroeck, viii. p. 231.

in Northern France, Martin of Tours, they might lend their tumultuous aid in the demolition of some heathen shrine or temple; but their habits were usually those of profound peace; they aspired not yet to rule the world which they had forsworn: it was not till much later that their abbots, now endowed with enormous wealth, poured upon them by blind admiration of their holiness, assumed political existence. The western monks partook of that comparative disinclination to the more subtle religious controversy which distinguished Roman from Greek and Oriental Christendom. Excepting the school of semi-Pelagianism, propagated by the Oriental Cassianus among the monasteries in the neighborhood of Marseilles (still to a certain extent a Greek city, and with the Greek language spoken around it), the monasteries were the seats of submissive, uninquiring orthodoxy. They were not as yet the asylums of letters. Both the ancient Latin prose and ancient Latin poetry were too repulsively and dangerously heathen to be admitted into the narrow cell or the mountain cloister. This perilous tendency to intellectual indulgence which followed Jerome into his cave in Palestine, and could only be allayed by the scourge and unintermitting fast, as yet did not penetrate into the solitudes of the western recluses. But if the reason was suppressed with such unmitigated proscription, the imagination, while it shrunk from those metaphysic abstractions, which are so congenial to eastern mysticism, had full scope in the ordinary occurrences of life, which it transmuted into perpetual miracle. The mind was centered on itself; its sole occupation was the watching the emotions, the pulsations of the religious life; it impersonated its impulses, it attributed to external or to foreign but in-

dwelling powers the whole strife within. Everything fostered, even the daily labor, which might have checked, carried on in solitude and in silence, encouraged the vague and desultory dreaminess of the fancy. Men plunged into the desert alone, or united themselves with others (for there is no contagion so irresistible as that of religious emotion) under a deep conviction that there was a fierce contest taking place for the soul of each individual, not between moral influences and unseen and spiritual agencies, but between beings palpable, material, or at least having at their command material agents, and constantly controlling the course of nature. All the monks' scanty reading was of the miracles of our Lord or his Apostles, or still more the legends of saints. Their singing was of the same subjects. Their fasts were to expel demoniacal possessions, their festivals to celebrate the actual presence of the tutelar saint. And directly the soul escaped, as it could not but escape, from the narrow internal world, it carried into the world without, not merely that awful reverence which sees God in everything, but a wonderful ignorance of nature and of man, which made miracle the ordinary rather than the exceptional state of things. The scenes among which they settled were usually such as would promote this tendency—strange, desolate, gloomy, fearful, the interminable sea or desert, the mountain immeasurable by the eye, the unfathomed glen ; in Italy volcanic regions, either cleft or distorted by ancient eruptions, and still liable to earthquake and disorder. Their solitudes ceased to be solitary ; they were peopled with sounds, with apparitions unaccountable and therefore supernatural. Wherever a few met together, they met upon the principle of encouraging

each other, of vying with each other, of measuring the depth of their faith by their unhesitating belief. The state of mind was contagious; those around them were mostly peasants, serfs, who admired their austerities, revered their holiness; and whom even if their credulity outran their own, they would not disabuse, lest they should disturb instead of deepen their religious impressions. When they went still further forth into the world, the fame of their recluse sanctity, of their miracle-working holiness preceded them. Men were prepared for wonders, and he who is prepared for wonders will usually see them. Emulation, zeal for the glory of their founder, the awe, often the salutary awe, which controlled multitudes, the mind unbalanced by brooding upon itself, and the frame distempered by the wildest ascetic usages, the self-walled, self-barred, the sunless dreary dungeons, which they made themselves in the midst of populous cities, wrought the same effects on the monks in Rome, or Milan, or Tours. Thus religion, chiefly through monasticism, conspired with barbarism to throw back mankind into a new childhood, a second imaginative youth. The mythic period of Christianity had begun and continued for centuries: full of the materials of poetry, producing a vast mass of what was truly poetic, but wanting form and order, destined to await the creation of new languages before it should culminate in great Christian poems, commencing with the Divine Comedy and closing with the Paradise Lost.

Monasticism, as we have seen, was introduced into the West by the authority and by the writings of the great Athanasius. In the time of Jerome it had found its proselytes among the patricians and

Early monasticism in the West.

highborn matrons and virgins of Rome. Many monasteries in that city excited the admiration of Augustine;¹ and that of Nola, celebrated by St. Paullinus, did not stand alone in Southern Italy.² Milan³ vied with Rome in the antiquity, in the severe sanctity of her monastery, which rose in one of the suburbs under the fostering care of St. Ambrose; and Ambrose acknowledged that he had but followed the holy example of Eusebius of Vercelli. Monasticism had now spread throughout the West. In the recesses of the Apennines; in the secluded islands along the coast of Italy; in Gaul, where it had been disseminated by the zeal of Martin of Tours; in Ireland; in the parts of Britain yet unwasted by the heathen Saxons; in Spain; in Africa, these young republics rose in all quarters, and secluded themselves from the ordinary duties, occupations, pursuits, and as they fondly thought, the passions and the sins of men. In Gaul the earliest monasteries were those of Ligugé, near Toulouse, and of Tours, both founded by St. Martin, of the Isle Barbe, in the Saone above Lyons, Toulouse, in the Islands of the Hieres and of Lerins. Cassarius, the Bishop of Arles, whom his age considered to unite in an unparalleled degree the virtues of the ecclesiastic and the monk, and Cassianus, who, originally an Oriental, settled at Marseilles, and endeavored to realize in his monastery of St. Victor in that city the severity of his institutes,

¹ De Morib. Eccl. c. 33.

² Ambros. Epist. lxiii. St. August. Confess. iv. 6.

³ Constructâ statuit requiescere cellâ

Heic ubi gaudentem nemoris vel palmitis umbris

Italiam pingit pulcherrima Mediolanum."

Paul. in vit. St. Mart.

The Western monks already loved the beauties of nature.

maintained and extended the dominion of monasticism in that province. The settlements of Columban will appear as the great initiatory measure which prepared and accomplished the conversion of Germany.

But even now no kingdom of the West is inaccessible to the rapid migrations, or sudden apparitions of these religious colonies.

The origin of Spanish monasticism is obscure. It is recognized by the decrees of various councils, *In Spain*. those of Tarragona, of Lerida, of Barcelona, of Saragossa. It received a strong impulse from Donatus, an African, who landed with seventy monks from that country.

In Africa, monasticism, under St. Augustine, assumed a peculiar form, intermediate between *In Africa*. the ordinary sacerdotal institutions and the monastery. The clergy were to live in common under a rule, in some respects rigidly monastic, yet to discharge all the ordinary duties of the priesthood. They were the first regular canons; but the Augustinian Order formed, as it was designed, on this ancient and venerable model, is of much later date, the twelfth century.¹

In Britain, monasticism had arrived before the Saxon invasion. It fled with Christianity to the *In Britain*. fastnesses of Wales; the monks of Banchor, long established on the border, encountered the Saxon monks, who accompanied Augustine into the Island. Ireland and the Western Isles were already studded with these religious retreats; Iona had its convent, and these institutions, which were hereafter to send forth St. Columban to convert and monasticize the German

¹ Compare Thomassin, *La Discipline de l'Eglise*, i. 81.

forests, were already at least in their early and initiatory state.

But the extension and organization of monasticism in the West owes its principal strength and St. Benedict of Nursia. uniformity to Benedict of Nursia.¹ The life of Benedict, from infancy to death, is the most perfect illustration of the motives which then worked upon the mind of man. In him meet together and combine all those influences which almost divided mankind into recluses or cœnobites, and those who pursued an active life; as well as all the effects, in his case the best effects, produced by this phasis of human thought and feeling. Benedict, it was said, was born at that time, like a sun to dispel the Cimmerian darkness which brooded over Christendom, and to revive the expiring spirit of monasticism. The whole world was desolated by the inroads of the northern conquerors; the thrones of the new western kingdoms were filled by barbarian heretics; the East was distracted with controversy. War had not respected the monastic institutions; and those were fortunate who were shrouded in the mountain glens of the Apennines, or lay hid in some remote and sea-girt island. His age acknowledged Benedict as the perfect type of the highest religion, and Benedict impersonated his age.

In the time of Benedict no man could have made a profound impression or exercised an enduring influence upon the mind of man, without that enthusiasm in himself which would environ him with wonder, or without exciting that enthusiasm in others which would eagerly accept, propagate, and multiply the miracles which avouched his sanctity.

¹ Baronius sub ann., but chiefly Mabillon, Hist. Ordin. Benedict.

How perfectly the whole atmosphere was impregnated with this inexhaustible yearning for the supernatural, appears from the ardor with which the monastic passions were indulged at the earliest age. Children were nursed and trained to expect at every instant more than human interferences; their young energies had ever before them examples of asceticism, to which it was the glory, the true felicity of life, to aspire. The thoughtful child had all his mind thus preoccupied; he was early, it might almost seem intuitively, trained to this course of life; wherever there was gentleness, modesty, the timidity of young passion, repugnance to vice, an imaginative temperament, a consciousness of unfitness to wrestle with the rough realities of life, the way lay invitingly open — the difficult, it is true, and painful, but direct and unerring way — to heaven. It lay through perils, but was made attractive by perpetual wonders; it was awful, but in its awfulness lay its power over the young mind. It learned to trample down that last bond which united the child to common humanity, filial reverence; the fond and mysterious attachment of the child and the mother, the inborn reverence of the son to the father. It is the highest praise of St. Fulgentius that he overcame his mother's tenderness by religious cruelty.¹

History, to be true, must condescend to speak the language of legend; the belief of the times is part of the record of the times; and, though there may occur what may baffle its more calm and searching philoso-

¹ The approving bishop said, "*Facile potest juvenis tolerare quemcunque imposuerit laborem qui poterit maternum jam despicere dolorem.*" — Fulgent. Vit. apud Mabillon.

phy, it must not disdain that which was the primal, almost universal, motive of human life.

Benedict was born at Nursia, in the province of A.D. 480. Spoleto, of respectable parents. He was sent to Rome, according to still-prevailing custom, to be instructed in the liberal arts. But his pure spirit shrunk instinctively from the vices of the capital. He gave up the perilous study of letters, and preferred a holy ignorance.¹ He fled secretly from the society of his dangerous associates, from the house of his parents, who, it seems, had accompanied him, as of old the father of Horace his son to Rome.² His faithful nurse alone discovered his design and accompanied his flight. This incident seems to imply that his flight took place at a very tender age; a circumstance, told at a later period, intimates that it was not before the first impulses of youthful passion. He took refuge in a small village called Effide, about two miles from Subiaco.

Youth of Benedict. The rustic inhabitants, pleased with his modesty and sweetness of disposition, allowed him to inhabit a cell near their church. Here took place his first miracle. The faithful nurse, Cyrilla, had borrowed a stone sieve, commonly used in that part of the country to make bread. It fell from her hands, and broke in two. Benedict, moved by her distress, united the two pieces, prayed over them, and the vessel became whole. The wondering rustics are said to have hung the miraculously restored sieve over their church door. But the sensitive youth shrunk from fame, as

¹ "Scienter nesciens, et sapienter indoctus." Such are the words of Gregory the Great. — Dial. I. 2.

² Compare (how strange the comparison!) the life of Horace and the life of St. Benedict.

he had from vice: he sought a deeper solitude. In the neighborhood of Subiaco, by the advice and assistance of a monk, named Romanus, he found a wild and inaccessible cavern, into which he crept, and for three years the softly and delicately educated boy lay hid in this cold and dismal dwelling from the sight of men. His scanty food was supplied by Romanus, who took it by stealth from his own small pittance in his monastery. The cave was at the foot of the hill on which the monastery stood, but there was no path down the precipitous rock. The food, therefore, was let down by a rope, and a small bell tied to the rope gave notice of its coming. Once the devil broke the rope; but he could not baffle the inventive charity of Romanus. To an imagination so prepared, what scene could be more suited to nurture the disposition to wonders and visions than the wild and romantic region about Subiaco? The cave of Benedict is still shown as a hallowed place, high on the crest of a toppling rock, with the Anio roaring beneath in a deep ravine, clothed with the densest forest, and looking on another wild, precipitous crag. Half-way up the zigzag and laborious path stands the convent of Benedict's sister, St. Scolastica.¹ So entirely was Benedict cut off from the world that he ceased to mark not merely the progress of ordinary time, but even the fasts and festivals of the Church. A certain priest had prepared for himself

¹ According to the annalist of the order, Subiaco, properly Sub-lacu, was a town at the foot of a lake made by the waters of the Anio, which had been dammed up by the Emperor Claudius. On the 20th February, 1825, the lake burst its dam, swept away the road and bridge to San Lorenzo, and left only its dry bed, through which the torrent of the Anio still pours. — *Annal. Ordin. Benedict. i. c. viii.* The old monastery must have been on a peak higher than Benedict's cave.

some food of unusual delicacy for the festival of Easter. A mysterious admonition within his heart reproved him for this luxurious indulgence, while the servant of God was pining with hunger. Who he was, this holy and heaven-designated servant, or where he dwelt, the priest knew not, but he was led through the tangled thickets and over the rugged rocks to the cave of Benedict. Benedict was ignorant that it was Easter, and not till he was assured that it was that festal day, would he share in the heaven-sent banquet.

The secret of his hiding-place was thus betrayed, and some of the rude shepherds of the country, seeing the hermit in his coarse attire, which was no more than a sheepskin thrown round him, mistook him at first for a wild beast: but when they approached him, they were so melted by his gentle eloquence, that their hearts yielded at once, and they were subdued to courtesy of manners and Christian belief. But the young hermit had not escaped the notice or the jealousy of the enemy of mankind. One day (we must not omit puerilities so characteristic, and this is gravely related by a late serious and learned writer) he appeared in the shape of a blackbird, and flapped him over the eyes with his wings, so as almost to blind him. The evil one took a more dangerous form, the unforgotten image of a beautiful woman whom young Benedict had known at Rome (he could not, then, have left it so very young). This was a perilous probation; and it was only by rushing forth and rolling his naked body upon the brambles and sharp points of the rocks that Benedict obtained the hard-wrung victory. Never after this, as he said to his familiar friends, was he exposed to these fleshly tri-

als. Yet his warfare was not over. He had triumphed over sensual lust, he was to be tempted by religious ambition. A convent of monks in the neighborhood, excited by the fame of his sanctity, determined to choose Benedict for their head. He fairly warned them of the rigorous and uncompromising discipline which he should think it his duty to enforce. Either fondly believing their own sincerity, or presuming on the latent gentleness of Benedict, they could not be dissuaded from the design. But in a short time the firm severity of the young abbot roused their fierce resentment; hatred succeeded to reverence and love. They attempted to poison him; but the cup with the guilty potion burst asunder in the hands of Benedict, who calmly reproved them for their crime, prayed for the divine forgiveness, reminded them of his own warnings before he undertook their government, and withdrew into his happier solitude.

It was no longer a solitude. The sanctity of Benedict, and the fame of his miracles, drew together daily fresh aspirants to the holiness or ^{Fame of} Benedict. the quietness of his recluse life. In a short time arose in the poetic district, on the peaks and rent clefts, under the oaks and chestnuts round Subiaco, twelve monasteries, each containing twelve votaries (Benedict considered that less or more than this number led to negligence or to discord). The names of many of these cloisters designate their romantic sites; the Monastery of the Cavern, St. Angelo and St. Clement by the Lake, St. John by the Stream, St. Victor at the foot of the Mountain; Eternal Life, or the Holy Valley; and one now called Santa Scolastica, rising amid embowering woods on a far-seen ridge of the Apennines. The

fame of these institutions soon spread to Rome. Some of the nobles joined the young fraternities, others sent their sons for the benefit of a severe and religious education ; and already considerable endowments in farms and other possessions were bestowed by the piety and gratitude of parents or admirers. Maurus (afterwards St. Maur) was one of these young nobles, who became before long the friend, assistant, and successor of Benedict. To Maurus was soon attributed a share in the miraculous powers, as in the holiness of Benedict. Though wells of waters had broken out at the prayer of Benedict, on the thirsty summits of the rocks, where the hermitages hung aloft, they were not always at hand or always full. A noble youth of fifteen, Placidus, in drawing water from the lake, fell in, and was carried by the waves far from the shore. Benedict cried to Maurus to assist. Maurus rushed in, and, walking on the water, drew out the fainting youth by the hair. A contest of humility began : Maurus attributed the wonder to the holiness of his master, Benedict to the devotion of Maurus. It was decided by the youth, who declared that he had seen the sheepskin cloak of Benedict hovering over him. It would not be difficult to admit all the facts of this miracle, which might be easily accounted for by the excitement of all parties.

It is strange to see the blackest crimes constantly, as it were, in collision with this high-wrought holiness. Florentius, a neighboring priest, was envious of the holy Benedict. He attempted to poison him in some bread which he sent as a present.¹

The Priest
Florentius.

¹ Compare the attempt of the ambitious archdeacon to poison the aged Bishop of Canosa. The bishop drank the cup, having made the sign of the cross, and the archdeacon fell dead, as if the poison had found its way to his stomach — Greg. Dial. iii. 5

Benedict had a prescient consciousness of the treason ; and a raven at his command flew away with the infected food. Florentius, baffled in his design upon the life of the master, plotted against the souls of the disciples. He turned seven naked girls into the garden of one of the monasteries. Benedict determined to withdraw from the dangerous neighborhood. He had set forth on his journey when Maurus hastily overtook him, and, not without some signs of joy, communicated the tidings of the death of Florentius. The wicked priest had been buried in the ruins of his chamber, which had fallen in, while the rest of the house remained standing. Benedict wept over the fate of his enemy, and imposed penance on his disciple for his unseemly and unchristian rejoicing in the calamity even of the wicked.

Benedict pursued his way (as the more poetic legend added, under the guidance of two visible angels) to Monte Casino, about fifty miles from Subiaco. On Monte Casino still arose a temple of Apollo amid its sacred grove ; and in the midst, as it were, of Christianity, the pagan peasants brought their offerings to their ancient god. But there was no human resistance when the zealous recluse destroyed the profane and stately edifice, broke the idol, overturned the altar, and cut down the grove. Unreluctant the people received the religion of Christ from the eloquent lips of Benedict. The enemy of mankind attempted some obstruction to the building of the church devoted to St. Martin. The obstinate stones would not move but at the prayers of Benedict. They fell and crushed the builders, who were healed by his intercession. The last stronghold of paganism was replaced by a Benedictine

monastery; and here arose that great model republic, which gave its laws to almost the whole of Western Monasticism. If we might imagine the pagan deity to have any real and conscious being, and to represent the Sun, he might behold the monastic form of Christianity, which rose on the ruins of his ancient worship, almost as universally spread throughout the world, as of old the adoration of his visible majesty.

Three virtues constituted the sum of the Benedictine discipline. Silence with solitude and seclusion, humility, obedience, which, in the strong language of its laws, extended to impossibilities. All is thus concentrated on self. It was the man isolated from his kind who was to rise to a lonely perfection. All the social, all patriotic virtues were excluded: the mere mechanic observance of the rules of the brotherhood, or even the corporate spirit, are hardly worthy of notice, though they are the only substitutes for the rejected and proscribed pursuits of active life.

The three occupations of life were the worship of God, reading, and manual labor. The adventitious advantages, and great they were, of these industrious agricultural settlements, were not contemplated by the founder: the object of the monks was not to make the wilderness blossom with fertility, to extend the arts and husbandry of civilized life into barbarous regions, it was solely to employ in engrossing occupation that portion of time which could not be devoted to worship and to study.¹

For the divine service the monks awoke at midnight; they retired again, and rose after a brief repose for matins. After matins they did not return to their

¹ "Cuivis p^{ie} mentis agitationi," says Mabillon, p. 52.

beds, but spent the time in reading, meditation, or the singing of psalms. From prime to noon, and all after the brief meal, and another period of reading or meditation, was devoted to labor. At particular periods, as at harvest, the laboring brothers did not return home to their religious service; they knelt and performed it in the fields. The mass was not celebrated on ordinary days, only on Sundays and holidays.

Abstinence from flesh, at least that of four-footed animals, was perpetual and universal; from that of fowls was prescribed with less rigor. The usual food was vegetable broth, bread, and a small measure of wine. From Easter to Pentecost there was no fast. From Pentecost to the ides of September, fasts on two days in the week; the rest of the year to Easter perpetual fast, with one evening meal of eggs or fish. Lent was still more rigorously enforced by abstinence not from food only, but from sleep and from speech. The punishment of delinquents was sequestration from the oratory, the table, and the common meetings; the contumacious and incorrigible were expelled from the community. The monastery contained within its walls the mill, the bakehouse, and everything necessary for life. It was strictly forbidden to partake of food without the walls; all wandering to any distance was prohibited; and if the monk was obliged to be absent during the whole day, he was enjoined to fast rather than partake of food abroad.

So were self-doomed to live the monks of St. Benedict; so all monks, whose number is incalculable, for the long centuries during which Latin Christianity ruled the western world. The two sexes were not merely to be strangers, but natural, irreconcilable

enemies. This strong repulsion was carried not only into their judgments upon themselves, but into their judgments of those who were yet in the world without. All monks inevitably embraced, with the most extreme severity, the dominant notion of the absolute sinfulness of all sexual intercourse; at least, its utter incompatibility with religious service. A noble lady is possessed with a legion of devils, for compliance with her husband, before a procession in honor of the bones of St. Sebastian. The less questionable natural affections were proscribed with equal severity. Attachment to the order was to be the one absorbing affection. A boy monk, who loved his parents too fondly and stole forth to visit them, was not merely suddenly struck with death, but the holy earth refused to retain his body, and cast it forth with indignation. It was only by the influence of Benedict, who commanded the Holy Eucharist to be placed upon the body, that it was permitted to repose in the grave.¹

But the later days of Benedict, at Monte Casino, though adorned with perpetual miracle, did not seclude him or his peaceful votaries from the disastrous times which overwhelmed Italy during the fall of the Gothic monarchy and the reconquest by the Eastern Emperor. War respected not these holy sanctuaries; and in prophetic vision Benedict saw his

Ravages in
Italy.

¹ Gregor. Dial. i. 10. There is another strange story of the power of Benedict: he had excommunicated certain nuns for the unbridled use of their tongues. They were buried, however, in the church. But when the sacrament was next administered, at the voice of the deacon, commanding all who did not communicate to depart, the bodies rose from their graves and walked out of the church. This was seen by their nurse, who communicated the fact to Benedict. The pitying saint commanded an oblation to be made for them, and ever after they rested quietly in their graves. — Greg. Dial. ii. 23.

establishment laid waste, and all its lofty buildings in ruins before the ravages of the spoiler. He was consoled, however, it is added, by visions of the extension of his rule throughout Europe, and the rise of flourishing Benedictine monasteries in every part of the West. Nor were the virtues of Benedict without influence in assuaging the horrors of the war. Totila himself, the last and not least noble Gothic sovereign, came to consult the prophetic saint of Monte Casino as an oracle. He attempted to practise a deception upon him, by dressing one of his chieftains in the royal attire. Benedict at once detected the fraud, and Riggo, the chieftain, returned to his master, deeply impressed with awe at the supernatural knowledge of the saint. Totila.

Totila himself, it is said, fell prostrate at the feet of Benedict, who raised him up, solemnly rebuked his cruelties, foretold his conquest of Rome, his passage of the sea, his reign of nine years, his death during the tenth. The greater humanity with which Totila from this time conducted the war, his severity against his soldiers for the violation of female chastity, the virtues, in short, of this gallant warrior, are attributed to this interview with Benedict. Considering the uncertainty of the date assigned to this event, it is impossible to estimate how far the fierce warrior was already under the control of those Christian feelings which led him to seek the solitude of the saint, or was really awe-struck into more thoughtful religiousness by these prophetic admonitions.¹

¹ There are several other anecdotes of Totila in the Dialogues of Gregory. He went to consult the Bishop of Canosa, as a prophet, and tried to deceive him. See likewise the odd story of Cassius, Bishop of Narni, whom Totila, from his red nose, unjustly suspected of drunkenness. In several other instances Totila was compelled to reverence the sanctity of bishops, whom he had begun to persecute. — c. x. and xi.

Benedict did not live to witness the ruin of Monte St. Scolastica. Casino ; his sister, St. Scolastica, preceded him in her death but a few days. There is something striking in the attachment of the brother and sister, the human affection struggling with the hard spirit of monasticism. St. Scolastica was a female Benedict. Equally devout, equally powerful in attracting and ruling the minds of recluses of her own sex, the remote foundress of convents almost as numerous as those of her brother's rule. With the most perfect harmony of disposition, one in holiness, one in devotion, they were of different sexes, and met but once a year. The feminine weakness of the dying Scolastica for once extorted an unwilling breach of his rule from her severer brother.¹ He had come to visit her, probably for the last time ; she entreated him to rest for the night in her convent ; but Benedict had never, so spake his own laws, passed a night out of his own monastery. But Heaven was more indulgent than the monk. Scolastica reclined her head in profound prayer. Suddenly the serene sky was overcast, lightnings and thunders flashed and roared around, the rain fell in torrents. "The Lord have mercy upon you, my sister !" said Benedict ; "what have you done ?" "You," she replied, "have rejected my prayers ; but the Lord hath not. Go now, if you can." They passed the night in devout spiritual exercises. Three days after Benedict saw the soul of his sister soaring to heaven in the shape of a dove. Only a short time elapsed, and Benedict was seized with a mortal sickness. Six days before his death he ordered his grave to be opened, and at the end breathed his last in prayer. His death was not without its

¹ Greg. Dial. 2, xxxiii.

prophetic announcements. It was revealed to a monk in his cell at Monte Casino, and to his chosen disciple, St. Maurus, who had already left Italy to establish the rule of his master in the monasteries of Gaul. In a convent near Auxerre, Maurus was wrapt in spirit, and beheld a way strewn with garments and lighted with lamps, which led direct from the cell of Benedict to heaven. "May God enable us to follow our master along this heavenward way." Benedict was buried in the oratory of John the Baptist, which stood upon the site of the sanctuary of Apollo.

The vision of St. Benedict of the universal diffusion of his order was accomplished with a rapidity wonderful even in those times. In Italy, from Calabria to the Alps, Benedictine monasteries began to rise on the brows of beetling mountains, sometimes in quiet valleys. Their buildings gradually grew in spaciousness and splendor;¹ nor did they absolutely abandon the cities, as dangerous to themselves or beyond the sphere of their exemplary rigor. Few, if any of the great towns are without their Benedictine convent. Every monastery sent forth its colonies. The monks seemed to multiply with greater fecundity than the population of the most flourishing cities, and were obliged to throw off their redundant brethren to some new settlement. They swarmed, according to their language, like bees.² Wherever was the abode of

¹ It did not often happen that a monastery, ashamed of its magnificence, like one built by the desire, but not according to the modest notions, of St. Waltruda, fell of its own accord, and gave place to a humbler edifice. — Mabillon, Ann. i. p. 405.

² "Tanquam apes ex cœnobiali alveario de more egressæ, nova monasteria, sive dicæ cellas, construere amabant." — Note of Angelo della Nocs, Abbot of Monte Casino, on the Chron. Casinen.

men was the abode of these recluses, who had put off the ordinary habits, attire, occupations of men; wherever they settled in the waste wilderness men gathered around them, as if to partake of their sanctity and security.¹ Maurus, the faithful friend and associate of Benedict, had crossed the Alps even before his death. Bishop Innocent, of Le Mans, who had invited him to Gaul, had died before his arrival; but he was hospitably received in Orleans. The first Benedictine monastery in France rose at Glanfeuille, on the Loire, not far from Angers; it was but the first of many rich and noble foundations — foundations which, as they grew in wealth and splendor, and, in consequence, in luxury and ease, were either themselves brought back by some stern reformer, who wrought them up to their old austere discipline, or rivalled and supplanted by new monasteries, which equalled or surpassed the rigor of Benedict himself.² The name of St. Maur is dear to letters. Should his disciples have in some degree departed from the iron rule of their founder, the world, even the enlightened Christian world, will pardon them if their profound and useful studies have withdrawn them from mechanical and

¹ The Benedictine rule was universally received even in the older monasteries of Gaul, Britain, Spain, and throughout the West; not as that of a rival order (all rivalry was of later date), but as a more full and perfect rule of the monastic life; as simply completing the less consummate work of Cassian, Martin of Tours, or Columban. It gave, therefore, not only a new impulse to monasticism, as founding new monasteries, but as quickening the older ones into new life and energy.

² Noirmoutier, founded by St. Meudon, accepted the rule of St. Benedict, and became the head of the Benedictine order in France; other great monasteries were St. Benignus at Dijon; St. Denys; the Chaise Dieu, near Puy de Velay; Fleury, near the Loire. In England, Canterbury, Westminster, Glastonbury, St. Albans. In the north, Wearmouth, Yarrow, Lindisfarne. — Helyot.

automatic acts of devotion. In Spain the monasteries mostly fell in the general wreck of Christianity on the Mahomedan conquest; few scanty and doubtful records survived, to be gleaned by the industry of their successors, as Christianity slowly won back the land.¹

With St. Augustine the rule of St. Benedict passed to England; but there it might seem as if the realm, instead of banishing them, or permitting their self-banishment, to the wild heath or the mountain crest, had chosen for them, or allowed them to choose, the fairest spots in the land for their settlements. In every rich valley, by the side of every clear and deep stream, arose a Benedictine abbey. The labors of the monks in planting, in cultivation, in laying out the sunny garden, or hanging the hill with trees, may have added much to the picturesque grace of these scenes; but, in general, if a district in England be surveyed, the most convenient, most fertile, most peaceful spot, will be found to have been the site of a Benedictine abbey.

Their numbers at any one time it may be difficult to estimate.² Abbeys rose and fell, like other human institutions; the more favored, however, handed down the sacred tradition of their foundation, of their endowments, of their saints, of their miracles, of their good deeds to civilization, till the final wreck of monastic

¹ Flores, *España Sagrada*, passim. This valuable work gives the religious history of Spain, according to its provinces, so that the annals of each church or abbey must be followed out.

² Mabillon, *Ann. Ordin. Benedict.* passim. The number of great monasteries founded in Italy, Rhenane Germany, and France, between 520 and 700, is astonishing. There are some after the conversion of Recared, Toledo, Merida, &c., in Spain.

institutions during the last century; and even from that wreck a few have survived, or lifted up again their venerable heads.¹

¹ Sarpi (p. 78, *delle Mater Benefic.*) quotes the Abbot Trithemius as asserting that in his day there were 15,000 Benedictine convents.

CHAPTER VII.

GREGORY THE GREAT.

THE sixth century of Christianity was drawing towards its close. Anarchy threatened the whole West of Europe; it had already almost en-^{Close of sixth century.}veloped Italy in ruin and desolation. Italy had been a Gothic kingdom, it was now a province of the Eastern Empire. Rome had been a provincial city of Theodoric's kingdom, it was now a provincial, at least only the second, city in the monarchy of Justinian. But the Byzantine government, though it had overthrown the Gothic kingdom, had exhausted itself in the strife. The eunuch Narses had drained by his avarice that wealth which had begun to recover under the vigor of his peaceful administration. But Narses, according to the popular belief, had revenged himself upon the groaning province, which had appealed to Constantino-ple against his oppressive rule, and upon the jealous Emperor who had feared his greatness. He had summoned the Lombards to cross the Alps. The ^{Lombard invasion.} death of Narses had left his successor, the Exarch of Ravenna, only the dignity of a sovereignty which he was too weak to exercise for any useful purpose of government. Already the Lombards occupied great part of the north of Italy, and were extending their desolating inroads towards the south. The ter-

rors of the defenceless province cowered before, no doubt exaggerated, the barbarity of these new invaders. The Catholics and the Romans had leagued with the East to throw off the Gothic yoke; they were not even to rest under the more oppressive rule of their new masters; they were to be the prey, the victims, the slaves of a new race of barbarians. The Goths had been to a great degree civilized and Romanized before their conquest of Italy; their enlightened rulers had endeavored to subdue them to the arts of peace, at least to a less destructive system of warfare. The Lombards were still obstinate barbarians; the Christianity which they had partially embraced was Arianism; and it had in no degree, if justly described, mitigated the ferocity of their manners. They had no awe of religious men, no reverence for religious places; they burned churches, laid waste monasteries, slew ecclesiastics, and violated consecrated virgins with no more dread or remorse than ordinary buildings or profane enemies.¹ So profound was the terror of the Lombard invasion, that the despairing Italians, even the highest ecclesiastics, beheld it as an undoubted sign of the coming day of judgment. The great writer of the times describes the depopulated cities, the ruined castles, the churches burned, the monasteries of males and females destroyed, the farms wasted and left without cultivation, the whole land a solitude, and wild beasts wandering over fields once occupied by multitudes of human beings. He draws the inevitable conclusion: "what is happening in other parts of the world we know not, but in this the end of all things not merely announces itself as approaching, but shows

¹ On the ravages in Italy by these conflicts, Greg. Epist. v. 21, xiii. 28.

itself as actually begun.”¹ This terror of the Lombards seemed to survive and to settle down into an unmitigated detestation. Throughout the legends of the piety and the miracles wrought by bishops and monks in every part of Italy, the most cruel and remorseless persecutor is always a Lombard.² And this hatred was not in the least softened when the popes, rising to greater power, became to a certain extent the defenders of Italy: it led them joyfully to hail the appearance of the more warlike and orthodox Franks, whom first the Emperor Maurice, and afterwards the popes, summoned finally to crush the sinking kingdom of the Lombards. The internecine and inextinguishable hatred of the Church, and probably of the Roman provincials, to the Lombards, had many powerful workings on the fortunes of Italy and of the popedom.

The Byzantine conquest had not only crushed the independence of reviving Italy, prevented the quiet infusion of Gothic blood and of Gothic institutions into the frame of society; it had almost succeeded in trampling down the ecclesiastical dignity of Rome. There are few popes whose reigns have been so inglorious as those of the immediate successors of that unhappy Vigilius, who closed his disastrous and dishonorable life at a distance from his see, Pelagius I., Benedict I., Pelagius II. They rose at the command, must obsequiously obey the mandates, not of the Emperor, but of the Emperor’s representative, the Exarch of Ra-

“Finem suum mundus jam non nunciat, sed ostendit.” — Greg. Mag. Dial. iii. sub fine: compare ii. 29, vii. ii. 192. Gregory was fully persuaded of the approaching Day of Judgment. The world gave manifest signs of its old age. — Hom. v. on Matt. c. 10.

² See the Dialogues of Gregory, passim, and frequent notices in the Epistles

venna. They must endure, even if under solemn but
A.D. 553. unregarded protests, the pretensions of the
to 590. bishop of the Emperor's capital, to equality,
perhaps to superiority. Western bishops seem to take
advantage of their weakness, and supported, as they
expect to be, by Imperial Constantinople, defy their
patriarch.

Times of emergency call forth great men — men at least, if not great in relation to the true intellectual, moral, and spiritual dignity of man, great in relation to the state and to the necessities of their age; engrossed by the powerful and dominant principles of their time, and bringing to the advancement of those principles surpassing energies of character, inflexible resolution, the full conviction of the wisdom, justice, and holiness of their cause, in religious affairs of the direct and undeniable sanction of God. Such was Gregory I., to whom his own age and posterity have assigned the appellation of the Great.

Now was the crisis in which the Papacy must re-awaken its obscured and suspended life. It was the only power which lay not entirely and absolutely prostrate before the disasters of the times — a power which had an inherent strength, and might resume its majesty. It was this power which was most imperatively required to preserve all which was to survive out of the crumbling wreck of Roman civilization. To Western Christianity was absolutely necessary a centre, standing alone, strong in traditionary reverence, and in acknowledged claims to supremacy. Even the perfect organization of the Christian hierarchy might in all human probability have fallen to pieces in perpetual conflict: it might have degenerated into a half

secular feudal caste with hereditary benefices, more and more entirely subservient to the civil authority, a priesthood of each nation or each tribe, gradually sinking to the intellectual or religious level of the nation or tribe. On the rise of a power both controlling and conservative, hung, humanly speaking, the life and death of Christianity — of Christianity as a permanent, aggressive, expansive, and, to a certain extent, uniform system. There must be a counterbalance to barbaric force, to the unavoidable anarchy of Teutonism, with its tribal, or at the utmost national independence, forming a host of small, conflicting, antagonistic kingdoms. All Europe would have been what England was under the Octarchy, what Germany was when her emperors were weak ; and even her emperors she owed to Rome, to the Church, to Christianity. Providence might have otherwise ordained, but it is impossible for man to imagine by what other organizing or consolidating force the commonwealth of the Western nations could have grown up to a discordant, indeed, and conflicting league, but still to a league, with that unity and conformity of manners, usages, laws, religion, which have made their rivalries, oppugnancies, and even their long ceaseless wars, on the whole to issue in the noblest, highest, most intellectual form of civilization known to man. It is inconceivable that Teutonic Europe, or Europe so deeply interpenetrated with Teutonism, could have been condensed or compelled into a vast Asiatic despotism, or succession of despotisms. Immense and interminable as have been the evils and miseries of the conflict between the southern and northern, the Teutonic and Roman, the hierarchical and civil elements of our social system ; yet out of these

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conflicts has at length arisen the balance and harmony of the great states which constitute European Christendom, and are now peopling other continents with kindred and derivative institutions. It is impossible to conceive what had been the confusion, the lawlessness, the chaotic state of the middle ages, without the mediæval Papacy; and of the mediæval Papacy the real father is Gregory the Great. In all his predecessors there was much of the uncertainty and indefiniteness of a new dominion. Christianity had converted the Western world—it had by this time transmuted it: in all except the Roman law, it was one with it. Even Leo the Great had something of the Roman dictator. Gregory is the Roman altogether merged in the Christian bishop. It is a Christian dominion, of which he lays the foundations in the Eternal City, not the old Rome associating Christian influence to her ancient title of sovereignty.

Gregory united in himself every qualification and endowment which could command the veneration and attachment of Rome and of his age.¹ In his descent he blended civil and ecclesiastical nobility. He was of a senatorial family; his father bore the imperial name of Gordian, his mother that of Sylvia. A pope (Felix II.) was his ancestor in the fourth degree—the pope who had built the church of Sts. Cosmos and Damianus, close to the temple of Romulus. Two sainted virgins, Thirsilla and Sylvia, were his aunts. To his noble descent was added considerable wealth; and all that wealth, directly he be-

Birth and
descent of
Gregory.

¹ Homil. 38, in Evang. Dialog. Epist. iv. 16; Joh. Diac. in Vit. The date of his birth is uncertain; it was about the year 540—Lau, Gregor. I der Grosse, page 10.

come master of it by the death of his father, was at once devoted to religious uses. He founded and endowed, perhaps from Sicilian estates, six monasteries in that island; a seventh, in Rome, he chose for his own retreat; and having lavished on the poor all his costly robes, his silk, his gold, his jewels, his furniture, he violently wrenched himself from the secular life (in which he had already attained to the dignity of prætor of the city¹), and not even assuming the abbacy of his convent, but beginning with the lowest monastic duties, he devoted himself altogether to God.² His whole time was passed in prayer, reading, writing, and dictation.³ The fame of his unprecedented abstinence and boundless charity spread abroad, and, as usual, took the form of miracle. He had so destroyed his health by fasting, vigil, and study, that his brethren were obliged to feed him by compulsion. His life hung on a thread, and he feared that he should not have strength to observe the indispensable fast even on Good Friday. By the prayers of the holy Eleutherius his stomach was endowed with supernatural strength, and never after (he had manifestly, however, undermined his constitution) refused the sacred duty of abstinence.⁴ His charity was tried by an angel in the garb of a shipwrecked sailor, whose successive visits exhausted all he

¹ He describes his secular state, *Præfat. ad Job.* "Diu longæque conversionis gratiam distuli, et postquam cœlesti sum desiderio affectus, seculari habitu contegi melius putavi . . . Cumque adhuc me cogeret animus præsentī mundo quasi specie tenus deservire, cœperunt multa contra me ex ejusdem mundi curâ succrescere, ut in eo jam non specie, sed quod est gravius, mente retinerer."

² The date of Gregory's monkhood is again uncertain — probably not earlier than 573, nor later than 577. — *Lau*, p. 21.

³ *Greg. Tur. x. 1.* According to *Jaffé*, the Register of Gregory's Letters not only marks the year (the indiction), but the month of their date.

⁴ *Dial. iii. 13; Joh. Diac. i. p. 9.*

and, except a silver vessel set apart for the use of his mother. This too he gave, and the satisfied angel at length revealed himself.¹ The monastery of St. Andrew was a perpetual scene of preternatural wonder. Fugitive monks were seized upon by devils, who confessed their power to Gregory; others were favored with visits of angels summoning them to peace; and one brother, whose whole life, excepting the intervals of food and sleep, was spent in psalmody, was not merely crowned by invisible hands with white flowers, but fourteen years after, a fragrance, as of the concentrated sweetness of all flowers, breathed from his tomb. Such was the poetry of those days.

Gregory became abbot;² and that severe discipline which he had imposed upon himself, he enforced with relentlessness, which hardened into cruelty, upon others. Many were tempted to embrace the monastic life who had not resolution to adhere to it, who found no consolation in its peace, and grew weary of its monotonous devotion. Fugitive monks were constantly revolting back to the world which they had forsaken: on these Gregory had no mercy. On the more faithful he exercised a tyranny of discipline which crushed out of the heart not only every lingering attachment to the world, but every sense and pulsation of humanity. The most singular history of this discipline, combining ingratitude and cruelty under the guise of duty, with a strange confidence in his own powers of appeasing the divine wrath, and in the influ-

¹ See *Præf. ad Dial.*, a pleasing passage, in which, oppressed by the cares and troubles of the papacy, he looks back on the quiet of his monastery.

² Lau insists, I think on unsatisfactory grounds, that he was abbot only after his return from Constantinople. — p. 37.

ence of the eucharistic sacrifice, is the death of Justus, related by Gregory himself. Before he became a monk, Justus had practised physic. During the long illness of Gregory, Justus, now a monk, had attended him day and night with affectionate care and skill. On his own death-bed Justus betrayed to his brother that he possessed three pieces of gold. This was in direct violation of that law as to community of property established in the monastery. After long search the guilty money was found concealed in some medicine. Gregory determined to strike the offender with a due sense of his crime, and to awe the brotherhood by the terror of his example. He prohibited every one from approaching the bed of the dying man, the new Simon Magus. No word of consolation or of hope was to soothe his departure. His brother alone might approach to tell him that he died detested by all the community. Nor did the inhuman disciplinarian rest here. The body was cast out upon the dunghill, with the three pieces of gold, the whole convent shouting aloud, "Thy money perish with thee!" After thirty days of fiery burnings, the inevitable fate of an unabsolved outlaw, the heart of Gregory began to relent. He permitted the mass to be celebrated for the afflicted soul. The sacrifice was offered for thirty days more, at the end of which the spirit of Justus appeared to his brother, and assured him of his release from penal torture.¹

But a mind of such force and ability as Gregory's could not be permitted to slumber in the holy quiet of

¹ "Mira sunt quæ narras et non mediocriter læta." Such, at the close of this story, is the quaint language of Gregory's obsequious hearer. *Greg Mag. Dial. iv. 55.*

a monastery. He himself began to comprehend that there were higher religious avocations and nobler services to God. He was still a monk of St. Andrew when that incident took place which, by the divine blessing, led to the conversion of our Saxon ancestors. The tale, though often repeated, is too pleasing not to find a place here. In the market-place of Rome Gregory saw some beautiful and fair-haired boys exposed for sale. He inquired from whence they came. "From Britain." "Are they Christians?" "They are still pagans." "Alas! that the Prince of Darkness should possess forms of such loveliness! That such beauty of countenance should want that better beauty of the soul!" He asked of what nation they were. "Angles" was the reply. "Truly," he said "they are angels! From what province?" "That of Deira." "Truly they must be rescued *de ira* (from the wrath of God). What is the name of their king?" "Ælla." "Yea," said Gregory, "Alleluia must be sung in the dominions of that king." To be the first missionary to this beautiful people, and win this remote and barbarous island, like a Christian Cæsar, to the realm of Christ, became the holy ambition of Gregory. His long-suppressed humanity burst forth in this new channel. He extorted the unwilling consent of the Pope: he had actually set forth, and travelled three days' journey, when he was overtaken by messengers sent to recall him. All Rome had risen in pious mutiny, and compelled the Pope to revoke his permission.

Gregory
aspires to
convert
Britain.

But Gregory was not to retire again to his monastery. He was forced to embark in public affairs. He was ordained deacon (he was one

Gregory in
Constanti-
nople

of the seven deacons of the Church of Rome, the *Regionarii*), and sent by Pope Benedict on an important embassy to Constantinople. But his occupations were not confined to his negotiations with the court. He was the Pope's *apocrisarius* or secretary. These negotiations were but partially successful. He reconciled, indeed, the two successive emperors, Tiberius and Maurice, with the person of the Pope, Pelagius; but the aid against the Lombards was sent reluctantly, tardily, inefficiently. The schism between the East and West was still unallayed. He entered into a characteristic controversy with Eutychius, Bishop of Constantinople, on the nature of the body after the resurrection.¹ The metaphysical Greek imagined an impalpable body, finer and more subtle than the air. The Western theologian, unembarrassed by the materialism from which the Greek endeavored to escape, strenuously asserted the unrefined identity of the renovated body with that of the living man.

In Constantinople² Gregory commenced, if he did not complete, his great work, the '*Magna Moralia*, or Exposition of the Book of Job,' at which the West stood astonished, and which may even now excite our wonder at the vast superstructure raised on such narrow foundations. The book of Job, according to Gregory, comprehended in itself all natural, all Christian, theology, and all morals. It was at once a true and

¹ The controversy must have been somewhat perplexing, as Gregory was ignorant of Greek, and good translators were not to be found. "*Quis hodie in Constantinopolitanâ civitate, qui de Latino in Græcum dictata bene transferant non sunt. Dum enim verba custodiunt et sensus minimè attendunt, nec verba intelligi faciunt, et sensus frangunt.*"—Greg. Mag. Epist. vi. 27.

² Gregory resided three years in Constantinople: 584–587.

wonderful history, an allegory containing, in its secret sense, the whole theory of the Christian Church and Christian sacraments, and a moral philosophy applicable to all mankind. As an interpreter of the history, Gregory was entirely ignorant of all the Oriental languages, even of Greek.¹ He read the book partly according to the older, partly according to the later Latin version. Of ancient or of Oriental manners he knew nothing. Of the book of Job as a poem (the most sublime of all antiquity) he had no conception: to him it is all pure, unimaginative, unembellished history. As an allegory, it is surprising with what copious ingenuity Gregory discovers latent adumbrations of all the great Christian doctrines, and still more the unrelenting condemnation of heresies and of heretics. The moral interpretation may be read at the present time, if with no great admiration at the depth of the philosophy, with respect for its loftiness and purity. It is ascetic, but generally, except when heretics are concerned, devout, humane and generous.²

Magna
Moralia.

¹ "Nam nos nec Græcè novimus, nec aliquod opus Græcè aliquando conscripsimus." — Greg. Mag. Epist. ix. 69.

² It may be safely said that, according to Gregory's license of interpretation, there is nothing which might not be found in any book ever written; there is no single word which may not be pregnant with unutterable mysteries, no syllable which may not mean everything, no number which may not have relation to the same number, wherever it may occur, to every multiple or divisible part of such number. "The seven sons of Job mean the twelve apostles, and therefore the clergy, because seven is the perfect number, and multiplied within itself, four by three or three by four, produces twelve. The three daughters mean the faithful laity, because they are to worship the Trinity." "In septem ergo filiis ordo predicantium, in tribus vero filiabus multitudo auditorum signatur." The three daughters may likewise mean the three classes of the faithful, the pastores, continentes, and conjugati. The curious reader may see the mystery which is found in the sheep and the camels, the oxen and the asses, — Lib. i. c. vi., and Lib. ii. c. xiv. — where the friends of Job are shown, from the latent meaning of their names, to signify the heretics.

So congenial, however, was this great work to the Christian mind, that many bishops began to read it publicly in the churches ; and it was perhaps prevented from coming into general use only by the modest remonstrance of Gregory himself ; and thus Gregory, if his theology and morals had been sanctioned by the authority of the Church, would have become the founder of a new religion. It never appears to have occurred to the piety of that or indeed of other ages, that this discovery of latent meanings in the books of inspiration, and the authoritative enforcement of those interpretations as within the scope of the Holy Spirit, is no less than to make a new revelation to mankind. It might happen that the doctrines thus discovered were only those already recognized as Christianity, and the utmost error then would be the illustration of such doctrines by forced and inapplicable texts. But it cannot be denied that by this system of exposition the sacred writings were continually made to speak the sense of the interpreter ; and if once we depart from the plain and obvious meaning of the Legislator, all beyond is the enactment of a new, a supplementary, an unwarranted law. Compare the Great Morals of Gregory, not with the book of Job, but with the New Testament ; and can we deny that there would have been a new authoritative proclamation of the Divine will ?

So far Gregory had kept his lofty way in every situation, not only fulfilling, but surpassing, the highest demands of his age. In his personal ^{Gregory in Rome.} character austere blameless ; as an abbot (he resumed on his return to Rome the abbacy in his monastery of St. Andrew), mercilessly severe, the model of a strict

disciplinarian; as an ambassador, displaying consummate ability; as a controversialist, defeating in the opinion of the West the subtleties of the rival Bishop of Constantinople; as a theologian, already taking the place which was assigned him by the homage of posterity, that of the fourth great father of the Latin Church.¹ Soon after his return to Rome the city be-

A.D. 587. came a scene of misery and desolation, so that all eyes could not but be turned on a man so highly favored of God. The Lombard invasions continued to waste Italy; the feeble Exarch acknowledged that he had no power to protect Rome; the supplica-

State of the
City.

tions for effectual aid from Constantinople had been unavailing. More dire and pressing calamities darkened around. The Tiber overflowed its banks, and swept away the granaries of corn. A dreadful pestilence ensued, of which the Pope Pelagius was among the first victims.² With one voice the clergy, the senate, and the people summoned Gregory to the pontifical throne.³ His modest remonstrances were in vain. His letter entreating the Emperor Maurice to relieve him from the perilous burden, by refusing the imperial consent to his elevation, was intercepted by the loving vigilance of his admirers. Among

Gregory
Pope.

these was the prefect of the city, who substituted for Gregory's letter the general petition for his advancement. But, until the answer of the Emperor could arrive, Gregory assumed the religious

¹ Pelag. Epist. ad Greg. apud J. Diaconum in Vit.

² The pestilence was attributed to a vast number of serpents and a great dragon, like a beam of timber, carried down the Tiber to the sea, and cast back upon the shore, where they putrefied, and caused the plague. — Greg. Turon.

³ 589-590, Jaffé.

direction of the people. He addressed them with deep solemnity on the plague, and persuaded them to acts of humiliation.¹ On an appointed day the whole city joined in the religious ceremony. Seven litanies, or processions with prayers and hymns, and the greatest pomp, traversed the streets. That of the clergy set out from the Church of St. John the Baptist; that of the men from St. Marcellus; the monks from that of the martyrs John and Paul; the holy virgins from Sts. Cosmos and Damianus; the married women from St. Stephen; the widows from St. Vitalis; that of the poor and the children from St. Cæcilia. But the plague was not stayed; eighty victims fell dead during the procession;² but Gregory still urged the people to persist in their pious supplications.

To the end Gregory endeavored to elude the compulsory honor of the Papacy. It was said that, knowing the gates to be jealously watched, he persuaded some merchants to convey him to a solitary forest in disguise; but a light, like a pillar of fire, hovered over his head, and betrayed his flight. He was seized, hurried to the Church of St. Peter, and forcibly consecrated as Supreme Pontiff.³

¹ The speech in Greg. Tur. x. i.; Paul. Diac. Ep. ii.; Joh. Diac. i. 41.

² The picturesque legend, from which the monument of Hadrian took the name of the Castle of St. Angelo, cannot be reconciled with the Letters of Gregory. It ran, that as the last procession reached this building, an angel was seen sheathing his sword, as though the work of divine vengeance was over. The statue of the angel in this attitude commemorated the wonder.

³ The biographer of Gregory (John the Deacon) thinks it necessary to adduce evidence of the sincerity of this reluctance, which had been questioned by "certain perfidious Lombards." He cites a curious letter to Theoctista, the emperor's sister, among the strange expressions in which is this: "*Ecce serenissimus Dominus Imperator fieri Simiam Leonem jussit et quidem pro jussione illius vocari Leo potest; fieri autem Leo*

Monasticism ascended the Papal throne in the person of Gregory. In austerity, in devotion, in imaginative superstition, Gregory was a monk to the end of his days.¹ From this turmoil of affairs, civil and spiritual; the religious ambition of maintaining and extending the authority of his see; the affairs of pure Christian humanity in which he was involved, as almost the only guardian of the Roman population against the barbarian invasions; oppressed with business, with cares, with responsibilities, he perpetually reverts to the peace of his monastery, where he could estrange himself entirely from sublunary things, yield himself up to the exclusive contemplation of heaven, and look forward to death as the entrance into life.²

But he threw off at once and altogether the dreaming indolence of the contemplative life, and plunged into affairs with the hurried restlessness of the most ambitious statesman. His letters offer a singular picture of the incessant activity of his mind,

Consecrated
Sept. 8.
Jaffa.

non potest." Compare letter to John of Constantinople, l. 24, and the following epistles; also Epist. vii. 4, and Regula Past. in init.

¹ "Cum quibus (amicis) Gregorius diu nocteque versatus nihil monasticæ perfectionis in palatio, nihil pontificalis institutionis in ecclesiâ dereliquit. Videbantur passim cum eruditissimis clericis adherere Pontifici religiosissimi monachi, et in diversissimis professionibus habebatur vita communis; ita ut talis esset tunc sub Gregorio penes urbem Roman ecclesia, qualem hanc fuisse sub apostolis Lucas et sub Marco Evangelistâ penes Alexandriam Philo commemorat." Was Joh. Diaconus as ignorant of St. Luke's writings as of Philo's? — Joh. Diac. ii. 12.

² "Infelix quippe animus meus, occupationis suæ pulsatus vulnere, meminit qualis aliquando in monasterio fuit, quomodo ei labentia cuncta subter erant; quantum rebus omnibus, quæ volvuntur, eminebat; quod nulla nisi cœlestia cogitare consueverat; quod etiam retentus corpore, ipsa jam carnis claustra contemplatione transibat: quod mortem quoque quæ pæne cunctis pœna est, videlicet ut ingressum vitæ, et laboris sui præmium amabat." — Præfat. in Dial. Oper. iii. p. 233: compare Epist. i. 4 to 7.

the variety and multiplicity of his occupations. Nothing seems too great, nothing too insignificant for his earnest personal solicitude; from the most minute point in the ritual, or regulations about the papal farms in Sicily, he passes to the conversion of Britain, the extirpation of simony among the clergy of Gaul, negotiations with the armed conquerors of Italy, the revolutions of the Eastern empire, the title of Universal Bishop usurped by John of Constantinople.

The character of Gregory, as the representative of his times, may be considered I. as a Christian ^{Threefold} bishop organizing and completing the ritual ^{character of} Gregory. and offices of the Church; as administrator of the patrimony of the Roman See, and its distribution to its various pious uses. II. As the patriarch of the West, exercising authority over the clergy and the churches in Italy, in Gaul, and other parts of Europe; as the converter of the Lombards from Arianism, and the Saxons of Britain from heathenism; and in his conduct to pagans, Jews, and heretics, as maintaining the independence of the Western ecclesiastical power against the East. III. As virtual sovereign of Rome, an authority which he was almost compelled to assume; as guardian of the city, and the protector of the Roman population in Italy against the Lombards; and in his conduct to the Emperor Maurice, and to the usurper Phocas.

I. Under Gregory the ritual of the Church assumed more perfect form and magnificence. ^{Services of} The Roman ordinal, though it may have ^{the Church.} received additions from later pontiffs, in its groundwork and distribution belongs to Gregory. The organization of the Roman clergy had probably been long complete; it comprehended the whole city and

suburbs. The fourteen regions were divided into seven ecclesiastical districts. Thirty *titles* (corresponding with parishes) were superintended by sixty-six priests; the chief in each title was the cardinal priest. Each ecclesiastical district had its hospital or office for alms, over which a deacon presided; one of the seven was the archdeacon. Besides these, each hospital had an administrator, often a layman, to keep the accounts. The clergy of the seven regions officiated on ordinary occasions, each on one day of the week. Gregory appointed the *stations*, the churches in which were to be celebrated the more solemn services during Lent and at the four great festivals. On these high days the Pope proceeded in state, usually on horseback, escorted by the deacons and other officers, from his palace in the Lateran to St. Peter's, St. Maria Maggiore, or some other of the great churches. He was received with obsequious ceremony, robed by the archdeacons, conducted to the choir with the incense and the seven candlesticks borne before him. Psalms were sung as he proceeded to his throne behind the altar. The more solemn portions of the service were of course reserved for the Supreme Pontiff.¹ But Gregory did not stand aloof in his haughty sanctity, or decline to exercise more immediate influence over the minds of the people. He constantly ascended the pulpit himself, and in those days of fear and disaster was ever preaching in language no doubt admirably adapted to their state of mind,

Gregory as
preacher.

¹ The reader who may not be inclined to consult Gregory's own *Sacramentarium* and *Antiphonarium*, or the learned labors of Mabillon on the *Ordo Romanus*, will find a good popular view of the Roman service in Fleury, H. E. xxxvi. 16 *et seq.*

tracing to their sins the visible judgments of God, exhorting them to profound humiliation, and impressing them with what appears to have been his own conviction — that these multiplying calamities were the harbingers of the Last day.

The music, the animating soul of the whole ritual, was under the especial care of Gregory. ^{He Music.} introduced a new mode of chanting, which still bears his name, somewhat richer than that of Ambrose at Milan, but still not departing from solemn simplicity. He formed schools of singers, which he condescended himself to instruct; and from Rome the science was propagated throughout the West: it was employed even to soothe and awe the barbarians of Britain. Augustine, the missionary, was accompanied by a school of choristers, educated in their art at Rome.¹

As administrator of the Papal patrimony Gregory was active and vigilant, unimpeachably just ^{Gregory as administrator of the See.} and humane. The Churches, especially that of Rome, now possessed very large estates, chiefly in Calabria, in Sicily;² in the neighborhood of Rome, Apulia, Campania, Liguria; in Sardinia and Corsica; in the Cozian Alps; in Dalmatia and Illyricum; in Gaul; and even in Africa, and the East.³ There are letters addressed to the administrators of the Papal

¹ The original copy of Gregory's Antiphony, the couch on which he reclined while he instructed the singers, and the rod with which he threatened the boys, were preserved, according to John the Deacon, down to his time. — Vit. Greg. M. ii. 6.

² These estates were called the patrimony of the patron saints of the city, in Rome of St. Peter, in Milan of St. Ambrose, in Ravenna of St. Apollinaris. Ravenna and Milan had patrimonies in Sicily.

³ Pope Celestine, writing, in the year 432, to the Emperor of the East, mentions "possessiones in Asia constitutas quas illustris et sanctae recordationis Proba longa a majoribus vetustate reliquerat Romanæ ecclesiæ" He prays the emperor that they may not be disturbed.

estates in all these territories; and in some cities, as Otranto, Gallipoli, perhaps Norcia, Nepi, Cuna, Capua, Corsealano; even in Naples, Palermo, Syracuse. Gregory prescribes minute regulations for these lands, throughout which prevails a solicitude lest the peasants should be exposed to the oppressions of the farmer or of the Papal officer. He enters into all the small vexatious exactions to which they were liable, fixes the precise amount of their payments, orders all unfair weights and measures to be broken and new ones provided; he directs that his regulations be read to the peasants themselves; and, lest the old abuses should be revived after his death, they were to be furnished with legal forms of security against such suppressed grievances.¹ Gregory lowered the seignorial fees on the marriages of peasants not free. Nor, in the protection of the poor peasant, did he neglect the rights and interests of the farmer; he secured to their relatives the succession to their contracts, and guarded the interests of their families by several just regulations. His maxim was, that the revenue of the Church must not be defiled by sordid gains.²

The revenue thus obtained with the least possible intentional oppression of the peasant and the farmer was distributed with the utmost publicity, and with

¹ *Securitatis libellos*. The whole of this letter (i. 42) should be read to estimate the character of Gregory as a landlord. The peasants were greatly embarrassed by the payment of the first term of their rent, which being due before they could sell their crops, forced them to borrow at very high interest. Gregory directed that they should receive an advance from the church treasury, and be allowed to pay by instalments.

² In more than one instance Gregory represses the covetousness of the clergy, who were not scrupulous in obtaining property for the church by unjust means. — *Epist. vii. 2, 23, ii. 43*. Bequests to monasteries continually occur.

rigid regard for the interests of the diocese.¹ Rome, which had long ceased to receive the tributary harvests of Africa and of Egypt, depended greatly on the bounty of the Pope. Sicily alone had escaped the ravages of war, and from her cornfields, chiefly from the Papal estates, came the regular supplies which fed the diminishing, yet still vast, poor population.² In a synod at Rome it was enacted that the Pope should only be attended by ecclesiastics, who ought to enjoy the advantage of the example of his life, to the privacy of which the profane laity should not be admitted.³

The shares of the clergy and of the papal officers, the churches and monasteries, the hospitals, deaconries or ecclesiastical boards for the poor, were calculated in money, and distributed at four seasons of the year, at Easter, on St. Peter's day, St. Andrew's day, and that of the consecration of Gregory. The first day in every month he distributed to the poor in kind, corn, wine, cheese, vegetables, bacon, meat, fish, and oil.⁴ The sick and infirm were superintended by persons appointed to inspect every street. Before the Pope sat down to his own meal a portion was separated and sent out to the hungry at his door. A great volume,

¹ The quadripartite division, to the bishop, the clergy, the fabric and services of the church, and the poor, generally prevailed in the West. — Epist. iii. 11.

² Sicily, since its conquest, had paid as tribute a tenth of its corn to the metropolis; the papal patrimony was liable to this burden. But in case of shipwreck the farmers or peasants were obliged to make good the loss. Gregory relieves his tenants from this iniquitous burden.

³ Epist. iv. 44.

⁴ Among the instances of munificent grants by Gregory, see that of *Aque Salvie*, with its farms and vineyards, two gardens on the banks of the Tiber, and other lands, part of the patrimony of St. Peter, to the church of St. Paul, to maintain the lights. — xiv. 14.

containing the names, the ages, and the dwellings of the objects of papal bounty, was long preserved in the Lateran with reverential gratitude. What noble names may have lurked in that obscure list! The descendants of Consuls and Dictators, the Flamens and the Augurs of elder Rome, may have received the alms of the Christian prelate, and partaken in the dole which their ancestors distributed to their thousand clients. So severe was the charity of Gregory that one day, on account of the death of an unrelieved beggar, he condemned himself to a hard penance for the guilt of neglect as steward of the Divine bounty.¹

¹ It would be curious to obtain even an approximation to the value of the patrimony of St. Peter at these times. These facts may be collected from the letters. 1. The patrimony in Gaul was comparatively small: it is repeatedly called (Epist. iv. 14, vi. 6) *patrimoniolulum*. At one time the Pope received 400 solidi in money, it does not appear clearly whether the residue of the annual rent. But the patrimony in Gaul seems to have been chiefly transmitted, or expended (there were no bills of exchange) in coarse cloths of Gallic manufacture for the poor. Besides this, Gregory ordered the purchase of English youths, of 17 or 18, to be bred in monasteries for missionary purposes. — vi. 33. These 400 solidi (putting the ordinary current solidus at from 11s. to 12s. — the Gallic solidus was one third less, say 7s. 6d.) would not be above 160*l*. In one case the Gallic bishops seem to have withheld part of the patrimony — in Gregory's eyes a great offence. "*Valde est execrabile, ut quod a regibus gentium servatum est, ab episcopis dicatur ablatum.*" — vi. 53, 4. But in Sicily Gregory orders Peter the sub-deacon, his faithful administrator, to invest 280 pounds of gold in his hands in corn. Taking the pound of gold at 40*l*. (see Gibbon on Greaves, ch. xvii.; Epist. vi. 35, note), this would amount to 2000*l*.; if the value of money was one and a half more than now, 5000*l*. But the produce of Sicily cannot be estimated at the money-rent. It had great quantities of cattle, especially horses (to the improvement of which Gregory paid great attention) in the plains about Palermo and Syracuse. One mass or farm had been compelled by a dishonest factor to pay double rent to the amount of 507 aurei, nearly 280*l*. Gregory ordered it to be restored out of the property of the factor. The number of farms cannot be known, but suppose 100, and this an average rent. Rather more than a century later, the Emperor Leo the Isaurian confiscated to the public treasury the rights of the Roman See in Sicily, valued at three talents and a half. — Theophanes, Chron. p. 631, edit. Bonn. This passage, which at first sight promises the

Nor was Gregory's active beneficence confined to the city of Rome. His letters are full of paternal interpositions in favor of injured widows and orphans. It was even superior to some of the strongest prejudices of the time. Gregory sanctioned that great triumph of the spirit over the form of religion, by authorizing not merely the alienation of the wealth of the clergy, but even the sale of the consecrated vessels from the altar for the redemption of captives—those captives not always ecclesiastics, but laymen.¹

most full and accurate information, unfortunately offers almost insuperable difficulties. In the first place, the reading is not quite certain; nor is it absolutely clear whether it means some charge on the revenue of the island, or the full rents and profits of the patrimony of St. Peter. But the chief perplexity arises from our utter ignorance of what is meant by a talent. The loss inflicted on the hostile see of Rome must no doubt have been considerable; otherwise the emperor would not have inflicted it on him whom he considered a refractory subject; nor would it have commanded the notice of the historian. But any known talent, above all the small gold talent of Sicily, would give but an insignificant sum, under 900*l*. It had occurred to me, and has been suggested by a high authority, that it may mean 3½ talents in weight, paid in gold money. Fines in the Theodosian code are fixed at so many pounds of gold. 1½ cwt. of gold (if Gibbon be about right, according to Greaves, in taking the pound of gold at 40*l*.) would give a large, perhaps not an improbable, sum: * and, if the relative value of money be taken into account, must have been a most serious blow to the papal revenue.

¹ Gregory's humility is amusingly illustrated by his complaint, that of all his valuable stud in Sicily, his subdeacon had only sent him a sorry nag, and five fine asses. The horse he could not mount because it was so wretched a one, the asses because they were asses. "*Præterea unum nobis caballum miserum, et quinque bonos asinos transmisisti; caballum istum sedere non possum quia miser est, illos autem bonos sedere non possum quia asini sunt.*"—ii. 82.

* Compare, however, Paolo Sarpi, who, probably taking the ordinary talent, makes a much lower estimate (*delle Mat. Benedic. c. ix.*); but where did he find three talents of silver, half a one of gold, directly contrary to the text in Theophanes, and to the translation of Anastasius? Much of this has been worked out, but far too positively, by the writer of a modern book for popular use, and therefore with no citation of authorities. — Bianchi-Giovini, *Storia del Pape. Capolago*, 1861, t. iii. pp. 159–160.

II. Gregory did not forget the Patriarch of the West in the Bishop of Rome. Many churches in Italy were without pastors: their priests had been sold into slavery.¹ He refused to intermeddle in the election of bishops,² but his severe discipline did not scruple to degrade unworthy dignitaries and even prelates. Laurence, the first of the seven deacons, was deposed for his pride and other unnamed vices;³ the Bishop of Naples for crimes capital both by the laws of God and man.⁴ The Bishop of Salona is reproved for neglect of his solemn duties, and indulgence in convivial pleasures; for his contumacy in refusing to reinstate his archdeacon, he is deprived of his pallium; if he continues contumacious, he is to be excluded from communion. The Pope reproves the Bishop of Sipontum, in more than one angry letter, for his criminal and irreligious remissness in allowing the daughter of a man of rank to throw off her religious habit and return to a secular life.⁵ He commands the bishop to arrest the woman who has thus defiled herself, and imprison her in a monastery till further instructions.⁶ He commands Andrew Bishop of Tarentum, if guilty of concubinage, to abdicate his see; if of cruelty to a female, to be suspended from his functions for two months.⁷ To Januarius, the Bishop of Cagliari, he

¹ Epist. i. 8, 15. There is an instance of a clericus sold for 12 solidi, at which price he might be redeemed. Gregory directs the Bishop of Sipontum to take that sum, if it cannot be obtained elsewhere, from the captives' church. — iii. 17.

² Epist. ii. 29.

³ Epist. ii. in Præf.

⁴ Epist. ii.; the ordo and plebs were to elect his successor.

⁵ Epist. ii. 18.

⁶ Epist. iii. 43.

⁷ Epist. iii. 45.

speaks in still more menacing terms for a far more heinous offence — ploughing up the harvest of a proprietor on a Sunday before mass, and removing the landmark after mass. Nothing but the extreme age of Januarius saved him from the utmost ecclesiastical punishment.¹ He gave a commission to four bishops to degrade the Bishop of Melita for some serious crime: certain presbyters, his accomplices, were, it seems, to be imprisoned in monasteries.² We find the Bishop of Rome exercising authority in Greece over the Bishops of Thebes³ and Larissa and Corinth.⁴ The Bishops of Istria were less submissive. His attempts, at the commencement of his pontificate, to force them to condemn the three Chapters, were repressed by the direct interference of the Emperor.

In Gaul, simony and the promotion of young or unworthy persons to ecclesiastical dignities constantly demanded the interference of the Pontiff. The greater the wealth and honors attached to the sacred office, and the greater their influence over the barbarian mind, the more they were coveted for themselves, and sought by all the unscrupulous means of worldly ambition.⁵ The epistles of Gregory to the bishops, to Queen Brunehild, to Thierry and Theodobert, and to Chlotaire kings in Gaul, are full of remonstrances against these irregularities.⁶

¹ This seems to be the sense of the passage vii. ii. 1, which is obscure, probably corrupt. Januarius seems to have given Gregory much trouble. Another epistle censures him for exacting exorbitant burial fees. — vii. ii. 56. Oblations for lights might be received for those buried in the church.

² vii. ii. 63.

³ Epist. iii. 6, 7

⁴ iv. 51.

⁵ iv. 54.

⁶ ix. 50 to 57. The privilege said to have been granted by Gregory

Of all the great events of his pontificate, Gregory looked on none with more satisfaction than the conversion of the Arian-Gothic kingdom of Spain to Catholicism. He compares, in his humility, the few who in the last day will bear witness to his own zeal and influence, to the countless multitudes who would owe their salvation to the orthodox example of King Recared.¹

The Council of Toledo, at which Spain publicly May 8, 589. proclaimed its Catholicity, closes the history of the old Teutonic Arianism. The Lombards, indeed, remained to be subdued by the mild and Christian wisdom of Gregory; but in Burgundy and in Visigothic Gaul, the zeal and organization of the Catholic clergy, and the terror, the power, the intrigues of the orthodox Franks, had driven it from the minds of the kings, and from the hearts of the people. Twice Arianism had assailed the independence of Burgundy; twice it fell before the victorious arms of the Franks, the prayers, and no doubt more powerful aid than Fall of Arianism in Gaul. A.D. 517. prayers, of the Catholic hierarchy. The Council of Epaona (though Arianism rallied for the last desperate conflict under the younger Gode-mar after that Council) witnessed what might be considered the act of submission to Latin Christianity.

The history of Visigothic Arianism in Spain is a In Spain. more dire and awful tragedy. During the early reigns, both of the Suevian and Visigothic kings,

to the monastery of St. Medardus, anathematizing kings and all secular persons who should infringe the decrees of his apostolic authority, and ranking them with Judas, is proved to be spurious by Launoï, and by Dupin. — Dissert. 7, de Antiq. Eccl. Discip.

¹ Epist. ad Rechared. Reg. vii. 128.

the Catholic bishops had held their councils undisturbed; Arianism had maintained its lofty or prudent or indifferent toleration. Leovigild ascended the throne, the ablest, most ambitious monarch 572 to 586. who had set on an Arian-Gothic throne, except Theodoric the Ostrogoth. Leovigild aspired to subdue the lawless Gothic lords who dwelt apart in their embattled mountain fastnesses, to compel the whole land (where each race, each rank, each creed asserted its wild freedom) to order and to law. He would be a king. He carried out his schemes with rigor and success. But he would compel religious differences also to unity. Himself a stern Arian, he even condescended to approximate, and with consummate art, to Catholicism; he sought by confounding to harmonize the contending parties; but he could not deceive the quick sight of the more vigilant, more intellectual Catholic hierarchy.

His young son, Hermenegild, became a Catholic—the Catholic a rebel. Seville and the southern cities rose against the King; Hermenegild was besieged in Seville; the Guadalquivir was blocked up; the city suffered the extremity of famine. Hermenegild fled to Cordova: he was sold by the Greeks, who possessed some of the havens under allegiance to the Byzantine Emperor. He was imprisoned first, less rigorously, in pleasant Valencia; afterwards more harshly in Tarragona. He was shut up in a noisome dungeon, with manacles on his hands. The young martyr (he was but twenty-one years old) increased his own sufferings by the sackcloth which chafed his soft and delicate limbs. He resisted all the persuasions, all the arts of his father. A fierce Goth, Sisebert, was sent into his

cell, and clove his skull with an axe. The rebellious but orthodox Hermenegild, about ten centuries after, was canonized by Pope Sixtus V., through the influence of Philip II., the father of the murdered Don Carlos.¹

Leovigild, before his death, was compelled at least to adopt milder measures towards his Catholic subjects. He is even said to have renounced his Arianism.

The first act of his son Recared was to avenge his brother's death on the murderer Sisebert. He hardly condescended to disguise, even for a year, his Catholicism; yet Recared was obliged to proceed with caution and reserve. It was not till the year before Gregory ascended the pontifical throne that Spain declared her return to Roman unity.²

In Africa Gregory endeavored to suppress the undying remains of the Donatist factions, which even now aspired to the primacy of the Numidian Churches; but Donatism expired only with the Christianity of Northern Africa.

By Gregory Britain was again brought within the pale of Christian Europe. The visions of his own early spiritual ambition were fulfilled by his missionary, the monk Augustine. In a letter to the Bishop of Alexandria he relates with triumph the tidings of this conquest, as communicated by Augustine,

¹ The religion was not an affair of race: Massona, the Catholic bishop of Merida, was a Goth. Leovigild set up Sanna as a rival bishop of Merida. Leovigild threatened the holy Massona with exile. "If you know where God is not, command your servants to conduct me thither." A thunderclap pealed in the heavens. "That is the King of whom we and you should stand in awe. He is not a king like you."—Florez, *España Sagrada*.

² Gregory of Tours and John of Biscar are the great authorities for this period of Spanish history.

who boasts already of ten thousand baptized converts.¹ But in the conversion of the heathen Gregory was neither a fierce nor intolerant iconoclast. He deprecated the destruction of the pagan temples; he enjoined their sanctification by Christian rites;² the idols only were to be destroyed without remorse. Even the sacrifices of oxen³ were to continue, but to be celebrated on the saints' days, in order gently to transfer the adoration of the people from their old to their new objects of worship. In his letters to the King and Queen, Ethelred and Bertha, he is gentle, persuasive, but he intimates the rapidly approaching end of the world in those awful terms which might appall the mind of a barbarian.⁴ Even Ireland was not beyond the sphere of Gregory's patriarchal vigilance. He was consulted by certain bishops of that island on the question of re-baptizing heretics. He thought it necessary to inform those remote prelates, who perhaps were utterly ignorant of the controversy, as to his views on the three Chapters. The Irish bishops contrast their own state of peace with the calamities of Italy, and seem disposed to draw the inference that God approved their views on the contested points rather than those of the Italian prelates. Gregory replies that the miseries of Italy were rather signs of God's chastening love. The

¹ Epist. vii. 81.

² We find a singular illustration of the commercial intercourse kept up by means of religion: timber was to be brought from Britain to build the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome; and in several letters to the Bishop of Alexandria, Gregory informs him that he has sent him timber, an acceptable present in Egypt.

³ It is curious to find the theory of the Egyptian origin of many of the Hebrew rites, received with so much apprehension in the writings of Spencer and Warburton, unsuspectingly promulgated by Gregory. — Epist. ix. 71.

⁴ ix. 60.

unconvinced Irish, however, adhered to their own opinions.¹

But if to these remote and yet unsubdued regions Gregory showed this wise forbearance, his solicitude to extirpate the last vestiges of heathenism which still lingered in Sardinia,² and a few other barbarous parts, was more uncompromising and severe. Towards those obstinate heathens he forgot on one occasion his milder language. He instructs the Bishop of Cagliari to preach to them. If his preaching is without effect, to compel them to repentance by imprisonment and other rigorous measures.³

Everywhere throughout the spiritual dominions of Gregory — in Gaul, in Italy, in Sicily, in Gregory and the Jews. Spain — the Jews dwelt mingled with his Christian subjects. To them Gregory was on the whole just and humane.⁴ He censured the Bishop of Terracina for unjustly expelling the Jews from some place where they had been accustomed to celebrate their festivals. He condemned the forcible baptism of Jews in Gaul, which had been complained of by certain itinerant Jewish merchants.⁵ Conviction by preaching was the only legitimate means of conversion. He did not scruple, however, to try the milder method of

¹ Letter of Columbanus published by Usher. — *Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Lugd.*

² *Epist.* iii. 23, 26; vii. 1, 2: compare 20.

³ "Siquidem servi sunt, verberibus, cruciatibusque, quibus ad emendationem pervenire valeant, castigare. Si vero sunt liberi, inclusione dignâ distinctâque sunt in poenitentiam dirigendi; ut qui salubria et a mortis periculo revocantia audire contemnunt, cruciatus (*ibid.*, qu. 7) saltem eos corporis ad desiderandam mentis valeas reducere sanitatem." — vii. ii. 67.

⁴ "Eos enim qui a religione Christianâ discordant, mansuetudine, benignitate, admonendo, suadendo, ad unitatem fidei necesse est congregare." — *Epist.* i. 33.

⁵ Epistle to the bishops of Arles and Marseilles, i. 45.

bribery. Certain Jewish tenants of Church property are told that if they embrace Christianity their rents will be lowered.¹ Even if their conversion be not sincere, that of their children may be so.² He denied them, however, the possession of Christian slaves, though where the slaves belonged as coloni to their estates (the Jews appear here, as in Sicily, in the unusual condition of landowners and cultivators of the soil), they were to maintain their uninvaded rights.³ Slaves of Jewish masters, who, whether pagans or Jews, had taken refuge in a church from the desire of embracing Christianity, were to be purchased from their owners.⁴ Gregory endeavored to check the European slave-trade, which was chiefly in the hands of the Jews, but his efforts were by no means successful.⁵ Gregory reproved the Bishop of Cagliari, who had permitted a Jewish convert named Peter to seize the synagogue, and to set up within it a cross and an image of the Virgin. The Jews had been forbidden to build new synagogues, but were not to be deprived of those which they possessed. In one the images were to be removed with due respect, and the building restored to

¹ iv. 6. This is remarkable as showing the Jews in the rare situation not only as cultivators of the soil, but as cultivators of church lands. In another passage he is extremely indignant at the sale of church vessels to a Jew, who was to be compelled to restore them. — i. 51.

² ii. 37. See the curious story of a Jew who had deceived the Christians by setting up an altar to St. Elias, at which they were tempted to worship. (He must have been a singularly heretical Jew.) He was to be punished for the offence.

³ Epistle to the Bishop of Luna. To Queen Brunehild Gregory expresses his wonder that in her dominions Jews were permitted to possess Christian slaves. — vii. ii. 115, 116.

⁴ v. 31. In the next epistle Gregory expresses his indignation that certain Samaritans in Catana had presumed to circumcise their slaves. Compare vii. 1, 2, and xi. 15.

⁵ vii. ii. 30: compare *Hist. of Jews*, iii

its rightful owners.¹ Directions in a similar spirit were given to the Bishop of Palermo.

Gregory's humanity was hardly tried by the temptation of persecuting heretics. He was happily wanting both in power and in opportunity. The heresies of the East, excepting as to the three Chapters, had almost died away in the West. The Pelagian controversy had almost argued itself to rest; and even Manicheism, which was later to spring up in new forms, lurked only in obscure places, undetected by the searching jealousy of orthodoxy. Arianism in Spain had recanted its errors; among the Lombards it was an armed antagonist which could only be assailed, as it was victoriously assailed, by the gentle means of persuasion and love.

While Gregory was thus, by his Christian virtues, establishing a substantial claim to Christian supremacy, and by superstitions congenial to the age still further unconsciously confirming his authority over the mind of man, he heard with astonishment and indignation that John the Patriarch of Constantinople had publicly, openly, assumed the title of Universal Bishop, a title which implied his absolute supremacy over the Christian world. This claim rested on the civil supremacy of Constantinople. The Western empire had perished, Italy had sunk into a province, Rome into a provincial city. Constantinople was the seat of empire, the capital of the world; the bishop of the capital was of right the chief pontiff of Christendom. The pretensions of the successors of St. Peter were thus contemptuously set aside; the religious supremacy became a kind of appanage to the

Bishop of
Constantino-
ple Universal
Bishop.

¹ vii. ii. 59: compare xi. 15.

civil sovereignty ; it lost at once its permanence, its stability, its independence ; it might fluctuate with all the vicissitudes of political dominion, or the caprice of human despotism.¹

The letter of Gregory to the Emperor Maurice pours forth his indignation with the utmost vehemence, yet not without skill. All the calamities of the empire are traced to the pride and ambition of the clergy, yet there is a prudent reservation for the awfulness of their power, if applied, as it ought to be, as mediators between earth and heaven. "What fleshly arm would presume to lift itself against the imperial majesty, if the clergy were unanimous in insuring, by their prayers and by their merits, the protection of the Redeemer ? Were the clergy what they should be, the fiercest barbarians would cease to rage against the lives of the innocent." "And is this a time, chosen by an arbitrary prelate, to invade the undoubted rights of St. Peter by a haughty and pompous title ? Every part of Europe is abandoned to the dominion of the barbarians ; cities are destroyed, fortresses overthrown, provinces depopulated, lands without inhabitants, the worshippers of idols are daily revelling in the massacre of the faithful, and the priests, who ought to

be wailing in dust and ashes, are inventing new and profane appellations to gratify their pride. Am I defending my own cause ? Is this any special injury to

¹ From the jealous and even angry tone in which Gregory writes to John Archbishop of Ravenna, who had dared to wear the pallium out of the church, and had ventured on other irregularities, at the same time that he protests that he always renders due honor to the church of Ravenna, it may be suspected that, as the residence of the Exarch, the emperor's representative, Ravenna was beginning to aspire towards some peculiar ecclesiastical superiority, at least to independence. — *Epist.* iv. ii. 15.

the Bishop of Rome? It is the cause of God, the cause of the whole Church. And who is he that usurps this uncanonical dignity? — the prelate of a see repeatedly ruled by heretics, by Nestorians, by Macedonians. Let all Christian hearts reject the *blasphemous* name. It was once applied, by the Council of Chalcedon, in honor of St. Peter, to the Bishop of Rome; but the more humble pontiffs of Rome would not assume a title injurious to the rest of the priesthood. I am but the servant of those priests who live as becomes their order. But ‘pride goes before a fall;’ and ‘God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.’”¹

To the Empress (for on all religious questions the Empress is usually addressed as well as the Emperor), Gregory brands the presumption of John as a sign of the coming of Antichrist; and compares it to that of Satan, who aspired to be higher than all the angels.²

Among the exhortations to humility addressed to John himself, he urges this awful example: — “No one in the Church has yet sacrilegiously dared to usurp the name of Universal Bishop. Whoever calls himself Universal Bishop is Antichrist.”³ Gregory appeals also to the Bishops of Antioch and Alexandria to unite with him in asserting the superior dignity of St. Peter, in which they have a common interest; and it is remarkable with what address he endeavors to enlist those prelates in his cause, without distinctly admitting their equal claim to the inheritance of St. Peter, to which Antioch at least might adduce a plausible title.⁴

¹ Epist. Mauriti. Augusto. Epist. iv. 32.

² Ad Constant. Imperatric., Epist. iv. 33.

³ Joanni Constant. Epist. iv. 38.

⁴ “Itaque cum multi sunt apostoli, pro ipso tamen principatu sola apostolorum principis sedes in auctoritate convaluit quæ in tribus locis unius est.

III. In the person of Gregory the Bishop of Rome first became, in act and in influence, if not in Gregory as avowed authority, a temporal sovereign. Nor were his acts the ambitious encroachments of ecclesiastical usurpation on the civil power. They were forced upon him by the purest motives, if not by absolute necessity. The virtual sovereignty fell to him as abdicated by the neglect or powerlessness of its rightful owners: he must assume it, or leave the city and the people to anarchy. He alone could protect Rome and the remnant of her citizens from barbaric servitude; his authority rested on the universal feeling of its beneficence; his title was the security afforded by his government.

Nothing could appear more forlorn and hopeless than the state of Rome on the accession of Gregory to the pontificate — continual wars, repeated sieges, the capture and recapture of the city by barbarian Goths and Vandals, and no less barbarous Greeks.¹ Fires, tempests, inundations had raged with indiscriminating fury. If the heathen buildings of the city had suffered most, it was because, from their magnitude and splendor, they were more exposed to plunder and devastation. The Christian city was indebted for its comparative security, if partially to its sanctity, in a great degree to its humility. Epidemic plagues, the offspring of these calamities, had been constantly completing the work of barbarian enemies and of the destructive elements.

. . . Cum ergo unius atque una sit sedes, cui ex auctoritate divinâ his nunc episcopi president, quicquid ego de vobis boni audio, hoc mihi imputo, quod de me boni creditis hoc vestris meritis imputate." — Epist. vi. 37.

¹ Denina thinks that greater misery was inflicted upon Italy by the Grecian reconquest than by any other invasion. — *Revoluz. d' Italia*, t. i. l. v. p. 247

After the pestilence which raged at the accession of Gregory had been arrested (an event attributed no doubt to the solemn religious ceremonies of the Bishop), his first care was that of a prefect of the city — to supply food for the famishing people. This, as has been shown, was chiefly furnished from Sicily and from the estates of the Church. During this whole period the city was saved from the horrors of famine only by the wise and provident regulations of the Pope.¹

But it was the Lombard invasion which compelled the Pope to take a more active part in the affairs of Italy. For seven and twenty years, says Gregory, we have lived in this city in terror of the sword of the Lombards. If during the few later years of Gregory's pontificate of thirteen years Rome enjoyed a precarious peace, that peace it owed to the intervention of her Bishop.

In their first invasion of Italy, under Alboin,² the Lombards extended their conquests as far as Tuscany and Umbria. Rome, Ravenna, and a few cities on the sea-coast, alone escaped their devastations, and remained under the jurisdiction of the Exarch of Ravenna, the representative of the Byzantine empire. The tragedy of Alboin's death, and that of his adulterous Queen, Rosmunda; the cup made out of her father's skull, with which Alboin pledged her in a public banquet, her revenge, her own murder by her guilty paramour, though in the latter event the Exarch

¹ Gregory, in a letter to one of his agents in Sicily, writes thus:—"Quia si quid minus huc transmittetur, non unus quilibet homo, sed cunctus simul populus trucidatur."—Epist. i. 2.

² A.D. 567, twenty-three years before the popedom of Gregory, A.D. 590.

of Ravenna had taken part, belong, nevertheless, to the unmitigated ferocity of the barbarian. The Lombard host comprehended wild hordes of Teutonic or Sclavonian tribes.¹ They occupied all the cities of northern Italy, to which they gave the name of Lombardy; civilization retreated as they advanced; the bishop, at their approach, fled from Milan. Nothing withheld them from the immediate and total subjugation of Italy but their wars with the Franks — wars excited by the intrigues of the Byzantine court, who by these means alone averted for a time the loss of their Italian territories.

After the short reign of Cleph, the elected successor of Alboin, the kingdom was divided into A.D. 573 dukedoms, and these martial independent princes continued to extend their ravages over the still retiring limits of the Roman dominion. They compelled the cultivators of the soil to pay a third part of their produce; they plundered churches and monasteries without scruple; massacred the clergy, destroyed the cities, and mowed down the people like corn.²

The perpetual wars with the Franks, who still poured over the Alps, demanded from the Lombards A.D. 584 a firmer government. Autharis was raised by acclamation to the Lombard throne. Within his own dominions the reign of Autharis was that of prosperity and peace. So only can any truth be assigned to the poetic description of his rule by the Latin historian the Deacon Paul, in whose glowing words the savage and desolating Lombards almost suddenly became an order-

¹ "Unde usque hodie eorum in quibus habitant vicos, Gepidos, Bulgares, Sarmatas, Pannonios, Suavos, Noricos, sive aliis hujuscemodi nominibus appellamus." — Paul. *Dial. de Gestis Longobard.*, ii. 28.

² *De Gestis Longobard.*, ii. 32.

ly, peaceful, Christian people. "Wonderful was the state of the Lombard kingdom: violence and treachery were alike unknown; no one oppressed, no one plundered another; thefts and robberies were unheard of; the traveller went wherever he would in perfect security."¹ How strange a contrast with the bitter and unceasing complaints in the works of Gregory of the savage manners, remorseless cruelties, and sacrilegious impieties, of these most wicked Lombards,² these heathen or Arian enemies of Rome and of true religion! During a period of cessation in his wars with the Franks, King Autharis swept unresisted over the whole of Southern Italy. At Reggio, the extreme point, the conqueror rode his horse into the sea, and with his spear struck a column, which had been erected there, exclaiming, "This is the boundary of the Lombard kingdom." During this or former expeditions Lombard dukedoms had been founded in the south, of which the most formidable were those of Spoleto and Benevento. These half-independent chieftains waged war upon the Romans; the latter especially carried his ravages to the gates of Rome.

The Italians sent earnest supplications, and the Pope pressing message after message for succor, to the successive Emperors, Tiberius and Maurice. The Byzantine government was too feeble, or too much occupied by nearer enemies, to render effectual aid to this remote province: their allies, the Franks, were the only safeguards of Italy.

It was towards the close of the reign of Autharis that Gregory became bishop of the plague-stricken

¹ Paul. Diac. iii. 16.

² "Nefandissimos Lombardos" is Gregory's standing epithet.

city. In the second year of his pontificate, Agilulf became the husband of Theodelinda, the widow of Autharis, and king of the Lombards.¹ The Exarch, who had not the power to avert, had the folly to provoke the Lombards to new invasions. He surprised Perugia and some other cities, and, to protect them, withdrew great part of the insufficient garrison of Rome. Agilulf poured his unresisted swarms into Southern Italy.²

Already had Gregory made peace with one formidable enemy, Ariulf, the Duke of Spoleto.³ The predatory bands of the Lombard had threatened the city, where the walls were scarcely manned by a diminished and unpaid garrison. Agilulf, with his army, appeared at the gates of Rome.⁴ Gregory suddenly brought to an end his exposition of the Temple of Ezekiel, on which he was preaching to the people. His work closes with these words:—"If I must now break off my discourse, ye are my witnesses for what reason, ye who share in my tribulations. On all sides we are girt with war; everywhere is the imminent

¹ Gregory ascribes the death of "Nefandissimus" Autharis to a direct judgment of God, for his prohibiting the baptism of Lombard children in the Catholic faith, "pro quâ culpâ eum divina majestas extinxit." Autharis was reported to have died by poison (Epist. i. 16, Nov.-Dec. 590)—probably an idle tale. — Paul. Diac. iii. 36.

² "Non Romanorum," wrote Gregory, "sed Longobardorum episcopus factus sum."

³ Gregory's letter to the Archbishop of Ravenna shows how these affairs were thrown upon him. "Movere vos non debet Romani patricii animositas. Age cum eo ut pacem cum Ariulpho faciamus, quia miles de Româ ablatus est. Theodosiani vero, qui remanserunt, rogam non accipientes vix ad murorum custodiam se accommodant, et destituta ab omnibus civitas, si pacem non habet, quomodo subsistat?" — Epist. ii. 32.

⁴ Chronologists differ as to the date of this siege. Sigonius gives 594, Baronius 595. I should agree with Muratori for 592, or at latest 593. Jaffé dates it 592, July. — Epist. i. 46.

peril of death. Some return to us with their hands chopped off, some are reported as captives, others as slain. I am constrained to cease from my exposition, for I am weary of life. Who can expect me now to devote myself to sacred eloquence, now that my harp is turned to mourning, and my speech to the voice of them that weep?"¹

At least, by encouraging the commanders of the garrison, who seem to have done their duty, Gregory defended Rome. Gregory contributed to avert the impending capture of the city. While all the Romans, even those of the highest rank and family, without the city, were dragged like dogs into captivity,² at least those within were in safety, and owed their safety to the Pope; and the pacific influence which Gregory obtained in this momentous crisis led, after some years, to a definitive treaty of peace.³

Yet while Gregory was thus exercising the real power, and performing the protecting part of a sovereign, the Exarch, the feeble and insolent Romanus, affected to despise the weakness of Gregory, in supposing the barbarous Lombards disposed to peace.⁴ The Emperor Maurice, safe in his palace at Constantinople, looked with jealousy on the proceedings of Gregory,

¹ Job. xxx. 31, Exposit. in Ezekiel. sub fin.

² It is not quite clear at what period the noble Romans, whom Gregory was anxious to ransom from the nefandissimi Lombardi, were carried into captivity upon the taking of Crotona. — Epist. vi. 23.

³ Sigonius places the final peace in 599; so also Jaffé, March. — Epist. ix. 42.

⁴ According to Gregory, the oppressions of the Exarchs were even worse than the hostilities of the Lombards. "Quia ejus in nos malitia gladios Longobardorum vicit: ita ut benigniores videantur hostes, qui nos interiumt quam reipublice judices, qui nos malitiâ suâ, rapinis atque fallaciis in cogitatione consumunt." — Epist. ad Sebast. Episc. vi. 42.

who thus presumed to save the narrow remnant of his dominions without his sanction, and disowned the peace, made, it should seem, by Gregory on his own authority.¹ Gregory, indeed, according to his own statement, possessed greater powers than he displayed. The fate of the whole Lombard race depended on his will. On the occasion of a charge made against him, as having been accessory to the death of a bishop, he is not content with repelling the accusation as false and alien to his humane disposition, but he desires the Emperor to be reminded, that if he had been disposed to mingle himself up with the death of the Lombards, the nation would have been without king, duke, or count, and would have fallen into utter confusion. But the fear of God had forbidden him to be concerned in the death of any human being.² It is difficult to reject this as an idle boast; more difficult to fix any period or to point to any juncture in which the Pope's humanity was exposed to this temptation.

But it is most singular that the influence of Gregory was obtained by means not only more mild and legitimate, but purely religious. In their very hour of conquest he was subduing the conqueror. While the Lombard king was at the gates of Rome, at the head of a hostile and ferocious army, Gregory was pursuing the triumphs of the Catholic faith, entertaining a friendly correspondence with the orthodox

¹ Epist. v. 40: compare v. 42.

² "Quod breviter suggeras domino nostro, quia si ego servus eorum in morte Longobardorum miscere me voluissem, hodie Longobardorum gens nec Regem, nec Duces nec Comites haberet, atque in summâ confusione esset divisa." — Epist. vii. 1, ad Sabin., quoted also in Paul. Diacon. This seems to point at some conspiracy devised to massacre the Lombard chiefs. It cannot mean any fanatic confidence in his own prayers, as of power to pluck down divine vengeance upon them.

Conversion of
Lombards.
March, 590.

Queen Theodelinda, and beginning, at least, to wean the sovereign and his subjects from what he thought, doubtless, the worst part of their character, their Arianism. Theodelinda was a Bavarian princess, bred up in Trinitarian belief, and to her Gregory appeals to show her genuine Christianity by her love of peace. Great would be her reward if she should check the prodigal effusion of blood. To Theodelinda Gregory addressed his memorable Dialogues; and perhaps the best excuse which can be made for the wild and extravagant legends thus stamped with his authority, and related apparently with such undoubting faith, may be found in the person to whom he dedicated this work. They might be, if not highly colored, selected with less scruple in order to impress the Lombard queen with the wonder-working power of the Roman clergy, of the orthodox monks and bishops of Italy. Profound as was the superstition of Gregory, many of these stories need some such palliation.¹

Gregory employed the influence which he had obtained over Queen Theodelinda not merely to secure for Rome the blessings of peace; through him likewise, according to the annalist of the Lombards, from heathens, or, at most Arians, who paid no regard to the sacred possessions, the edifices, or the ministers of the Church, the whole nation, with Agilulf, their king, became orthodox Christians. Agilulf restored the wealth which he had plundered from the churches, reinstated the ejected bishops, and raised those who

¹ Some writers have endeavored to relieve the memory of Gregory the Great from the authorship of the Dialogues. But there can be no reasonable doubt of their authenticity; they are entirely in his style and manner, and alluded to more than once in his unquestioned writings.

had remained in their sees from abject poverty and degradation to dignity and power.¹ At what period this conversion took place it is difficult to decide; throughout Gregory's writings the Lombards are mentioned with unmitigated abhorrence; it could only, therefore, be towards the close of his life that this important event can be thought possible.

Still, however, Gregory acknowledged himself a subject of the Emperor. Though constrained to negotiate a separate peace, this measure was submissively excused as compelled by hard necessity. Even in his strongest act of opposition to the Byzantine court, in which the civil power of the Emperor and the monastic spirit of the Pope seemed to meet in irreconcilable hostility, his resistance to the law which prohibited soldiers actually enrolled or enlisted Imperial law about monastics. by a mark on the hand from deserting their duty to their country and taking refuge in monasteries, Gregory did not dare to resist the publication of the edict.² His language is that of supplication rather than remonstrance; the humble expostulation of a subject, not the bold assertion of spiritual power. "I confess, my Sovereigns, that I am struck with terror at this edict, by which heaven is closed against so many; and that which before was lawful to all, is prohibited to some. Many, indeed, may lead a religious life in a secular habit, but the most of men cannot be saved before God but by leaving all they have. What am I, who thus address my Sovereigns? Dust, and a worm! But I cannot be silent before my Sovereigns, because this edict is directed against God, the author

¹ Paull. Diac. iv. 6.

² This edict dates 593. Gregory's letter, Aug. 593. — Jaffe.

of all things. Power was given to my Sovereigns over all men, to assist the good, to open wide the way to heaven; and that the kingdom of earth might be subservient to the kingdom of heaven. And now, behold, it is proclaimed that no one who is marked as an earthly soldier, unless he has completed his service, or is discharged from infirmity, shall be allowed to be a soldier of Jesus Christ. To this Christ answers, by me, the lowliest of his servants and yours: 'From a notary I made you captain of the guards; from captain of the guards, Cæsar; from Cæsar, emperor; and, more than that, the father of emperors. I commended my priests to your care, and you withdraw your soldiers from my service.' Tell your servant what answer you will make to the Lord when he comes to judgment. It is supposed, perhaps, that such conversions are not sincere; but I, your unworthy servant, know many converted soldiers who in our own days have worked miracles and done many signs and wonders. And will you prohibit the conversion of such men by law? Inquire what emperor it was that first issued such a statute.¹ Consider seriously, is this the time to prohibit men from leaving the world, when the end of the world is at hand? But a short time, and the earth and the heavens will burn, and among the blazing elements, amid angels and archangels, and thrones and dominions, and principalities and powers, the terrible Judge will appear. And what, if all your sins be remitted and this law

¹ The allusion is to Julian the Apostate. — See Epist. 65. In the same letter Gregory asserts the temporal dominion of the sovereign in still stronger terms. "Qui dominari eum non solum militibus, sed etiam sacerdotibus concessit."

rise up against you, will be your excuse? By that terrible Judge I beseech you, let not so many tears, so many prayers, and alms, and fastings be obscured before the sight of God. Either mitigate or alter this law. The armies of my Sovereigns will be strengthened against their enemies in proportion as the armies of God, whose warfare is by prayer, are increased. I, who am subject to your authority, have commanded the law to be transmitted throughout the empire, but I have also avowed to my Sovereigns that I esteem it displeasing to God. I have done my duty in both cases; I have obeyed the Emperor, and not compromised my reverence for God.”¹

The darkest stain on the name of Gregory is his cruel and unchristian triumph in the fall of the Emperor Maurice — his base and adulatory praise of Phocas, the most odious and sanguinary tyrant who had ever seized the throne of Constantinople. It is the worst homage to religion to vindicate or even to excuse the crimes of religious men; and the apologetic palliation, or even the extenuation of their misdeeds rarely succeeds in removing, often strengthens, the unfavorable impression.

The conduct of the Emperor Maurice to Gregory had nothing of that vigor or generosity which had commended him to his Eastern subjects, while the avarice which had estranged their affections contributed manifestly towards the abandonment of Italy to the Lombard invader. Gregory owed not his elevation to Maurice. The cold consent of the Byzantine Emperor had ratified his election, and from that time the Emperor had treated him with neglect and contempt.

¹ Ad Maurit. Imperat. — Epist. ii. 62.

On one occasion Maurice had called him in plain terms a fool for allowing himself to be imposed upon by the craft of the Lombard Ariulf. "A fool indeed I am," replied Gregory, "to suffer, as I do, among the swords of the Lombards."¹ Throughout his reign Maurice had impotently resented the enforced interference of Gregory in temporal affairs. He had thwarted and repudiated his negotiations, by which Rome was saved. The only act of vigor by which the Emperor had attempted to recruit his Italian armies had been that which Gregory in his monastic severity had denounced as a flagrant impiety. Maurice had, at least, connived at the arrogant usurpation of the title of Universal Bishop by the patriarch of Constantinople, even if he had not deliberately sanctioned it.²

Could it be expected that Gregory should rise superior to all these causes of animosity; that he should altogether suppress or disguise what might appear his patriotic and religious hopes from a change of dynasty? Such revolutions were of so frequent occurrence on the throne of Byzantium as to awaken little surprise and less sympathy, in the remote provinces; and the allegiance of Italy was but of recent date — an allegiance which subjected the land to all the tyranny and oppression, and afforded none of the protection and security, of a regular government.

¹ Epist. iv. 31. The craft which has been imputed to Gregory may perhaps be traced in this remarkable letter. He acknowledges himself and the priesthood in general subject to the censure of the emperor. "*Sed excellenti consideratione propter eum cujus servi sunt, eis ita dominetur, ut etiam debitam reverentiam impendat. Nam in divinis eloquiis sacerdotes aliquando dii, aliquando angeli vocantur.*"

² Maurice, according to the biographer of Gregory, had meditated more violent hostility against the Pope, but had been deterred by the alarming prophecy of a monk. — Vit. Greg.

At the time of his insurrection Phocas was an undistinguished soldier, raised by the acclamations of the army to the post of peril and honor;¹ his mean and cruel character, even his repulsive and hideous person, might be unknown in Rome; and Gregory might suppose that in such an exigency the choice of the army would not fall upon a man without courage, energy, or ability. It was no uncommon event in the annals of the empire to transfer the diadem to some bold military adventurer; Rome and Constantinople owed some of their best rulers to such revolutions.

But the common usage of such revolutions could not vindicate to a Christian prelate the barbarities with which Maurice and his infant family were put to death; and the high-wrought resignation of Maurice, it might have been supposed, would awaken ardent admiration in a mind like Gregory's. "If he is a coward, he will be a murderer!" such was the prophetic language of Maurice concerning the successful usurper. Maurice had taken refuge in a sanctuary; but when Phocas appeared as Emperor at the gates, when, in discharge of the first imperial duty at Constantinople, he interfered between the blue and the green factions in the Circus, which still excited fiercer animosities than those of the state, the Blues, against whom the usurper took part, broke out into menacing and significant shouts, "Maurice is not dead!" Phocas imme-

¹ Theophylact, viii. 1, vol. i. p. 706, edit. Bonn. His person and character are thus described by the hatred of later writers. He was short, deformed, with a fierce look, and red hair, with his brows meeting and his chin shaved. He had a scar on his cheek, which looked black when he was angry. He was a drunkard, lewd, sanguinary, stern and savage in speech, pitiless, brutal, and a heretic! His wife Leonto was as bad. — Cedren. Lib. i. p. 708.

diately ordered the fallen emperor to be dragged from his sanctuary. His five sons were butchered before his face. The unmoved and tearless father, as each received the fatal blow, exclaimed, "Just art thou, O Lord, and righteous are thy judgments!" With a sterner feeling of self-sacrifice, if it were not, indeed, despair which took the form of frenzy, he betrayed the pious fraud of a nurse, who had substituted her own child for the youngest of the Emperor. Maurice was beheaded the last;¹ the heads were cast before the throne of Phocas, who would not allow them, till compelled by their offensiveness, to be buried.

The intelligence of these events, with most, at least, of their revolting circumstances, must have arrived at Rome at the same time with that of the fall of Maurice and the elevation of Phocas. It is astonishing that even common prudence did not temper the language of the triumphant Pontiff, who launches out into a panegyric on the mercy and benignity of the usurper, calls on earth and heaven to rejoice at his accession, augurs peace and prosperity to the empire from his pious acts, and even seems to anticipate the return of the old republican freedom under the rule of the devout and gentle Phocas.²

¹ According to the biographer, Maurice owed profound obligations to Gregory, which might overbalance such merciless rejoicings at his worldly fate. He owed his eternal salvation to the prayer of Gregory. "Et quia oratio Gregorii, quâ illum petierat in terribili Dei judicio liberum ab omnibus delictis inveniri, *vacua esse non potuit*: idem Mauricius id recepit quod meruit et in cunctis suis incommodis Deum benedicens, a sempiterno supplicio meruit liberari." — Joann. Diac. iii. 19.

² "Lætentur cœli et exultet terra; et de benignis vestris actibus universæ reipublicæ populus, nunc usque vehementer afflictus, hilarescat. . . . Hoc namque inter reges gentium et reipublicæ Imperatores distat, quod reges gentium domini servorum sunt; Imperatores vero reipublicæ domini liberorum." — Epist. xi. 38.

The sad truth is, that Gregory was blinded by the one great absorbing object, the interest of the JUNE, 603. Church, which to him involved the interest of religion, of mankind, and of God. Loyalty, justice, candor, even humanity, yielded to the dominant feeling. Maurice was not above suspicion of heresy; the unscrupulous hostility, no doubt, of political enemies taunted him as a Marcionist. At all events, he had countenanced the usurpation of the Bishop of Constantinople. John of Constantinople, with his sanction, called himself Universal Bishop. The new emperor, out of enmity to the old, would probably espouse the opposite side. Already Phocas seems to have invited in some way the adulation of Gregory; and reverence for the see of Rome, obedience to legitimate ecclesiastical authority, were in themselves, or gave the promise of, such transcendent virtues, that rebellion, murder, brutal barbarity, were overlooked, as the accidental result of circumstances, the inevitable evils of a beneficial revolution. So completely, by this time, had the sacerdotal obtained the superiority over the Phocas Emperor. moral influence of Christianity, that even a A.D. 602-610. man of Gregory's unquestioned Christian gentleness and natural humanity could not escape the predominant passion.

Gregory was spared the pain and shame of witnessing the utter falsehood of his pious vaticinations as to the glorious and holy reign of Phocas. In the second year of the tyrant's reign he closed the thirteen important years of his pontificate. The ungrateful Romans paid but tardy honors to his memory. Death of Gregory, March 10, 604. His death was followed by a famine, which the starving multitude attributed to his wasteful dilapi-

dation of the patrimony of the Church — that patrimony which had been so carefully administered, and so religiously devoted to their use. Nothing can give a baser notion of their degradation than their actions. They proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the library of Gregory, and were only deterred from their barbarous ravages by the interposition of Peter, the faithful archdeacon. Peter had been interlocutor of Gregory in the wild legends contained in the Dialogues. The archdeacon now assured the populace of Rome that he had often seen the Holy Ghost, in the visible shape of a dove, hovering over the head of Gregory as he wrote. Gregory's successor therefore hesitated, and demanded that Peter should confirm his pious fiction or fancy by an oath. He ascended the pulpit, but before he had concluded his solemn oath he fell dead. That which to an hostile audience might have been a manifest judgment against perjury, was received as a divine testimony to his truth.¹ The Roman Church has constantly permitted Gregory to be represented with the Holy Ghost, as a dove, floating over his head.²

¹ Joann. Diacon. Vit. iv. 69.

² I am disposed to insert the epitaph on Gregory as an example of the poetry and of the religious sentiment of the times:—

Suscipe, terra, tuo corpus de corpore sumptum,
 Reddere quod vales, vivificante Deo.
 Spiritus alta petit, leti nil jura nocebunt,
 Cui vitæ alterius mors magis fila via est.
 Pontificis summi hoc clauduntur membra sepulcro,
 Qui innumeris semper vivit ubique bonis.
 Eurilem dapibus superavit, frigora veste,
 Atque animas moritis texit ab hoste suis.
 Implebatque actu quicquid sermone docebat,
 Eset ut exemplum mystica verba loquens.
 Anglos ad Christum vertit, pietate ministrâ,
 Acquirens fideique agmina gente nova.

The historian of Christianity is arrested by certain characters and certain epochs, which stand as landmarks between the close of one age of religion and the commencement of another. Such a character is Gregory the Great ; such an epoch his pontificate, the termination of the sixth century.

Gregory, not from his station alone, but by the acknowledgment of the admiring world, was intellectually, as well as spiritually, the great model of his age. He was proficient in all the arts and sciences cultivated at that time ; the vast volumes of his writings show his indefatigable powers ; their popularity and their authority his ability to clothe those thoughts and those reasonings in language which would awaken and command the general mind.

His epoch was that of the final Christianization of the world, not in outward worship alone, not in its establishment as the imperial religion, the rise of the church upon the ruin of the temple, and the recognition of the hierarchy as an indispensable rank in the social system, but in its full possession of the whole mind of man, in letters, arts as far as arts were cultivated, habits, usages, modes of thought, and in popular superstition.

Not only was heathenism, but, excepting in the laws and municipal institutions, Romanity itself absolutely extinct. The reign of Theodoric had been an attempt to fuse together Roman, Teutonic, and Christian usages. Cassiodorus, though half a monk, aspired

*Hic labor, hoc studium, hæc tibi cura, hoc, pastor, agebas,
Ut Domini offerres plurima lucra greges.
Hisque Dei consul factus lætare triumphis,
Nam mercedem operum jam sine fine tenes.*

Remark the old Roman image in the last line but one.

to be a Roman statesman, Boethius to be a heathen philosopher. The influence of the Roman schools of rhetoric is betrayed even in the writers of Gaul, such as Sidonius Apollinaris; there is an attempt to preserve some lingering cadence of Roman poetry in the Christian versifiers of that age. At the close of the sixth century all this has expired; ecclesiastical Latin is the only language of letters, or rather, letters themselves are become purely ecclesiastical. The fable of Gregory's destruction of the Palatine Library is now rejected, as injurious to his fame; but probably the Palatine Library, if it existed, would have been so utterly neglected that Gregory would hardly have condescended to fear its influence. His aversion to such studies is not that of dread or hatred, but of religious contempt; profane letters are a disgrace to a Christian bishop; the truly religious spirit would loathe them of itself.¹

What, then, was this Christianity by which Gregory ruled the world? Not merely the speculative and dogmatic theology, but the popular, vital, active Christianity, which was working in the heart of man; the dominant motive of his actions, as far as they were affected by religion; the principal element of his hopes and fears as regards the invisible world and that future life which had now become part of his conscious belief.

The history of Christianity cannot be understood without pausing at stated periods to survey the progress and development of this Christian mythology, which, gradually growing up and

Christian
mythology.

¹ See the pious wonder with which he reproves a bishop of Gaul. "Post hæc pervenit ad nos quod *sine verecundia* memorare non possumus, fraternitatem tuam grammaticam quibusdam exponere. . . . Quam grave nefandumque sit episcopos canere, quod nec laico religioso conveniat, ipse considera." — Epist. ix. 48.

springing as it did from natural and universal instincts, took a more perfect and systematic form, and at length, at the height of the Middle Ages, was as much a part of Latin Christianity as the primal truths of the Gospel. This growth, which had long before begun, had reached a kind of adolescence in the age of Gregory, to expand into full maturity during succeeding ages. Already the creeds of the Church formed but a small portion of Christian belief. The highest and most speculative questions of theology, especially in Alexandria and Constantinople, had become watchwords of strife and faction, had stirred the passions of the lowest orders; the two Natures, or the single or double Will in Christ, had agitated the workshop of the artisan and the seats in the Circus. But when these great questions had sunk into quiescence, or, as in Latin Christianity, had never so fully occupied the general mind; when either the triumph of one party, or the general weariness, had worn out their absorbing interest, the religious mind subsided into its more ordinary occupations, and these bore but remote relation to the sublime truths of the Divine Unity and the revelation of God in Christ. As God the Father had receded, as it were, from the sight of man into a vague and unapproachable sanctity; as the human soul had been entirely centred on the more immediate divine presence in the Saviour; so the Saviour himself might seem to withdraw from the actual, at least the exclusive, devotion of the human heart, which was busied with intermediate objects of worship. Christ assumed gradually more and more of the awfulness, the immateriality, the incomprehensibility, of the Deity, and men sought out beings more akin to themselves, more open, it might seem,

to human sympathies. The Eucharist, in which the Redeemer's spiritual presence, yet undefined and untransubstantiated, was directly and immediately in communio with the soul, had become more and more wrapt in mystery; though the great crowning act of faith, the interdiction of which was almost tantamount to a sentence of spiritual death, it was more rarely approached, except by the clergy. Believers delighted in those ceremonials to which they might have recourse with less timidity; the shrines and the relics of martyrs might deign to receive the homage of those who were too profane to tread the holier ground. Already the worship of these lower objects of homage begins to intercept that to the higher; the popular mind is filling with images either not suggested at all, or suggested but very dimly, by the sacred writings; legends of saints are supplanting, or rivalling at least, in their general respect and attention, the narratives of the Bible.

Of all these forms of worship, the most captivating, and captivating to the most amiable weaknesses of the human mind, was the devotion to the Virgin Mary. The worship of the Virgin had first arisen in the East;¹ and this worship, already more than initiate, contributed, no doubt, to the passionate violence with which the Nestorian controversy was agitated, while that controversy, with its favorable issue to those who might seem most zealous for the Virgin's glory, gave a strong impulse to the worship. The denial of the title "The Mother of God," by Nestorius, was that which sounded most offensive to the general ear; it was the intelligible odious point in his heresy. The worship of

¹ Evagr. ii. E. v. 19.

the Virgin now appears in the East as an integral part of Christianity. Among Justinian's splendid edifices arose many churches dedicated to the Mother of God.¹ The feast of the Annunciation is already celebrated under Justin and Justinian.² Heraclius has images of the Virgin on his masts when he sails to Constantinople to overthrow Phocas.³ Before the end of the century the Virgin is become the tutelary deity of Constantinople, which is saved by her intercession from the Saracens.⁴

In the time of Gregory the worship of the Virgin had not assumed that rank in Latin Christianity to which it rose in later centuries, ^{Worship of the Virgin.} though that second great impulse towards this worship, the unbounded admiration of virginity, had full possession of his monastic mind. With Gregory celibacy was the perfection of human nature; he looked with abhorrence on the contamination of the holy sacerdotal character, even in its lowest degree, by any sexual connection.⁵ No subdeacon, after a certain period, was to be admitted without a vow of chastity; no married subdeacon to be promoted to a higher rank. In one of his expositions⁶ he sadly relates the *fall* of one of his aunts, a consecrated virgin; she had been guilty

¹ Procop. de Edif. c. 6.

² Niceph. H. E. xvii. 28.

³ Theophanes, p. 429, edit. Bonn.

⁴ Theophan. p. 609 *et passim*.

⁵ "Nullus debet ad ministerium altaris accedere, nisi cujus castitas ante susceptum ministerium sit approbata." — Epist. i. 42. He protests against the election of a bishop who had a young daughter; this bishop, however, was also simplex, and charged with usury. — viii. 40. No bigamist, or one who had married a wife not a virgin, to be received into orders. Marriages, however, Gregory declares, cannot be dissolved on account of religion; both parties must consent to live continently in marriage. — ix. 39.

⁶ That on the text, "many are called, but few chosen."

of the sin of marriage. Of all his grievances against the Exarch of Ravenna none seems more worthy of complaint than that he had encouraged certain nuns to throw off their religious habits, and to marry.¹ Gregory does not seem to have waged this war against nature, however his sentiments were congenial with those of his age, with his wonted success.² His letters are full of appeals to sovereigns and to bishops to repress the incontinence of the clergy; even monasteries were not absolutely safe.³

It was not around the monastery alone, the centre of this preternatural agency, that the ordinary providence of God gave place to a perpetual interposition of *mi-Angels*. raculous power. Every Christian was environed with a world of invisible beings, who were constantly putting off their spiritual nature, and assuming forms, uttering tones, distilling odors, apprehensible by the soul of man, or taking absolute and conscious possession of his inward being. A distinction was drawn between the pure, spiritual, illimitable, incomprehensible nature of the Godhead, and the thin and subtile, but bodily forms of angels and archangels. These were perceptible to the human senses, wore the human form, spoke with human language: their substance was the thin air, the impalpable fire; it resem-

¹ Epist. iv. 18.

² The absurd story about Gregory's fish-ponds paved with the skulls of the drowned infants of the Roman clergy, is only memorable as an instance of what writers of history will believe, and persuade themselves they believe, when it suits party interest. But by whom, or when, was it invented? It is much older than the Reformation.

³ Epist. viii. 21. The regulations of Gregory about the monastic life are in a wiser spirit. None were to be received as monks under 18 (Epist. i. 41); none without two years' probation (iv. 44, viii. 23); but monks who left their monasteries were to be confined for life (i. 33, 40, xii. 28). He mentions also the wandering Africans, who were often secret Manicheans.

bled the souls of men, but yet, whenever they pleased, it was visible, performed the functions of life, communicated not with the mind and soul only, but with the eye and ear of man.¹

The hearing and the sight of religious terror were far more quick and sensitive. The angelic Devils. visitations were but rare and occasional; the more active Demons were ever on the watch, seizing and making every opportunity of beguiling their easy victims.² They were everywhere present, and everywhere betraying their presence. They ventured into the holiest places; they were hardly awed by the most devout saints; but, at the same time, there was no being too humble, to whose seduction they would not condescend — nothing in ordinary life so trivial and insignificant but that they would stoop to employ it for their evil purposes. They were without the man, terrifying him with mysterious sounds and unaccountable sights. They were within him, compelling all his faculties to do their bidding, another indwelling will besides his own, compelling his reluctant soul to perform their

¹ The following definition is of a later period, but represents the established notion:—*Περὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων, καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τούτους ἐγίων δυνάμεων, προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, νοερούς μὴν αὐτοὺς ἢ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ γινώσκει, οὐ μὴν ἁσωμάτους πάντη καὶ ὁράτους, ὡς ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες φατέ· λεπτοσωμάτους δὲ καὶ ἀερώδεις ἢ πυρώδεις κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ὃ ποῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοὺς πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον.* — Joann. Episcop. Thessalon. apud Concil. Nic. ii., Labbe, p. 354.

² Read Cassian, who writes indeed of monks, but the belief was universal. "Nosse debemus non omnes universas daemones passiones ingerere, sed unicuique vitio certos spiritus incubare: et alios quidem immunditiis ac libidinum sordibus delectari; alios blasphemis, alios iræ furoriquæ proclivius imminere, alios cenodoxiâ superbiâque mulceri; et unumquemque illud vitium humanis cordibus, quo ipse gaudet, inserere: sed non cunctos pariter suas ingerere pravitates, sed vicissim prout temporis vel loci vel suscipientis opportunitas provocaverit." — Cass. Coll. 7, c. 17.

service. Every passion, every vice, had its especial demon; lust, impiety, blasphemy, vainglory, pride, were not the man himself, but a foreign power working within him. The slightest act, sometimes no act at all, surrendered the soul to the irresistible indwelling agent. In Gregory's Dialogues a woman eats a lettuce without making the sign of the cross; she is possessed by a devil, who had been swallowed in the unexorcised lettuce. Another woman is possessed for admitting her husband's embraces the night before the dedication of an oratory.

Happily there existed, and existed almost at the command of the clergy, a counterworking power to this fatal diabolic influence, in the perpetual presence of the saints, more especially in hallowed places, and about their own relics.¹ These relics were the treasure with which the clergy, above all the bishops of Rome, who possessed those of St. Peter and St. Paul, with countless others, ruled the mind; for by these they controlled and kept in awe, they repaired the evils wrought by this whole world of evil spirits. Happy were the churches, the monasteries, whose foundations were hallowed and secured by these sacred talismans. To doubt their presence in these dedicated shrines, in the scenes of their martyrdom, obstinately to require the satisfaction of the senses as to their presence, was an impious want of faith; belief, in propor-

¹ Gregory thus lays down the doctrine of his age: "Ubi in suis corporibus sancti martyres jacent, dubium, Petre, non est, quod multa valeant signa demonstrare, sicut et fecerunt, et purâ mente querentibus innumera miracula ostendunt. Sed quis ab infirmis mentibus potest dubitari, utrumne ad exaudiendum ibi præsentæ sunt, ubi constat, quia in suis corporibus non sunt, ita necesse est eos majora signa ostendere, ubi de eorum præsentia potest mens infirma dubitare. Quorum vero mens in Deo fixa est, tanto magis habet fidei meritum, quando eos novit, et non jacere corpore, et tamen non deesse ad exaudiendum."

tion to the doubtfulness of the miracle, was the more meritorious. Kings and queens bowed in awe before the possessors and dispensers of these wonder-working treasures,¹ which were not only preservative against worldly calamities, but absolved from sin.²

Relics had now attained a self-defensive power; profane hands which touched them withered; *Relics.* and men who endeavored to remove them were struck dead.³ Such was the declaration of Gregory himself, to one who had petitioned for the head or some part of the body of St. Paul. It was an awful thing even to approach to worship them. Men who had merely touched the bones of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Lawrence, though with the pious design of changing their position or placing the scattered bones together, had fallen dead, in one case to the number of ten. The utmost that the Church of Rome could bestow would be a cloth which had been permitted to touch them; and even such cloths had been known to bleed. If, indeed, the chains of St. Paul would yield any of their precious iron to the file, which they often refused to do, this, he writes, he would transmit to the Empress; and he consoles her for the smallness of the gift by the miraculous power which it will inherently possess.⁴

¹ See letters to the Bishop of Xaintonge and Brunechild Queen of France.

² "Ut quod illius collum ligat ad martyrium, vestrum ab omnibus peccatis solvat." — Dialog. vi. 25.

³ On relics, especially those of St. Peter, compare Epist. i. 29, 30, ii. ii. 32, iii. 30, v. 50, 51, vi. 23, 25, vii. 2, 112, vii. ii. 88, xii. 17. They were formerly defended by law, their removal and sale prohibited. "Nemo martyrem distrahat, nemo mercetur." — C. Theod. ix. 17. Compare C. Justin. i. t. 2. Augustine speaks of vagabond monks, who traded in false relics. "Membra martyrum, si tamen martyrum venditant." — De Oper. Monach. c. 28.

⁴ All this is verbatim from the curious letter to the Empress Constantia.

Gregory doled out such gifts with pious parsimony. A nail which contained the minutest filings from the chains of St. Peter¹ was an inestimable present to a patrician, or an ex-consul, or a barbaric king. Sometimes they were inserted in a small cross; in one instance with fragments of the gridiron on which St. Lawrence was roasted.² One of the *golden* nails of the chains of St. Peter had tempted the avarice of a profane, no doubt a heathen or Arian, Lombard; he took out his knife to sever it off; the awe-struck knife sprung up and cut his sacrilegious throat. The Lombard king, Autharis, and his attendants, were witnesses of the miracle, and stood in terror, not daring to lift the fearful nail from the ground. A Catholic was fortunately found, by whom the nail permitted itself to be touched, and this peerless gift, so avouched, Gregory sends to a distinguished civil officer.³

That sanctity, which thus dwelt in the relics of the saints, was naturally gathered, as far as possible, around their own persons by the clergy, hallowed as they were, and set apart by their ordination from the common race of man; and if the hierarchy had only wielded this power for self-protection; if they had but arrayed themselves in this defensive awe against the insults and cruelties of barbarians, such as the Lombards are described, it would be stern censure which would condemn even manifest imposture. We might excuse the embellishment, even the inven-

—iii. 30. Gregory had forgotten that he had been allowed to transport from Constantinople to Rome an arm of St. Andrew and the head of St. Luke, and owed a more liberal return.

¹ Epist. i. 29, 30. King Childebert, vi. vi. "Quæ collo vestro suspensæ a malis vos omnibus tueantur."

² Epist. ii. ii. 32.

³ Dial. vi. 23; see also 25.

tion of the noble story of the Bishop Sanctulus, who offered his life for that of a captive deacon; before whom the Lombard executioner, when he lifted up his sword to behead him, felt his arm stiffen, and could not move it till he had solemnly sworn never to raise that sword against the life of a Christian.¹ But this conservative respect for the sanctity of their order darkens too frequently into pride and inhumanity; the awful inviolability of their persons becomes a jealous resentment against even unintentional irreverence. A demoniac accused the holy Bishop Fortunatus of refusing him the rights of hospitality; a poor peasant receives the possessed into his house, and is punished for this inferential disrespect to the Bishop by seeing his child cast into the fire and burnt before his eyes. A poor fellow with a monkey and cymbals is struck dead for unintentionally interrupting a Bishop Boniface in prayer.²

The sacred edifices, the churches, especially, approachable to all, were yet approachable not without profound awe; in them met everything which could deepen that awe; within were the relics of the tutelar saint, the mysteries, and the presence of the Redeemer, of God himself, beneath were the remains of the faithful dead.³

Burial in churches had now begun; it was a special privilege. Gregory dwells on the advantage of being thus constantly suggested to the prayers of friends and relatives for the repose of the soul. But that which was a blessing to the holy was but more perilous to

¹ Dial. iii. 37.

² Dial. i. 10, i. 9.

³ Gregory forbade the *worship* of images, though he encouraged them as suggestive memorials. — vii. ii. 54; compare vii. 33. iii. "Pro lectione pictura est." — ix. 9

the unabsolved and the wicked. The sacred soil refused to receive them; the martyrs appeared and commanded the fetid corpses to be cast out of their precincts. They were seized by devils, who did not fear to carry off their own even from those holy places.¹ But oblations were still effective after death. The consecrated host has begun to possess in itself wonder-working powers. A child is cast forth from his grave, and is only persuaded to rest in quiet by a piece of the consecrated bread being placed upon his breast. Two noble women, who had been excommunicated for talking scandal, were nevertheless buried in the church; but every time the mass was offered, their spirits were seen to rise from their tombs, and glide out of the church. It was only after an oblation had been "immolated" for them that they slept in peace.²

The mystery of the state after death began to cease to be a mystery. The subtle and invisible soul gradually materialized itself to the keen sight of the devout. A hermit declared that he had seen Theodoric, the Ostrogothic king, at the instant of death, with loose garments and sandals, led between Symmachus the patrician and John the Pope, and plunged into the burning crater of Lipari.³ Benedict, while waking, beheld a bright and dazzling light, in which he distinctly saw the soul of Germanus, Bishop of Capua, ascend to heaven in an orb of fire, borne by angels.⁴

¹ Dial. iv. 50, &c.

² Dial. ii. 22, 23 Compare the last two chapters of Book iv.

³ "Discinctus et discalcatus" — such was the confusion of the attributes of soul and body. — Dial. iv. 30.

⁴ Dial. iv. 30.

Hell was by no means the inexorable dwelling which restored not its inhabitants. Men ^{hell.} were transported thither for a short time, and returned to reveal its secrets to the shuddering world. Gregory's fourth book is entirely filled with legends of departing and of departed spirits, several of which revisit the light of day. On the locality of hell Gregory is modest, and declines to make any peremptory decision. On purgatory too he is dubious, though his final conclusion appears to be that there is a purgatorial fire which may purify the soul from very slight sins.¹ Some centuries must elapse before those awful realms have formed themselves into that dreary and regular topography which Dante partly created out of his own sublime imagination, partly combined from all the accumulated legends which had become the universal belief of Christendom.

The most singular of these earlier journeys into the future world are the adventures of a certain Stephen, the first part of which Gregory declares he had heard more than once from his own mouth,² and which he relates, apparently intending to be implicitly believed. Stephen had to all appearance died in Constantinople, but, as the embalmer could not be found, he was left unburied the whole night. During that time he went down into hell, where he saw many things which he had not before believed. But when he came before the Judge, the Judge said, I did not send for this man, but for Stephen the smith. Gregory's friend Stephen was too happy to get back, and on his return found

¹ "Sed tamen de quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante iudicium purgatus ignis credendus est." — Dial. iv. 39.

² "De semet ipso mihi narrare consueverat."

his neighbor Stephen the smith dead. But Stephen learned not wisdom from his escape. He died of the plague in Rome, and with him appeared to die a soldier, who returned to reveal more of these fearful secrets of the other world, and the fate of Stephen. The soldier passed a bridge, beneath it flowed a river, from which rose vapors, dark, dismal, and noisome. Beyond the bridge (the imagination could but go back to the old Elysian fields) spread beautiful, flowery, and fragrant meadows, peopled by spirits clothed in white. In these were many mansions, vast and full of light. Above all rose a palace of golden bricks, to whom it belonged he could not read. On the bridge he recognized Stephen, whose foot slipped as he endeavored to pass. His lower limbs were immediately seized by frightful forms, who strove to drag him to the fetid dwellings below. But white and beautiful beings caught his arms, and there was a long struggle between the conflicting powers. The soldier did not see the issue of the conflict.

Such were among the stories avouched by the highest ecclesiastical authority, and commended it might seem by the uninquiring faith of the ruling intellect of his age—such among the first elements of that universal popular religion which was the Christianity of ages. This religion gradually moulded together all which arose out of the natural instincts of man, the undying reminiscences of all the older religions, the Jewish, the Pagan, and the Teutonic, with the few and indistinct glimpses of the invisible world and the future state of being in the New Testament, into a vast system, more sublime perhaps for its indefiniteness, which, being necessary in that condition of man-

kind, could not but grow up out of the kindled imagination and religious faith of Christendom ; and such religion the historian who should presume to condemn as a vast plan of fraud, or a philosopher who should venture to disdain as a fabric of folly, only deserving to be forgotten, would be equally unjust, equally blind to its real uses, assuredly ignorant of its importance and its significance in the history of man. For on this, the popular Christianity, popular as comprehending the highest as well as the lowest in rank, and even in intellectual estimation, turns the whole history of man for many centuries. It is at once the cause and the consequence of the sacerdotal dominion over mankind ; the groundwork of authority at which the world trembled ; which founded and overthrew kingdoms, bound together or set in antagonistic array nations, classes, ranks, orders of society. Of this, the parent, when the time arrived, of poetry, of art, the Christian historian must watch the growth and mark the gradations by which it gathered into itself the whole activity of the human mind, and quickened that activity till at length the mind outgrew that which had been so long almost its sole occupation. It endured till faith, with the Schoolmen, led into the fathomless depths of metaphysics, began to aspire after higher truths ; with the Reformers, attempting to refine religion to its primary spiritual simplicity, gradually dropped, or left but to the humblest and most ignorant, at least to the more imaginative and less practical part, of mankind, this even yet prolific legendary Christianity, which had been the accessory and supplementary Bible, the authoritative and accepted, though often unwritten, Gospel of centuries.

BOOK IV.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPE.		PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.		EMPERORS OF THE EAST.		KINGDOMS OF RAVENNA.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
		Cyrinus	610			Callinicus	602
Gregory I. died	604			602 Phocas	610	608 Smaragdus (restored)	610
604 Sabinianus	606						
606 Boniface III.	607						
608 Boniface IV.	615	610 Sergius	638	610 Heraclius	641	610 John Remi- gus	615
615 Deusdedit	618					615 Meutharius	619
619 Boniface V.	625					619 Isaac	643
625 Honorius I.	638						
638 Severinus	640	639 Pyrrhus, deposed	641				
640 John IV.	642	641 Paul II.	654	641 Constantine III., Heraclonas			
642 Theodorus I.	649			642 Constant II.	668	648 Calliopas	650
649 Martin I.	655					650 Olympius	652
654 Eugenius I.	657	654 Pyrrhus, re- instated	655			652 Calliopas again	657
657 Vitalian	672	655 Peter	668				
		666 Thomas II.	669				
		669 John V.	675	668 Constantine Pogonatus	685		
672 Adeodatus	676						
676 Donus	678	675 Constantine, deposed	677				
		677 Theodorus, deposed	678				
678 Agathe	681	678 George I.	688				
682 Leo II.	688						
688 (?) Benedict II.	685	688 Theodorus, reinstated	688				
685 Conon	687	688 Paul III.	698	685 Justinian II.	694	687 John Platon	702
687 Paschal (an- tipope)	692						
687 Theodorus							
687 Sergius I.	701	688 Callinicus, deposed	706	694 Leontius I.	697		
				697 Tiberius	704		
701 John VI.	706					702 Theophy- lact	710

LONGBARO KINGS.		KINGS OF FRANCE.			CALEDON.
A.D.	A.D.	<i>Burgundy.</i>	<i>Austrasia.</i>	<i>Neustria.</i>	A.D.
580 Agilulf	616	A.D. 601 Thierri II.	Theodobert II.	A.D. Chlotaire II.	
		614 Chlotaire II. alone 628.			
616 Theodelinda and Adel- wald	626		<i>Part of Aquitaine.</i>		622 Mohammed
626 Arivald	638	638 Dagobert	Charibert 630		632 Abubeker
638 Rotharis	654	Dagobert, alone 637.			634 Omar
		<i>Austrasia.</i>	<i>Neustria.</i>		
		637 Sigobert II. 654	Clovis II. 655		
654 Rodwald	659	654 Childeric II.			644 Othman
			656 Chlotaire III. 683 (Queen Bathildis guardian.)		656 AH
659 Aribert	662				660 Moawiah
662 Gondibert	668	668 Childeric II. alone			
668 Grimoald	672		<i>Part of Austrasia.</i>		
			672 Dagobert II.		
672 Garibald. Pertharit	680	673 Thierri III.			
		679 Thierri III. alone 691			679 Yesid
680 Cunibert with Per- tharit	691				685 Abdulmelek
		(687 Pepin, Mayor of the Palace 714) 690 Clovis III. 695			
691 Cunibert alone	701	695 Childebert III.		711	
701 Liutprand					
702 Aribert II.	712				705 Walid I.
		711 Dagobert III.			
712 Ansprand	713				

BOOK IV.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPES.		PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.		EMPERORS OF THE EAST.		KINGDOMS OF RAVENNA.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
		Cyrillus	610			Callinicus	602
Gregory I. died	604			602 Phocas	610	608 Smaragdus (restored)	610
604 Sabinianus	606						
606 Boniface III.	607						
608 Boniface IV.	615	610 Sergius	638	610 Heraclius	641	610 John Remi- gus	615
615 Deuededit	618					615 Eleutherius	619
619 Boniface V.	625					619 Isaac	643
625 Honorius I.	638						
638 Severinus	640	639 Pyrrhus, deposed	641	641 Constantine III., Heraclionas			
640 John IV.	642	641 Paul II.	654	642 Constant II.	668	643 Calliopas	650
642 Theodorus I.	649					650 Olympius	652
649 Martin I.	655	654 Pyrrhus, re- instated	655			652 Calliopas again	657
654 Eugenius I.	657	655 Peter	666				
657 Vitalian	672						
		666 Thomas II.	669	668 Constantine Pogonatus	685		
672 Adeodatus	676	669 John V.	675				
676 Donus	678	675 Constantine, deposed	677				
		677 Theodorus, deposed	678				
678 Agathe	681	678 George I.	688				
682 Leo II.	688	688 Theodorus, reinstated	686	685 Justinian II.	694	687 John Platon	702
688 (?) Benedict II.	685	686 Paul III.	698				
685 Conon	687						
687 Paschal (an- tipope)	692	688 Callinicus, deposed	705	684 Leontius I.	697		
687 Theodorus				687 Tiberius	704		
687 Sergius I.	701					702 Theophy- lact	710
701 John VI.	706						

LOMBARD KINGS.		KINGS OF FRANCE.			CALIFES.
A.D.	A.D.	Burgundy.	Austrasia.	Neustria.	A.D.
580 Agilulf	616	—	—	—	
		A.D. 601 Thierry II.	Theodebert II.	A.D. Chlotaire II.	
		614 Chlotaire II. alone 628.			
616 Theodelinda and Adalwald	626	Part of Aquitaine.			622 Mohammed
626 Arivald	638	628 Dagobert	Charibert	630	632 Abubeker
638 Rotharis	654	Dagobert, alone 637.			634 Omar
		Austrasia.	Neustria.		
		637 Sigebert II. 654	Clovis II. 655		
654 Rodwald	659	654 Childeric II.			644 Othman
			656 Chlotaire III. 663 (Queen Bathildis guardian.)		656 AH
659 Aribert	662				660 Moawiah
662 Gondibert	668	668 Childeric II. alone			
668 Grimoald	672		Part of Austrasia.		
			672 Dagobert II.		
672 Garibald. Pertharit	690	672 Thierry III.			
		679 Thierry III. alone 691			679 Yezid
680 Cunibert with Pertharit	691				685 Abdulmelek
		(687 Pepin, Mayor of the Palace 714) 690 Clovis III. 695			
691 Cunibert alone	701	695 Childebert III.		711	
701 Liutprand					
702 Aribert II.	712				705 Walid I.
		711 Dagobert III.			
712 Ansprand	718				

POPES.		PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.		EMPERORS OF THE EAST.		EXARCHS OF RAVENNA.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
706 John VII.	707	706 Cyrus, deposed	713	704 Justinian II., restored	711		
708 Sisinnius				711 Philippicus	713	710 John Rimoco- pus	713
708 Constantine I.	715	712 John VI., deposed	715	713 Anastasius II.	715	713 Scholasticus	725
715 Gregory II.	731	715 Germanus, deposed	731	715 Theodosius III.	717		
				717 Leo the Isaurian	741		
						725 Paul the Patrician	727
731 Gregory III.	741	731 Anastasius	753			727 Eutychius the Eunuch	752
741 Zacharias	742	" " deposed	746	741 Constantine Copronymus	775	Conquered by Lombards.	
742 Stephen II.		" " died	754				
743 Stephen III.	757	754 Constantine, banished					
757 Paul I.	767	— beheaded	766				
767 Constantine II.	768	766 Nicetas the Eunuch	780				
768 Philip							
768 Stephen IV.	772			775 Leo IV.	780		
772 Hadrian I.	796			780 Constantine Porphyrogen- itus, with Irene	797		
		780 Paul IV., deposed	784				
796 Leo III.	816	784 Tarasius	806	797 Irene			
		806 Nicephorus, deposed	815				
		815 Theodorus Camiteras	821				

LOMBARD KINGS.		KINGS OF FRANCE.		CALEDON.
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
718 Liutprand	748	716 Chilperic II. Chlotaire IV.		714 Sulstman
		720 Thierri IV.		717 Omar II.
				719 Yesid II.
				723 Hidjam
		(736 Charles Martel, Mayor of the Palace)		
743 Hildebrand	748	742 Childeric III.	751	742 Walid II.
744 Rachin Duke of Friuli				748 Yesid III.
				744 Ibrahim
750 Astolphus	756	751 Pepin		745 Marwan
756 Desiderius	774			749 Abdalla the Abbaside
		768 Charlemagne and Carloman		758 Abugyafar Al-mansur
		772 Charlemagne, alone		
				775 Mohammed Marades
				785 Musa
				786 Haroun Al-raschid

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

MOHAMMED.

THE seventh century of Christianity was destined to behold a new religious revolution, only inferior in the extent of its religious and social influence to Christianity itself. Christianity might seem, notwithstanding her internal dissensions, while slowly subduing the whole of Europe, to be still making gradual encroachments in Asia, and at least to apprehend no formidable invasion within her own frontier. The conflict which had raged on the eastern boundaries of the Roman world, in which at one time the Persians had become masters of Syria and plundered the religious treasures of Jerusalem, was a war of the two empires of Rome and Persia, not of Christianity and Fire-worship. The danger which threatened the Byzantine empire, and which, if unaverted, would have yielded up Asia, and even Constantinople, to the followers of Zoroaster, had been arrested by the great military ability and enterprise of Heraclius, the successor of the tyrant Phocas on the throne. But though Persian conquest, had it spread over Asia Minor and Syria and into Europe, might have brought on a dan-

Roman East
at com-
mencement
of seventh
century.

War of
Persia.

gerous collision with the religion of the conquerors, yet the issue could not eventually have been fatal, even to the dominance of Christianity. Zoroastrianism had failed to propagate itself with any great success in the parts of Christian Armenia which it had subjugated: nor can we imagine that religion, even when advancing under the victorious banner of its believers, as likely to obtain any firm hold on the inhabitants of Western Asia or Europe, still less as tending to extirpate the deep-rooted Christianity of those regions.

In the meantime, in an obscure district of a country esteemed by the civilized world as beyond its boundaries, a savage, desert, and almost inaccessible region, suddenly arose an antagonist religion, which was to reduce the followers of Zoroaster to a few scattered communities, to invade India, and tread under foot the ancient Brahminism, as well as the more wide-spread Buddhism, even beyond the Ganges; to wrest her most ancient and venerable provinces from Christianity; to subjugate by degrees the whole of her Eastern dominions, and Roman Africa from Egypt to the Straits of Gibraltar; to assail Europe at its western extremity; to possess the greater part of Spain, and even to advance to the banks of the Loire; more than once to make the elder Rome tremble for her security, and finally to establish itself in triumph within the new Rome of Constantine. Asiatic Christianity sank more and more into obscurity. It dragged on its existence within the Mohammedan empire as a contemptuously tolerated religion; in the Byzantine empire it had still strength to give birth to new controversies — that

Mohammedanism in appearance.

of Iconoclasm, and even still later that concerning the divine light. It was not without writers, in learning, perhaps, and theologic argument, superior to any in the West—John of Damascus, Eustathius of Thessalonica. Yet its aggressive vigor had entirely departed, and it was happy to be allowed inglorious repose, to take no part in that great war waged by the two powers, now the only two living, active, dominant powers, which contested the dominion of the world—Mohammedanism and Latin Christianity. These implacable adversaries might appear to divide mankind into two unmingling, irreconcilable races. Like the Iran and Touran of the remoter East, the realm of light and the realm of darkness, each is constantly endeavoring to push forward its barriers, appearing on every side, or advancing into the heart of the hostile territory. The realm of darkness, as regards civilization, at times might seem to be the realm of light, the realm of light that of darkness; till eventually Mohammedanism sank back into its primeval barbarism, Latin Christianity, or, rather, the Christianity of later Europe, emerged into its full, it may be hoped, yet growing authority, as the religion, not only of truth, but of civilization.

Arabia, the parent of this new religion, had been a world within itself; the habits and character of the people might seem both to secure them from the invasion of foreign conquerors and to prohibit them from more than a desultory invasion of other countries. Divided into almost countless petty kingdoms, an aggregate of small, independent, and immemorially hostile tribes, they had no bond of union to blend them into a powerful confederacy. The great empires of the East, of Greece and of Rome, had aspired to

universal sovereignty, while these wandering tribes of the desert, and even the more settled and flourishing kingdoms of Southern Arabia had pursued unknown and undisturbed their intestine warfare. A nominal and precarious sovereignty had been exercised by some of the Asiatic conquerors over the frontier tribes; but the poverty and irreclaimable wandering habits of most of these, with the impracticable nature of the country, had protected from the ambition of the conquerors the southern regions, of which the wealth and fertility had been greatly exaggerated, and which were supposed to produce all those rich commodities, in fact, transmitted to them from India. Arabia formed no part of the great eastern monarchies. Alexander passed on from Egypt and Syria, to the remoter East. His successors in Egypt and in Syria, the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ, were in general content with commercial relations, carried on with Arabia or through Arabia. The Romans, who might seem to scrutinize the world in order that nothing might escape their ambition, had once or twice turned their arms towards the fabled wealth of Arabia.¹ The unsuccessful, if not ignominious, result of the expedition of *Ælius Gallus* had taught how little was to be gained, how much hazarded, in such a warfare. The Romans contented themselves with the acquisition of Petra, a city not strictly Arabian, but Edomite in its origin, though for some centuries occupied by the Nabatean Arabs, a commercial emporium, as a station between the East and the Roman world, of the greatest importance, and adorned, during the age of the Antonines, with

¹ The "*intactis nunc Arabum invades gazis*" of Horace, shows the relation in which Arabia stood to the rapacity and to the arms of Rome

magnificent buildings in that colossal half-barbarous Roman style with which at that time they built temples in so many of the great cities of Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt.

If Arabia offered no great temptation to the foreign invader from the civilized world, the civilized world had as little dread of any dangerous irruption from these wild and disunited tribes. Here and there, perhaps, beyond the proper limits of Arabia, in districts, however, which seemed to belong to their marauding habits rather than to the settled cultivation of more advanced nations, upon the eastern frontier of Syria and towards the Euphrates, had arisen Arabian kingdoms. The Nabatean Petra had attained to some power during the first period of Christianity, had waged an aggressive war against Rome, and even gained possession of Damascus. This territory, however, had become a Roman province; but down to the reign of Justinian petty Saracenic chieftains who assumed the name of kings were engaged on either side in the interminable wars between Rome and Persia. Yet while the prolific North and East were periodically discharging their teeming hordes upon Asia and Europe, Arabia might seem either not gifted with this overflow of population, or to consume it within her own limits. The continual internal wars; polygamy, which became more unfavorable to the increase of the population from the general usage of destroying female infants;¹ the frugal, nomadic, and even the imaginative character of the race, which seemed to attach them to their own soil, and to suppress all desire of conquest in softer, less open, more settled regions,

¹ Weil, p. 19.

conspired to maintain the immutable character of Arabia and of the Arab people; their national and tribal pride, their ancient traditions, their virtues, their polity, and even their commerce, which absorbed the activity of the more enterprising, might appear to coop within itself this peculiar people, as neither destined nor qualified to burst the limits of their own peninsula, or to endanger the peace, the liberties, or the religion of the world.

On a sudden, when probably only vague rumors had reached the courts of Persia or of Constantinople of the religious revolution which had taken place in Medina and Mecca (a revolution which might seem to plunge the whole region in still more desperate internal hostility), Arabia appeared in arms against mankind. A religious fanaticism, almost unexampled in its depth and intensity, had silenced all the fierce feuds of centuries; the tribes and kingdoms had become one; armies, seemingly inexhaustible, with all the wild courage of marauding adventure and the formidable discipline of stubborn unity of purpose, poured forth, one after another, from the desert; and at their head appeared, not indeed the apostle himself (he had discharged his mission in organizing this terrible confederacy), but a military sovereign who united in himself the civil and spiritual supremacy, whose authority rested on the ardent attachment of a clan towards its chief, and the blind and passive obedience of a sect to a religious leader. The reigning Caliph was king and pontiff, according to the oriental theory of sovereignty the father of his people, but likewise the successor of the Prophet, the delegate of God.

Mohammedanism appeared before the world as a

stern and austere monotheism, but it was a practical not a speculative monotheism.¹ It had nothing abstract, indistinct, intellectual in its primary notion of the Godhead. Allah was no philosophic first cause, regulating the universe by established laws, while itself stood aloof in remote and unapproachable majesty. It was an ever-present, ever-working energy, still accomplishing its own purposes.² Its predestinarianism was not a fixed and predetermined law wrought out by the obedient elements of the human world, but the actual, immediate operation of the Deity, governing all things by his sole will,³ and through his passive ministers.⁴ It threw aside with implacable and disdainful aversion all those gradations as it were of divinity which approximated man to God and God to man — the Asiatic or Gnostic *Æons* and *Emanations*; the impersonated Ideas of the later Platonism, with their all-comprehending *Logos*; above all, the coequal Persons of the Christian Trinity. Nothing existed but the Creator and the Creation: the Creator one in undistinguished, undivided Unity, the Creation, which comprehended every being intermediate between God and man: an-

¹ One of the sublimest descriptions of God may be found in the second chapter of the *Korân*, Sale's translation, i. p. 47.

² See the fine passage, ch. vi. vol. i. p. 166, &c.

³ "It is he who hath created the heavens and the earth in truth; and whenever he saith unto a thing, Be, it is." This whole chapter is full of striking passages. "And whomsoever God shall please to direct, he will open his breast to receive the faith of Islam; but whomsoever he shall please to lead into error, he will render his breast strait and narrow, as though he were climbing up to heaven (i.e. attempting an impossibility). Thus does God inflict a terrible punishment on those who believe not." — p. 178.

⁴ "Though men and angels and devils conspire together to put one single atom in motion, or cause it to cease its motion without his will and approbation, they would not be able to do it." — Creed of orthodox Mohammedans in Ockley, vol. ii. p. li.

gels, devils, genii, all owed their being to almighty power, and were liable to death or to extinction.

Mohammedanism, in more respects than one, was a republication of Mosaic Judaism, with its strong principle of national and religious unity (for wherever it went it carried its language), with its law simplified to a few rigid and unswerving observances, and the world for its land of Canaan; the world which it was commissioned to subdue to the faith of Islam, and to possess in the right of conquest.

Yet nothing was less simple than the popular Mohammedanism. It rationalized, if it might be called Rationalism, only in its conception of the Deity. It had its poetic¹ element, its imaginative excitement, adapted to the youthful barbarianism of the state of society, and to the Oriental character. It created, or rather acknowledged, an intermediate world, it dealt prodigally in angelic appearances, and believed in another incorporeal, or, rather, subtly-corporeal race, between angels and men; the genii, created out of a finer substance, but more nearly akin to man in their weaknesses and trials.² The whole life of man was passed under the influence, sometimes in direct communion with these half-spiritual beings.³ Mohammedanism

¹ They (the idolaters) say the Korân is a confused heap of dreams; nay, he has forged it; *nay, he is a poet.* — ch. xxii. v. ii. p. 152.

² "He created men of dried clay, like an earthen vessel, but he created the genii of fire, clear from the smoke." — Ch. iv. v. ii. p. 209: compare vi. i. p. 178.

³ Mohammedan tradition adopts for the genii the definition of the demons in the Talmud. They have three qualities of angels: I. They have wings. II. They pass from one end of the world to the other. III. They know future events, but not certainly: they only hear them from behind the curtain. They have three human qualities. I. They eat and drink. II. They have carnal appetites. III. They die. — Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed*, p. 83

borrowed its poetic machinery from all the existing religions — from Magianism, Orientalism, Judaism, Christianity. No religion was less original.¹ Its assertion of the divine unity was a return to Judaism, a stern negation at once of the vulgar polytheism which prevailed among the ruder Arab tribes, and of the mysterious doctrines of Trinitarian Christianity. As to the intermediate world it only popularized still further the popular belief. Its angels were those already familiar to the general mind through Talmudic Judaism and Christianity; its genii were those of the common Eastern superstition. The creation, as affirmed in Islam, was strictly biblical;² the history of man was that of the Old Testament, recognized in the New, though not without a large admixture of Jewish legend. The forefathers of the Mohammedan, as of the Jewish and Christian religions, were Adam, Noah, Abraham; and to the older prophets of God, among whom were included Moses and Jesus, were only added two local prophets, sent on special missions to certain of the Arab tribes, to Ad and to Thamud.³ Even Moham-

¹ In this respect, how different from Christianity! The religion of Christ, on its first promulgation, had to introduce into the world new conceptions of the Deity, new forms of worship, its sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, new vices, and new virtues; a new history of man, both as to his creation and his destiny; new religious ancestors, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, the Jewish prophets, besides the divine author of the religion and his apostles. All these names were almost strange to the Roman world, and were to supersede those already sacred and familiar to the thoughts of all the Christian converts.

² Compare Geiger, p. 64; but Mohammed was impatient of the ascribing *rest* to God on the seventh day. The strictness of the Jewish Sabbath was enforced upon them for their obstinacy in preferring the day of the supposed *rest* of the Almighty to Friday, the proper day of divine worship. — ch. xvi. v. ii. p. 94.

³ These were no doubt the mythic forms of some historic events; the impersonated memorials of some fearful calamities ascribed to the hand of God; and still living in Arabic tradition.

medan fable had none of the inventive originality of fiction. There is scarcely a legend which is not either from the Talmud, or rather the source of most of the Talmud, the religious tradition of the Jews¹ or the spurious (not the genuine) Gospels of Christianity. The last day, the judgment, the resurrection, hell, and paradise, though invested in a circumstantiality of detail, much of it foreign, as far as we can judge, to the Pharisaic notions of our Saviour's day, and singularly contrasting with the modest and less material images of the New Testament, were already parts of the common creed. The Korân has scarcely surpassed the grosser notions of another life which were already received by the Talmudic Jews and the Judaizing Christians, the Chiliasts of the early ages. It only adapted this materialism to the fears and hopes of a Bedouin and a polygamous people. It may be doubted whether it goes beyond the terrific imaginations of the Talmudists in those minute and particular effects of hellfire which glare in all its pages.² In its paradise it dwelt on that most exquisite luxury to a wanderer in the

¹ Sale has traced in his notes many of the fables in the Korân to their Talmudic or Rabbinical sources. A prize Essay, on a theme proposed by the University of Bonn, "Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum genommen," by Abraham Geiger, Rabbi of Wiesbaden, is modest, sensible, and contains much curious information. The names for Paradise and Hell, the garden of Eden, and Gehenna, are Hebrew: and he gives twelve other words in the Korân, including Shechinah, all taken from Rabbinical Judaism.

² Korân passim, e. g. "And they who believe not shall have garments of fire fitted unto them, boiling water shall be poured upon their heads, their bowels shall be dissolved thereby, and also their skins, and they shall be beaten with maces of iron. So often as they shall endeavor to get out of hell because of the anguish of their torments, they shall be dragged into the same, and their tormentors shall say unto them, 'Taste ye the pains of burning.'" — ch. xxii. v. ii. p. 169

desert, perennial rivers of cool pure water; and it added a harem to the joys of the blessed.¹

In the rites and ceremonial of Islam there was nothing which required any violent disruption of religious habits: its four great precepts only gave a new impulse and a new direction to established religious observances. I. *Prayer*, is the universal language of all religions; and the sense of the perpetual presence, the direct and immediate agency of God in all human things, enforced by the whole Mohammedan creed, as well as the concentration of all earthly worship on one single, indivisible God, has maintained a strict and earnest spirit of adoration throughout the Mohammedan world. II. The natural sympathies of man; the narrower, yet impressive, humanity of the Old Testament, which had bound the Jew to relieve the distressed of his brethren with a generosity which, contrasting with his apparent hostility to the rest of mankind, had moved the wonder of the heathen; the more beautiful, the prodigal, the universal charity of the Christian; perhaps the hospitable habits of the Arabs, had already consecrated *Almsgiving* as among the highest of religious virtues; and Mohammedanism did not degenerate in this respect from what may be called her religious parents. III. As to *Fasting*, the Ramadan was but Lent under another name. IV. The Christianity of the Gospel had in vain abrogated the peculiar sanctity of places. The nature of man, yet imperfectly spiritualized, had sunk back to the old excitements of devotion; the grave of the Redeemer

¹ For Paradise, ch. xlviii. ii. p. 377. "The rivers of incorruptible water, of milk, of wine, of clarified honey, and all kinds of fruits." Still more fully, lv. ii. 411.

had become to the Christian what the site of the Temple was to the Jew; and the Korân, by turning the hearts of all its votaries to the Holy Cities, to Medina and Mecca, availed itself of the universal passion for *pilgrimages*.¹

The six great articles in the faith of Islam were in like manner the elemental truths of all religions: though peculiarly expressed, they were neither repugnant to human reason nor to prevalent habits of thought. Most men, in some form, believed—I. In God. II. In his Angels. III. In his Scriptures (in divine revelation). IV. In his Prophets. V. In the Resurrection and Day of Judgment. VI. In God's absolute decree and predetermination of good and evil, though this was softened in most creeds into a vague acknowledgment of God's providential government.

The one new and startling article in the creed of Islam was the divine mission of the prophet Mohammed, the apostle of God. Yet Mohammed was but the successor of other prophets; the last of the long and unfailing line of divine messengers to man. Mankind in general might demand miraculous and supernatural proofs of a prophetic mission. The Jew might sullenly disclaim a prophet sprung from the bastard race of Ishmael; the Christian might assume the gospel to be the final and conclusive message to man; but Mohammed averred that his mission was vouched by the one great miracle, the Korân; that he was fore-shown both in the Law and in the Gospel, though these prophecies had been obscured or falsified by the jealousy of the dominant party among the Jews and

¹ Gregory the Great mentions pilgrimages to Mount Sinai as still performed in his day, and by women.—Epist. iii. 44.

Christians. Mohammed himself remains, and must remain, an historic problem : his character, his motives, his designs are all equally obscure. Was the Prophet possessed with a lofty indignation at the groveling idolatry of his countrymen ? Had he contrasted the sublime simplicity of the Mosaic unity of God with the polytheism of the Arabs ; or, that which appeared to him only the more subtle and disputatious polytheism of the Christians ? Had he the lofty political ambition of uniting the fierce and hostile tribes into one confederacy, of forming Arabia into a nation, and so of becoming the founder of a dynasty and an empire ; and did he imagine his simple religion as the bond of the confederacy ? Did he contemplate from the first foreign conquest or foreign proselytism ? or did his more pliant ambition grow out of and accommodate itself to the circumstances of the time, submit to change and modification, and only fully develop itself according to existing exigencies ? At this distance of time, and through the haze of adoring and of hostile tradition, it is difficult to trace clearly the outward actions of the Prophet, how much more the inward impulses, the thoughts and aspirations of his secret spirit. To the question whether Mohammed was hero, sage, impostor, or fanatic, or blended, and blended in what proportions, these conflicting elements in his character ? the best reply is the favorite reverential phrase of Islam, " God knows." ¹

¹ Maracci wrote of Mohammed with the learning, but in the spirit, of a monk. With Prideaux he is a vulgar impostor. Spanheim began to take a higher view of his character. Sale and Gagnier, while vindicating him from the coarse invectives of former writers, kindled into admiration, which was accused of approaching to belief. With Boulanvilliers, he rose into a benefactor of the human race ; with White and his coadjutors he became

The Korân itself is not above suspicion, at least as far as its absolute integrity and authenticity. *The Korân*. It was put together some time after the death of Mohammed,¹ avowedly not in the exact order of its delivery. It is not certain whether it contains all that the

the subject of some fine pulpit declamation. Gibbon is brilliant, full, on the whole fair; but his brilliancy on the propagation of Mohammedanism singularly contrasts with his cold, critical view of that of Christianity. Passing over Savary, Volney, in our own times we have the elaborate biography of Dr. Weil, whom scarcely anything has escaped, and Caussin de Perceval's *Histoire des Arabes* (Paris, 1848), a work of admirable industry and learning, which, with the history and genealogy of the early tribes, embraces the time of Mohammed and his two successors. Major Price, whose contributions to the history of Mohammedanism, from the Shiite (the Persian) traditions (all which we had before were Sunnite and Arabic), are invaluable, of Mohammed himself gives us nothing new. But Col. Vans Kennedy furnishes some extracts from Tabari, a writer some centuries earlier than any of the known biographers of the Prophet, Elmacin, and Abulfeda. Tabari wrote within three centuries of the Hejira, and his account is at once the most striking and most credible which has appeared in Europe. Col. Vans Kennedy's own appreciation of the Prophet (which may be overlooked in a criticism on Voltaire's *Mahomet*) is the most just with which I am acquainted. — See *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. This passage appears to have escaped the notice of Dr. Weil, whose recent "*Mohammed der Prophet*" is not only laborious, but also candid and comprehensive. Now, however (1855), the life of Mohammed (part I.), by Dr. Sprenger (Allahabad, 1851) has greatly enlarged our knowledge of, and enabled us to appreciate the earlier traditions of Islam. Still while duly grateful for these valuable accessions to our knowledge, and with all respect for the great learning and industry of Dr. Sprenger, I must demur to some of his conclusions. Islam, he asserts, was long anterior to Mohammed, believed by many before he preached it, "It was begotten by the spirit of the time; it was the inevitable birth of the age and people, the voice of the Arabic nation (pp. 44, 165, 175). True, as far as the first article of the faith, there is but one God:" but it was the second, Mohammed is his Prophet; it was this, forced as a divine revelation into the belief of so large a part of mankind, which was the power, the influence, the all-subduing energy of Islam; the principle of its unity, of its irresistible fanaticism, its propagation, its victories, its empire, its duration.

¹ In the reign of Abubeker, who employed Mohammed's secretary, Zeid Abu Thabit, Zeid collected every extant fragment which was in different hands, written on parchment, on leather, on palm leaves, on bones, or stones. — Weil, *Mohammed der Prophet*. v. 349; Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes*.

Prophet revealed, or those revelations in their original and unaltered form.¹

Mohammed² was an orphan of a noble family; after the death of his parents he was maintained, first by his grandfather, afterwards by his father's brother. The first twenty-five years of his life passed in obscurity, which the earlier and more authoritative tradition has not ventured to embellish with wonders ominous of his future greatness.³

Chadijah, a wealthy widow of his kindred, chose Mohammed *the faithful* (his character had gained him that honorable appellation) to conduct her commercial affairs. He travelled with this charge to Syria,⁴ and his success was so great in comparison with that of the former agents of Chadijah, that on his return the grateful widow, moved, according to the simpler account, by

¹ My own judgment is in favor of the authenticity of the Korân (but I know it only from translations). The evident suggestion of the different chapters by the exigencies of different events, and the manifest contradictions, are proofs of its antiquity. The convenient doctrine of abrogation, by which a later sentence annuls a former, and which seems to have been admitted from the first, implies the general integrity of the book.* Dr. Weil believes that though the Korân must not be considered without omission or interpolation, there is no *important* change, addition, or omission. But see on Othman's revision — Weil, *die Chalifen*, note, i. p. 168. Dr. Sprenger says, "Though not free from interpolation, yet there seems no reason to doubt its authenticity," p. 63.

² Mohammed, born April, 570; April, 13, 571, or May 13, 569. Sprenger, p. 75.

³ For the later traditions, wild and fantastic enough, see Dr. Weil, p. 23, note 6, and 26, note 1.

⁴ Bosra is named as the mart to which Mohammed conducted the caravan of Chadijah. The admiration of ships (as one of the most wonderful gifts of God), which perpetually occurs in the Korân, leads me to suspect that the writer had seen more of maritime scenes, in one of the ports of Syria perhaps, than what he may have gathered from accidental glimpses of the navigation of the Red Sea.

* There are 225 verses which contain doctrines or laws recalled by later revelations. — Weil, p. 355

the prosperity of her trade in his hands, according to the more marvellous, by wonders which took place on his journey, bestowed herself and her wealth on the young and handsome merchant.¹

Twelve more years, from his marriage at the age of twenty-eight, passed away. In his fortieth year, that eventful period in oriental life,² the Prophet began to listen to the first intimations of his divine mission.

The caves of mount Hira, in the immediate neighborhood of Mecca, were already hallowed, it is said, by Arabian superstition. During one of the holy months³ men were accustomed to retire to a kind of hermitage, built or scooped out of the rocks, for devout meditation: that meditation which, in an imaginative people, is so apt to kindle into communion with the unearthly and invisible. It was in one of these caves that Mohammed received his first communication from heaven.⁴ But the form assumed by the vision, the illusion, or the daring conception of Mohammed, showed plainly in what school he had received his religious impressions. It was none of the three hundred and sixty-six deities of the old Arabian religion, or the astral influences of the dominant Tsabaism, it was Gabriel, the divine messenger, hallowed in the Jewish and the Christian scriptures, who appeared as a mighty and

¹ For the description of Mohammed's person, See Dr. Weil, p. 340; Cassin de Perceval, iii. 332, and on his habits at great length, Sprenger, 84, 94.

² Some intended analogy with the life of Moses might be suspected; but 40, it is well known, is the indefinite number in the East, and no doubt in many cases it has been assumed to cover ignorance of a real date.

³ The four holy months, when peace reigned through Arabia, were the first, the seventh, the eleventh, the twelfth. Islam afterwards annulled the holy months as far as war with *unbelievers*.

⁴ Each family had its hermitage; that of Hashem, to which Mohammed belonged, was peculiarly disposed to this kind of devotion.

majestic figure, with his feet upon the earth and his head in the heavens.¹ After this solemn interview, as Mohanmed walked along (so fully was his mind wrapt in its vision), the stones and clods seemed to exclaim, "Prophet of God."² By day the inanimate works of God thus summoned him to his office, by night the angel of God perpetually haunted his slumbers, and renewed his call. The incredulous Mohammed suspected that these were but the awful workings of insanity. His faithful wife consoled him with the praise of his virtues, which could not be so cruelly tried by God. Chadijah at length put these revelations to a singular and characteristic test. They were alone in their chamber when the figure appeared. Chadijah was sitting, as became a chaste matron, shrouded in her veil.³ She took the Prophet in her arms and said, "Dost thou now see it?" The Prophet said, "I do." She cast off her veil, her head and face were uncovered: "Dost thou now see it?" "I do not." "Glad tidings to thee, O Mohammed," exclaimed Chadijah, "it is not a divi, but an angel; for had it been a divi it would not have disappeared and respected my unveiled face." The visions became more frequent and

¹ Chadijah is represented as altogether ignorant of Gabriel; and it was only from the information she obtained from a relative (Warkeh oen Nussul), a learned Christian, that she learned the name and rank of the angel. Yet she is afterwards said to have been well acquainted with the Pentateuch and the Evangelists.

² Tabari, as quoted by Vans Kennedy. — *Bombay Transactions*, iii. p. 421.

³ There is a curious passage in Tertullian contrasting the modesty of the Arabian women of his day with the Christian virgins, who shamelessly showed their faces. "*Judicabunt nos Arabiæ feminae ethnicae, quæ non caput sed faciem quoque ita totam tegunt, ut uno oculo liberato contentæ sint dimidium frui lucem, quam totam faciem prostituere.*" *De Virg.* Vol. c. 17.

distinct. At length, on the mountain of Hira, the angel stood before Mohammed in defined and almost human form. Mohammed, still suspecting his own insanity, fled to the summit of the mountain to cast himself headlong from it. The angel caught him under his wing, and as he reposed on his bosom commanded him to read. "I cannot read,"¹ replied Mohammed. "Repeat then!" And the angel communicated to the Prophet the revelation of Islam. Mohammed on his return to his house related to his wife the personal appearance of the angel, and spoke of his mysterious communication. A short time after he lay down,² cold and weary, to repose. His wife had covered him. The angel again appeared. "Arise, thou wrapped up." "Why should I arise?" "Arise and Mohammed's divine mission," said Gabriel; "cleanse thy garments, and flee every abomination." Mohammed imparted to his wife his *divine mission*. "I," said Chadijah, "will be the first believer." They knelt in the appointed attitude of prayer; by the command of Gabriel they performed their ablutions. The child Ali, but seven years old, beheld them, and inquired the reason of this strange conduct. Mohammed replied that he was the chosen prophet of God; that belief in Islam secured salvation in earth and heaven. Ali be-

¹ On the translation of these words depends the question whether Mohammed was absolutely illiterate. Those who deny it explain the phrase as confined to that which the angel then ordered him to read. Sprenger, p. 95, gives a different version: "but it is certain that no Mussulman will admit the sense which I give to these verses of the Korân." — Sprenger, 77, 111.

² On the subject of Mohammed's epilepsy, consult the long note of Dr. Weil, p. 42. It is difficult to resist the evidence which he adduces. Dr. Weil concludes: "I do not think, with Theophanes, that he alleged the apparition of Gabriel to conceal his malady, but that the malady itself was the cause of his belief in these apparitions."

lieved, and became the second of the faithful. Thus was Mohammed the prophet of his household.¹ Slowly, however, did he win proselytes, even among his own kindred.² Three years elapsed before the faith received the accession of Abubeker and of Othman, the future caliphs. Mohammed at length is accepted as the prophet of his family, of the noble and priestly house of Hashem. Abu Talib, his uncle, remains almost alone an unbeliever. And now Mohammed aspires to be the prophet of his *Tribe*.³ That tribe, the Koreishite, was a kind of hierarchy, exercising religious supremacy, and the acknowledged guardians of the Caaba, the sacred stone of Mecca, with its temple. The temple of the Caaba was at once, as is usual among Oriental nations, the centre of the commerce and of the religion of Arabia. Tradition, even in the days of Mohammed thought immemorial, had associated this holy place with the names of Adam, of Seth, and of Abraham; and worshippers from all quarters, idolaters who found each his peculiar idol, the Jew and the Christian, looked with awful reverence on this mysterious spot. The pilgrim of every creed, the merchant from every part of the peninsula, met at Mecca: almost all joined in the ceremonial of visiting the sacred mountain, kissing the black stone, approaching the holy well of Zemzem, each seven times, the mystic number with Arab as with Jew; and sacrifices were offered with devout prodigality. Arabian poetry hung up its most popular songs in the temple of the Caaba. It is

¹ Compare throughout Sprenger who arranges these events differently.

² See on the slave converts, specially Zaid, Sprenger, 159.

³ It was not till the fourth or fifth year after his own conversion that he came forth as a public preacher. — Sura xv. v. 94-99; Sale, ii. p. 75. Compare xxvi. p. 218. He preached on the hill Safa.

not clear to what peculiar form of idolatry the Koreishite adhered, whether to the primitive and Arabian worship, which had enshrined in the temple of Caaba her three hundred and sixty deities ; or to the later Tsabaism, a more refined worship of the planetary bodies.¹ But the intractable Koreish met him with contemptuous unbelief. They resisted the new prophet with all the animosity of an established priesthood trembling for their dignity, their power, and their wealth ; they dreaded the superiority which would be assumed by the family of Hashem. In that family Abu Talib, though he resisted the doctrines, protected the person of Mohammed, as did all his kindred, except the implacable Abu Lahab. Like other hierarchies the Koreish had been tolerant only so long as they were strong. The eloquence, the virtue, the charity of Mohammed only made him more dangerous ; his proselytes increased ; the conversion of Hamza, another of his uncles, one of the most obstinate of unbelievers, drove them to madness. A price was set upon his secret assassination, a hundred camels and ^{Persecution of Moham-} a thousand ounces of silver. Omar, now ^{med.} twenty-six years old, undertook the deed.² He was accosted on his way by the convert Nueim. " Ere thou doest the deed," said Nueim, " look to thine own near kindred." Omar rushed to the house of his sister Fatima, to punish her apostacy : he found some sentences of the Korân, he read them, and believed. Yet the Koreishites abated not in their hostility. The life

¹ The uncle of Mohammed, Abu Talib, was strenuous for the worship of two female deities, and the adoration of the "daughters of God" is reprobated in the Korân as one of the worst, probably therefore one of the most prevalent, forms of idolatry : compare Sprenger, 170.

² Weil, p. 59 ; Sprenger, 188.

of Mohammed was a struggle to enforce his creed on an obstinate and superstitious people; of threatened martyrdom for the unity of God and for his own prophetic mission. He was at length placed under a solemn interdict by the two ruling families of the Koreishites. Some of his humbler followers fled to Abyssinia, where they were protected by the sovereign of that land.¹ Mohammed submitted to personal insult. He allowed himself to be abused, to be spit upon, to have dust thrown upon him, and to be dragged out of the temple by his own turban fastened to his neck: he beheld his followers treated with the same ignominy. At times his mind was so depressed as to need the consolations of the angel Gabriel. He constantly changed his bed to elude the midnight assassin. For three years Mohammed was under this interdict,² dwelling in a castle of his uncle Abu Talib's, situated in a deep and unassailable ravine, and came to Mecca only during the holy months. The death of Chadijah broke one of the prophet's ties to Mecca: that of Abu Talib, who died an unbeliever, left him only the valor and vigilance of his disciples to shield him against the implacable and deepening hatred of the Koreishites. The Prophet must fly from his native city; and the hopes of making Mecca the national religious metropolis, the centre of his new spiritual empire, seemed to have failed utterly and forever. Miracle or craft alone saved him from the hands of his enemies, who surprised him, nearly alone, in the house of Abubeker. During his flight he only escaped assassination by the faithful Ali

¹ Sprenger, p. 189.

² The interdict was suspended in the temple, according to Dr. Weil, in the seventh year of Mohammed's mission.

taking his place in the tent; and, so ran the legend, when he slumbered in a cave, the spider wove its web over the entrance, and a pigeon laid two eggs to show that its solitude had been undis-^{Flight.}
turbed.¹ ^{Hegira.}

Medina (Yathrib²) at once accepted the dignity which had been spurned by Mecca. Six of her most distinguished citizens had already embraced at Mecca the cause of the Prophet. The idolatry of Medina had not the local strength of that of Mecca; it had not the same strongly organized hierarchy. Some rivalry with the commercial importance of Mecca, so closely connected with her religious supremacy, entered, no doubt, into the minds of the Medinese when they thus allied themselves with the chief of the new religion. The proselytes to Islam had prepared the whole city, and Mohammed did not leave Mecca till a deputation from Medina had sworn fealty to their new sovereign.³ The form of the oath showed the Prophet under a new character. "If," said these Ansarii (the assistants), "we are slain in your cause, what is our reward?" "Paradise," replied the Prophet.⁴

In Medina appear manifest indications of more direct advances to the Jews. The Arabian Jews in the

¹ Era of the Hegira or flight, April 19, 622. According to Caussin de Perceval, the true date of Mohammed's flight from Mecca was the 18th or 19th June, 622. — iii. 17. Weil makes it 20th September. The question is, whether the intercalated year was in use at this time.

² Yathrib now took the name of Medina (the city). — C. de P. iii. 21.

³ This was the second or great oath of Acaba. — Caussin de Perceval, iii. 8.

⁴ In the 2d Sura, Mohammed appears to forbid all but defensive warfare: "And fight for the religion of God, against those who fight against you; but transgress not by attacking them first, for God loveth not the transgressors." He was as yet too weak for aggressive war. — Sur. ii. p. 34.

neighborhood of the two great cities were numerous and powerful, formed whole tribes, occupied strong fortresses, and evidently, from the Talmudic character of the Korân, exercised a most extensive religious influence over the central part of Arabia. The widespread expectation of the Messiah among the Jews was mingled, no doubt, with the suggestive movements in the mind of Mohammed; and this fanaticism enlisted in his cause would have placed him at once at the head of a most formidable confederacy.¹ Jerusalem suddenly becomes the centre of the Islamite system instead of Mecca; it is the Kiblah of all prayer. The Prophet is transported to its walls. His journey, to the more refined and spiritual minds, might appear to have taken place in a heaven-sent vision; to the ruder he was described as riding bodily on the mysterious horse El Borak, and lighting from his aerial voyage on the site of the temple of Jerusalem.²

¹ Tabari, according to Col. Vans Kennedy, ascribes the ready acquiescence of the Medinese in the views of the Prophet to their fear lest they should be anticipated by their neighbors the Jews. On their return these men first recited the passages of the Korân which they had learned from Mohammed, and then said, "This is that Prophet whose name the Jews daily invoke, and whose coming they so anxiously expect: should they therefore receive him, and be obedient to him, you will be reduced to the greatest difficulties; it is therefore expedient that you should hasten to anticipate the Jews, and receive Mohammed before they can unite with him." Compare Caussin de Perceval, iii. 8. Bombay Trans. p. 430.

² On the Kiblah, see Korân, Sur. ii. p. 26, 27, with Sale's note; Abulfeda, ch. xxvi.; Geiger, p. 19. A certain Imam says, that whilst Mohammed was in Mecca, he used the Caaba as his Kiblah, but whilst in Medina he used the holy house as his Kiblah, and there also made a general change; so that one period was abrogated by another. In a certain exposition it is said that he first prayed in Mecca towards the Caaba, and then changed to the Baitu i Mahaddos, which also his followers did at Medina for their pilgrimages, or even sacred processions: but that afterwards the Kiblah was transferred to the Caaba. Hist. of the Temple of Jerusalem, by Jelal

But the Jews repelled the overtures of the Prophet sprung from the race of Ismael. They scoffed at his pretensions, they provoked his terrible vengeance.¹ Tribe after tribe was defeated; their castle-fastnesses could not sustain the assaults of the impetuous warriors who now went forth under the banner of Islam. First the Jews of Kainoka, then those of Al Nadher, then those of Koraidha and of Khaibar were forced to submission. The remorseless massacre of the Koraidha after the great battle of the Ditch, in which Mohammed watched the slaughter of seven hundred and ninety Jews in cold blood, whom the Korân pursues to the fires of hell, shows the implacable resentment of the Prophet.² On other occasions the Prophet was not wanting in clemency; here his deliberate recklessness may be traced to the disappointment of high-wrought hopes.

At length, after a war of some years between the rival cities and the followers of the rival religions, after two bloody battles, that of ^{Progress of Islam.} Beder, in which the Mussulmans were victorious,³ that

Addin al Jebal, translated by F. Reynolds. — *Orient. Fund Translat.* p. 109. Jelal Addin is disposed to glorify the temple at Jerusalem, but there is no reason to question his citations from early Mohammedan writers. See also Weil, p. 90. Sprenger, p. 123; he places it a year before the flight. Sprenger gives at some length the wild legend by the Borak, or when he rode not to Jerusalem, but to the Seven Heavens. The voyage was called the Nuraj, p. 126.

¹ At different periods many Jews of note embraced Islamism: Waraka, the cousin of Chadijah, Halib ben Maleh, a Jewish prince, and Abdallah ibn Sallaam. — Geiger, page 24.

² See in "History of the Jews," the successive wars with these Jewish tribes, v. iii. p. 249 *et seq.* For their dates (some years intervened), compare Caussin de Perceval, vol. iii.

³ See the vivid description of the battle of Beder in Caussin de Perceval, *iii.* 49-65; of Ohud, 89-104: in this battle Mohammed was wounded in the face, and in great danger.

of Ohud, won by the Koreishites, after Medina had been twice besieged by the warriors of Mecca, and after a short truce, violated by the Koreishites, a sudden awe of Islam seized the obstinate unbelievers. In a few years an expedition, which at first bore the appearance of a peaceful pilgrimage and encountered but feeble resistance, made the Prophet master of Mecca.¹ The Caaba opened its unresisting gates; the three hundred and sixty idols fell without resistance on the part of their worshippers. "The truth hath come, let lies disappear." They were dashed to pieces. The Mouedhim proclaimed from the roof, "There is one God, and Mohammed is his prophet." No contumacious voice is heard in denial. The conquest was almost without bloodshed, except that of a few from old hereditary hostility. The most powerful of the Prophet's adversaries became proselytes to the faith; the whole population swore allegiance. From that time Mecca becomes again the capital city of Islam; the divine edict in favor of Jerusalem is abrogated; the Prophet is sternly and exclusively Arabian; pilgrimages to the Caaba, now purified of its idols, become an essential part of the religion; the whole energy of Mohammedanism flows from and circulates back to the centre of the system.

Lord of Mecca, Mohammed stands supreme and alone; the Arabian mind and heart are his; the old idolatry has sunk at once before the fear of his arms and the sublimity of his new creed. He can disdain the alliance of those whom before he might stoop to conciliate; he can express hatred and contempt for the Jew and for the Christian, at least within the Arabian

¹ VIII. of the Hegira. — Caussin de Perceval, iii. p. 21, &c.

peninsula; we may pursue them with fierce and implacable hostility. But more than this, and herein is the great debt of gratitude which Arabia owes to Mohammed, the old hereditary feuds of the tribes and races are hushed in awe or turned into one impetuous current against the infidels. What on the whole was the influence of Mohammedanism on the world, we pause not now to inquire, or whether human happiness paid dear for the aggrandizement of the Arab race. But Arabia is now a nation; it takes its place among the nations of the earth; it threatens to become the ruling nation of the world.¹

It was the policy of Mohammed first to secure the absolute religious unity of Arabia. In Arabia Islam at once declares irreconcilable war with all forms of unbelief: they are swept away or retire into ignominious obscurity. The only dangerous antagonists of Mohammedanism after the death of Mohammed are rival prophets. Moseilama for a time seems to arrest or to divert the current of religious conquest. But even the religious unity of Arabia, much less that of the conquered world, dawns but by degrees upon the mind of Mohammed; his religious ambition expands

¹ See in Tabari, ii. 276-8; Ibn Khaldun, 194, the remarkable conversation attributed to Yezdegerd and the ambassadors of Omar: "Who are you to attack an empire? Of all the nations of the world, the poorest, most disunited, most ignorant, most stranger to the arts which are the source of power and wealth." "What you have said of our poverty, our divisions, or barbarism, was true indeed." . . . The ambassador describes their misery, their superstition, their idolatry. "Such were we. Now we are a new people. God has raised up among us a man . . . his envoy and true prophet. Islamism, his religion, has enlightened our minds, extinguished our hatreds, made us a society of brothers under laws dictated by divine wisdom. He has said, Consummate my work; spread the empire of Islam over the whole world; the earth is the Lord's, he has bestowed it on you."

with his success; his power is the measure of his intolerance; hence the strong contradictions in the Korân, the alternating tone of hatred and of tolerance, of contempt and of respect, with which are treated the authors and the votaries of other religions. He is a gentle preacher until he has unsheathed the sword:¹ the sword once unsheathed is the one remorseless argument. The convenient principle of abrogation annuls all those sentences of the Korân which speak in a milder tone to unbelievers.² At one time we find the broad principle of Eastern toleration explicitly avowed; the diversity of religion is ascribed to the direct ordinance, and all share in the equal favor of God.³

But the Korân gradually recants all these gentler sentences, and assumes the language of insulting superiority or undisguised aversion. Even in the Sura which contains the loftiest and most tolerant sentences,

¹ There is a passage in the 29th Sura (revealed at Mecca) commanding Islamites "to dispute mildly with those who receive the Scriptures." But this verse is thought to be abrogated by the chapter of the Sword. — Compare Sale *in loco*.

² This principle was early asserted in the Korân. "Whatever verse we shall abrogate or cause thee to forget, we will bring a better than it, or one like unto it." — ch. ii. p. 21.

³ "Surely those who believe, and those who Judaize, and Christians and Sabceans, whoever believeth in God and the last day, and doth that which is right, they shall have their reward with their Lord; there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved." — ch. ii. p. 12. This and the parallel passage in the 5th chapter are said to be abrogated, or are explained by commentators whom Reland follows, as meaning that they will previously embrace Mohammedanism. But nothing less than abrogation can remove another passage: "Unto every one of you were given a law and an open path, and if God had pleased he had surely made you one people: but he hath thought fit to give you different laws, that he might try you in that which he hath given you respectively. Therefore strive to equal each other in good works. Unto God shall ye all return, and then will he declare unto you that concerning which ye have disagreed." — ch. v. In another place is the broad axiom, "Let there be no violence in religion." — ch. ii. p. 48.

their spirit is abrogated by the repeated assertion that Jew and Christian have been alike unfaithful to their own law, and that the same disobedience which instigates them to rebel against their own religion is the cause of their unbelief in Islam.¹ The Jews from the earliest ages had been the murderers of the prophets.² The murder of the prophet Jesus is among their darkest crimes. What wonder that they now turn a deaf ear to the prophet Mohammed? They had falsified their scriptures; they had erased or perverted the predictions concerning Mohammed; they were enemies, therefore, to all true religion, and, as enemies, to be pursued with unmitigated enmity. They are guilty of a worse impiety (strange, no doubt, was the charge to their own ears), an infringement of the unity of God, which would demand the vengeance of all true believers. "They hold Ezra to be the Son of God."³

Towards the Christians these early tolerant maxims of religious freedom were still further neutralized by the collision of the first principle of Mohammedanism with that of the dominant Christianity. In one milder passage the Korân intimates that the Christians were less irreconcilable enemies to the Prophet than the Jew and the idolater, and this is attributed to the influence of the priests and the monks.⁴ The

¹ "Thou shalt surely find the most violent of all men in enmity against the true believers, to be the Jews and the idolaters." — ch. v. p. 147.

² "They dislocate the words of the Pentateuch from their places, and have forgotten part of that which they were admonished." — ch. v. p. 181.

³ Ch. ix. p. 243. Sale quotes one of the commentators (Al Biedawi), who says that this imputation must be true, because it was read to the Jews and they did not contradict it.

⁴ "Thou shalt surely find those among them to be the most inclinable to entertain friendship for the true believers who say, 'We are Christians.'

sense and the occasion of this sentence are manifest. The idolaters and Jews were in arms against the Prophet, and defending their religion with desperate valor. The only Christians with whom he had then come in contact were a peaceful people, probably monastic communities. But as its views and its conquests expand, in the Korân the worship of Christ becomes the worst impiety: the assertion of his divinity involves the guilt of infidelity.¹ The worshipper of the Christian Trinity denied the Unity of God, and however the contemptuous toleration of a mighty Mohammedan empire might give indulgence to such errors among the lower orders of its subjects, the vital principles of the two religions stood opposed in stubborn antagonism. The Christian would not be soothed by the almost reverential admission of Jesus into the line of heaven-commissioned prophets, or even the respectful language concerning the Virgin Mary. The Mohammedan would not endure with patience the slightest imagined impeachment on the divine Unity. The rude and simple Arab had as yet no turn to or comprehension of metaphysical subtlety: he could not, or would not, conceive the Trinity but as three Gods.

It was indeed but a popular and traditionary Juda-

This cometh to pass because there are priests and monks among them; and because they are not elated with pride." — ch. v. vol. i. p. 147.

¹ "Verily Christ Jesus, the son of Mary, is the apostle of God, and his word which he conveyed unto Mary, and a spirit proceeding from him. Believe, therefore, in God and his apostles, and say not there are three Gods: forbear this, it will be better for you. God is but one God. Far be it from him that he should have a son. . . . Christ doth not proudly disdain to be a servant unto God: neither the angels who approach near to his presence." — ch. iv. p. 126. Passages might be multiplied from almost every Sura.

ism,¹ a popular and traditionary Christianity — neither the Judaism of the Law, nor the Christianity of the Gospel — which Mohammed encountered in Arabia. The Prophet may have exaggerated his own ignorance in order to heighten the great standing miracle of the faith, the composition of the exquisite and unrivalled Korân by an unlettered man.² But throughout he betrays that he has no real knowledge either of the Old or New Testament: the fables blended up with the genuine Jewish history, though Talmudic, are not drawn from that great storehouse of Jewish learning, but directly from the vulgar belief.³ The Jews of Arabia had ever been held in contempt, and not without justice, by their more polished brethren of Babylon or Tiberias, as a rude and barbarous people; they had revolted back to old Arabian habits; they are said not even to be noticed in the Talmud.

The Prophet's notions of Christianity were from equally impure sources, if, as no doubt they were, drawn from the vulgar creed of the Arabian Christians. They also must have dwelt apart, as well from the more rigid orthodoxy, as from the intellectual condition of the Church in the more civilized part of the world. They were Trinitarians, indeed, and at least almost worshippers of the Virgin Mary. They are distinctly charged with her deification.⁴ But the spu-

¹ Geiger, p. 29.

² "Thou couldst not read any book before this, neither couldst thou write it with thy right hand; then had the gainsayers justly doubted of the divine original thereof." — Sur. 29, ii. p. 250.

³ See the whole account of Moses in the 2d Chapter.

⁴ "And when God shall say unto Jesus at the last day, O Jesus, son of Mary! hast thou said unto men, Take me and my mother for two Gods, beside God? he shall answer, Praise be unto thee! it is not for me to say that which I ought not." — ch. v. i. p. 158.

rious gospels of the Infancy¹ and of Barnabas² contribute far more to the Christianity shown in the Korân than the writings of the Evangelists. Their Gnostic tendencies are shown by the Docetism³ or unreality of the Saviour's crucifixion, supposed by Mohammed to be the common belief of all Christians.⁴ To monastic Christianity Islam stood even in more direct opposition. Marriage in the Korân appears to be the natural state of man.⁵ Chastity, beyond a prudent temperance in connubial enjoyments and the abstinence from unlawful indulgences, is a virtue unknown in the Korân; it belongs neither to saints in earth nor in heaven. Even in the respect shown to the Virgin Mary she is spoken of, not under the appellation which sanctified her to Christian ears, but as the *mother* of Jesus. The Korân admits none of the first principles of monasticism, or, rather, directly repudiates them. It disdains the Pantheistic system in all its forms; the Emanation theory of India, the Dualism of Persia, the Mysticism of monkery. God stands alone in his nature, remote, unapproachable; in his power dominant throughout all space, and in all time, but divided by a deep and impassable gulf from created things. The absorption into, or even

¹ See in ch. xxx. the account of the birth of Christ. It is difficult to acquit Mohammed of confounding the Virgin Mary with Miriam the Prophetess, the sister of Moses. — vol. ii. p. 133.

² These works exist in Arabic in more than one form. Compare Thilo, *Codex Apoc. N. T.*

³ This Docetic notion was formed to favor the Gnostic (not the Catholic) view of the divinity of Christ. — *Hist. of Christianity*.

⁴ See the very curious extract from Tabari (*Weil, die Chalifen*, i. 108), on the substitution of a Jewish youth for Jesus on the cross, and the ascension of Jesus to heaven.

⁵ Mohammed was aware that the monastic system was later than Christianity. It was not ordained by God. — ch. lviii. p. 421.

the approximation towards the Deity by contemplation in this life or perfection in the life to come, are equally foreign to the Korân. The later Sufism, which mingled this Orientalism with the religion of the Prophet, is more absolutely at variance with its original spirit, even than with that of the Gospel. Mohammed raised no speculative or metaphysical questions about the origin of evil: he took the world as it was, and denounced the vengeance of God against sin. To sin, angels, genii, and man were alike liable: they were to be judged at the final resurrection, and either condemned to one of the seven hells, or received into one of the seven heavens. And these seven hells and seven heavens are eternal, immutable. There is no reabsorption of the universe into the Deity. The external world and God will maintain throughout eternity the same separate, unmingling, unapproximating existence.

Such then was the new religion which demanded the submission of the world. As a sublime Monotheism entitled to disdain the vulgar ^{Creed of Islam.} Polytheism of Arabia, of the remoter East, perhaps the Fire-worship of Persia, or even the depraved forms of Judaism and Christianity—yet at the highest it was but the republication of a more comprehensive Judaism; in all other respects its movement was retrograde. The habits of the religion, if it may be so said, were those of the Old Testament, not of the New; the Arabs had hardly attained the point in civilization at which the Jews stood in the time of the Mosaic dispensation.¹ Mohammedanism triumphant

¹ There were some distinctive usages, which are said to have been studiously introduced in order to show aversion and contempt for the Jews. —

over the world would have established the Asiatic form of society: slavery and polygamy would have become the established usages of mankind.

Islamism recognizes slavery to its fullest extent; it *Slavery.* treats it as one of the ordinary conditions of society; none of the general principles tend even remotely to its extinction, or, except in the general admonitions to clemency and kindness, towards its mitigation. The Korân, as the universal revelation, would have been a perpetual edict of servitude.

Polygamy was the established usage of Arabia, and Mohammed limited, perhaps, rather than enlarged its privilege. The number of lawful wives is fixed, and *Polygamy.* with the permission of polygamy¹ are mingled some wise and humane provisions against its evils.² But as concubinage with female captives was recognized hardly with any limit, unbounded license became the reward of brilliant valor, and the violation of women or the appropriation of all female captives to the harem became one of the ordinary laws of war.³

Pocock, *Not. Miscel.* c. 9, p. 369; Geiger, p. 193. Of these the most important is the total abolition of the distinction of meats, with the exception of those prohibited to the Jewish converts to Christianity — that which died a natural death, blood, swine's flesh, and meat sanctified to idols. — Korân, c. ii. p. 30, v. p. 128, vi. 181.

¹ All other license was forbidden. True believers keep themselves from carnal knowledge of any women except their wives, or the captives which their right hands possess (for as to them they shall be blameless); but whoever coveteth any woman beyond these, they are transgressors.

² The laws of divorce and of prohibited degrees, &c., are chiefly from the Old Testament. — ch. ii. and iv.

³ The heaven-sanctioned indulgence of Mohammed in the violation of his own laws, by which he assumed and exercised a right to fifteen or more wives (the number is not quite certain), is perhaps not unjustly charged to the unbridled lust of the Prophet. Yet another at least concurrent cause may be suggested — the anxiety for male issue. Mohammed

The Korân was a declaration of war against mankind. The world must prepare at once for a ^{Korân war} new barbarian invasion and for its first great ^{against man-} ^{kind.} universal religious war. This barbarian invasion was not, like that of the Teutons, the Huns, or even the later Monguls of the North and East, wave after wave of mutually hostile tribes driving each other upon the established kingdoms of the civilized world, all loose and undisciplined; it was that of an aggregation of kindred tribes, bound together by the two strong principles of organization, nationality and religious unity. The Arab had been trained in a terrible school. His whole life was a life of war and adventure. The Arabians were a nation of marauders, only tempered by some commercial habits; the Arab was disciplined in the severest abstemiousness and endurance; bred in utter recklessness of human life. The old romance of Antâr may show that the Arabs had already some of the ruder elements of chivalry—valor which broke out in the most extraordinary paroxysms of daring, the fervid and poetic temperament, the passion for the marvellous: their old poetry displays their congeniality both with the martial life and the amatory paradise opened by the Korân to true believers.¹ For to all this was now superadded the

bitterly felt the death of his four sons by Chadijah, who died in their infancy; and that of one by Maria the Egyptian. This was not only a fatal blow to his ambition, which doubtless would have led to the foundation of an hereditary religious dynasty, but was a reproach among his people, and threw some suspicion on his preëminent favor with God. Al-ar Ebn Wayal who was so cruel and so daring as to insult him on the loss of his favorite boy as "*caudâ mutilus*," was accursed of heaven, and a special Surâ (the 108th) was revealed to console the Prophet. — Abulf. da, c. lxvii., with Gagnier's note.

¹ Antâr, translated by Terrick Hamilton, Esq., *passim*

religious impulse, the religious object, the pride of religious as of civil conquest. Religious war is the duty, the glory, assures the beatitude of the true believer. The last revealed chapter, the ninth, of the Korân, the legacy of implacable animosity bequeathed to mankind, has deepened to an unmitigated intenseness of ferocity. It directs the extermination of the idolaters of Arabia; it allows them four months for submission to the belief and to the rites of Islam; after that it commands them to be massacred without mercy, and proceeds after death to inflict on them an eternity of hell-fire.¹ If the same remorseless extermination is not denounced against the Jew and the Christian, the true Islamite is commanded to fight against them till they are reduced to subjection and to the payment of tribute; while, to inflame the animosity of his followers, he repeats in the strongest terms what to their ears sounded not less odious than the charge of idolatry: against the Jew the worship of Ezra as the Son of God; against the Christian, not only that of Christ, but, in allusion no doubt to the worship of saints and martyrs, of their priests and monks.² The wealth of the priests and monks is temptingly suggested, and their employment of it against true religion sentenced with a particularity which might warrant the most unscrupulous seizure of such ill-bestowed treasures.³

¹ "And when the months wherein ye are not allowed to attack them are passed, kill the idolaters wherever ye shall find them, and take them prisoners, and besiege them, and lay wait for them in every convenient place." — ch. ix. p. 238. The works of these men are vain, and they shall remain.

² They take their priests and their monks for their lords, besides God and Christ the son of Mary, although they are commanded to worship one God only.

³ Dante might have borrowed some of these phrases. "In the day of

The Islamites who stood aloof, either from indolence, love of ease, or cowardice, from the holy warfare, were denounced as traitors to God: the souls of more faithful believers were purchased by God: paradise was the covenanted price if they fought for the cause of God: whether they slay or be slain the promise is assuredly due. The ties of kindred were to be burst: the true believer was to war upon the infidel, whoever he might be; the idolater was even excluded from the prayers of the faithful.¹ The sacred months were not to suspend the warfare against unbelievers. Victory and martyrdom are the two excellent things set before the believer. What may be considered the dying words, the solemn bequest of Mohammed to mankind, were nearly the last words of the last-revealed Sura: "O true believers! wage war against such of the infidels as are near you, and let them find severity in you, and know that God is with them that fear him."²

Nevertheless, the Mohammedan invasions (and this was still more appalling to mankind) were by no means the inroads of absolute savages; not the outbursts of spoilers who wasted the neighboring kingdoms and retired to their deserts, but those of conquerors governed by a determined policy of permanent subjugation. Not merely was the alternative of Islamism or tribute to be offered, and unbelievers beyond the

judgment their treasures shall be intensely heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads and their sides and their backs shall be stigmatized therewith: and their tormentors shall say, This is what ye have treasured up for your souls; take therefore that which ye have treasured up."—ch. ix. p. 244.

¹ "It is not allowed unto the Prophet, nor those who are true believers, that they pray for idolaters, although they be of them, after it is become known unto them that they are inhabitants of hell."—ch. ix. p. 252.

² Ch. ix. p. 263.

bounds of Arabia allowed to capitulate on these milder terms, but even their war-law contained provisions which, while they recognized the first principles of humanity, showed that they intended to settle as masters in the conquered territories. After victory they were to abstain from indiscriminate carnage,¹ from that of children, of the old, and of women; they were to commit no useless or vindictive ravage; to destroy no fruit or palm trees; to respect the corn fields and the cattle. They were to adhere religiously to the faith of treaties. Their conduct to the priests or ministers of an opposite religion was more questionable and contradictory. The monks who remained peacefully in their convents were to be respected and their buildings secured from plunder. But, as if conscious of the power of fanaticism in themselves, they wisely dreaded its reaction through the despair, and it might be, heroic faith of the priesthood. Towards them the war-law speaks in a sterner tone, though even they are not excluded from the usual terms of capitulation. "Another sort of people that belong to the synagogue of Satan, that have shaven crowns, be sure you cleave their skulls and give them no quarter till they either turn Mohammedan or pay tribute."²

Mohammed himself, if we are to trust the tradition preserved by the best Arabian historians, had not only vaguely denounced war against mankind in the Korân, but contemplated, at least remotely, vast and unlimited conquests. The vision of the great Arabian empire

¹ "When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads, until ye have made a great slaughter among them; and bind them in bonds; and either give them a free dismission afterwards, or exact a ransom until the war shall have laid down its arms." — ch. xlvii. ii. 376.

² The instructions of Abubeker to the Syrian army, in Ockley, vol. i. p. 22.

had dawned upon his mind.¹ Already, even before the conquest of Mecca, he had summoned, not only the petty potentates of the neighboring kingdoms, but the two great powers of the more civilized world, the king of Persia and the emperor of the East, to submit to his religious supremacy. His language, indeed, was courteous, and only invited them to receive the creed of Islam. If there be any foundation for this fact, which was subsequently embellished with mythic fiction, it might seem that the Prophet, either despairing of the subjugation of his intractable countrymen, had turned his mind to foreign conquest; or that he hoped to dazzle the yet hostile Arabs into his great national and religious confederacy by these magnificent pretensions to universal sovereignty. The neighboring princes replied in very different language. The governor of Egypt, Mokawkas, treated the mission with great respect, and sent, among many valuable presents, two beautiful girls, one of whom, Mary, became a special favorite. The king of Bahrein, Mondar Ebn Sawa, embraced Islam with almost all his people. The king of Ghassan, Al Harith Ebn Ali Shawer, answered, that he would go himself to Mohammed. For this supposed menace the Prophet imprecated a curse on that kingdom. A more fearful malediction was uttered against Hawdka Ebn Ali, king of Yemen, who had apostatized back from Islamism to Christianity, and returned a contemptuous answer. The Prophet's curse was fulfilled in the speedy death of the king. The king of Persia received with indignant astonishment this invitation from an obscure Arabian adventurer to yield up the faith of his an-

¹ In the 7th year of the Hegira.

cestors. He tore the letter and scattered the fragments. "So," said the Prophet, "shall his empire be torn to pieces."¹ The Mohammedan tradition of Persia still points out the scene of this impious rejection of the Prophet's advances.² The account of the reception of the Prophet's letter by the emperor Heraclius bears still stronger marks of Arabian fancy. He is said to have treated it with the utmost reverence, placed it on his pillow, and nothing but the dread of losing his crown prevented the Roman from embracing the faith of Islam. A strange but wide-spread Jewish tradition contrasts strongly with this view of the character of Heraclius. A vision had warned the emperor that the throne of Byzantium would be overthrown by a circumcised people.³ So ignorant was Heraclius of any people so distinguished, but the Jews, that he commenced a violent persecution of the race, and persuaded the kings of France and Spain to join in his merciless hostility to the Israelites.

The Korân itself, the only trustworthy authority as

¹ Later Arabian poetry is full of the omens and prophecies which at the birth of Mohammed foreshowed the fall of the Persian empire. The palace of the sovereign fell, the holy fires went out, and a seer uttered a long poetic prediction concerning the final ruin of the race and empire of Chosroes. — Abulfeda, *Vit. Moham.* c. i. p. 2, &c.

² Khoosroo Purveez was encamped on the banks of the Karasoo river when he received the letter of Mohammed. He tore the letter, and threw it into the Karasoo. For this action the moderate author of the *Zeenut ul-Tuarih* calls him a wretch, and rejoices in all his subsequent misfortunes. These impressions still exist. "I remarked to a Persian, when encamped near the Karasoo, in 1800, that the banks were very high, which must make it difficult to apply its waters to irrigation." "It once fertilized the whole country," said the zealous Mohammedan, "but its channel shrunk with horror from its banks, when that madman, Khoosroo, threw our holy Prophet's letter into the stream; which has ever since been accursed and useless." — *Malcolm's Persia*, vol.-i. p. 126.

³ See *Hist. of Jews*, iii.: compare Basnage and Jost.

to the views of Mohammed, shows that he watched not without anxiety the strife which, during his own rise, was raging between the Roman and the Persian empires. He rejoiced in the unexpected discomfiture of the Persians, who under Khoosroo Purveez seemed rising to a height of power formidable to the independence of the East, and fatal to the extension of his own meditated empire. The Greeks like the Mohammedans, people of the Book, were less irreconcilably opposed to Islam than the Persians, whom they held to be rank idolaters.¹ Persia, when Mohammed was assuming the state of an independent prince in Medina, was the threatening and aggressive power. Syria, Jerusalem itself, had been wrested from the Roman empire; and Syria and Jerusalem were the first conquests which must pave the way for an Arabian empire. Before the death of Mohammed they had been reconquered by Heraclius, who seemed suddenly to have revived the valor and enterprise of the Roman armies. The Roman empire, therefore, was the first and only great foreign antagonist encountered by the Islamites during the life of the Prophet. The event was not promising: in the battle of Muta some of the bravest of the followers of the Prophet had fallen;² the desperate valor and artifice of Khaled, the Sword of God, and the panic of the Roman army, had with difficulty retrieved the day. The war of Tabuc, for which Mohammed made such threatening preparations, ended in failure and

¹ Ch. xxx. p. 253. Entitled the Greeks, or al Rum. It announces the defeat of the Greeks by the Persians, and prophesies the final victory of the Greeks.

² Abulfeda, ch. xlv.

disappointment. The desert seemed to protect the Roman empire on this first invasion from the sons of the desert.¹

¹ Abulfeda, ch. lvii.; Gagnier, l. vi. ch. xi. Gibbon describes this war with spirited brevity. Korân, 9. The Moslems were discouraged by the heat. "Hell is much hotter," said the indignant Prophet. "*Les Musulmans s'avancent vers la Syrie; tout à coup le Prophète reçoit du ciel l'ordre de faire halte. Il revient à Medinah, et la raison de ce mouvement rétrograde n'a jamais été bien expliquée.*" — Oelsner, *Des Effets de la Religion de Mohammed*, p. 43. Oelsner supposes the progress of the rival Prophet Moseilama to have been the cause.

CHAPTER II.

SUCCESSORS OF MOHAMMED.

THE death of Mohammed¹ appeared at first the signal for the dissolution of the great Arabian confederacy. The political and religious empire might seem to have been built on no solid foundation. The death of the Prophet could not but be a terrible blow to the faith of the believers. He had never, indeed, pretended to any exemption from the common lot of mortality. He had betrayed his suspicions that he had been poisoned by a Jewish woman. His death had nothing majestic or imposing. It was caused by a fever, and at times his mind wandered. The accounts as to his firmness or feebleness in his last hour are very discrepant. He was said, on one hand, to have edified his followers by an appeal to his own severe justice and virtue. He was prepared to redress wrong: to make restitution for any injustice committed during his life. He actually did make restitution of three drachms of silver claimed by some humble

¹ June 7 or 8, 632. Compare, however, Weil, *Leben Mohammed*, 151, and *Geschichte der Chaliphen*, i. p. 2; also p. 16, and note p. 15. He ascribes to Abubeker the publication or forgery of the verses which declared the Prophet mortal. This work of Dr. Weil as summing up, with the same careful industry as in his *Life of Mohammed*, the labors of all his predecessors, will be among my chief authorities in the few following pages.

person from whom he had withheld it wrongfully. But his impatience under suffering moved the wonder, almost the contempt, of his wife Ayesha. Such weakness he had rebuked in a woman. The Prophet excused himself by declaring that God afflicted him with anguish poignant in the proportion with which he had distinguished him by glory above all mankind.¹ At the death of Mohammed it might seem that, the master-hand withdrawn, all would return to the former anarchy of tribal independence and of religious belief.²

His death, on the contrary, after but a short time, was the signal of the most absolute unity; of a concentrated force, which first controlling all the antagonistic elements of disunion in Arabia, poured forth in one unbroken torrent on the world. The great internal schism as to the succession to the caliphate, the proud inheritance of the Prophet, was avoided until Mohammedanism was strong enough to bear the division, which might have been fatal at an earlier period. The rightful heir, the heir whose succession was doubtless intended by the Prophet, and more or less distinctly declared, was set aside; and yet no dissension, at least none fatal to the progress of their arms, paralyzed the counsel or divided the hearts of the Islamites. Three caliphs, Abubeker, Omar, Othman, ascended, in due order, the sacred throne, and organized the first foreign conquests of Islam. Those first foreign conquests, Syria, Persia, Egypt, part of Africa, were achieved before the fierce conflict for

¹ Price, *History of Mohammedanism*, i. p. 13.

² See on the vain attempt of the Medinese to wrest the succession from the Koreishites, Weil, i. 3.

the caliphate between Ali and Moawija. It is impossible not to admire the singular beauty of the character of Ali. Three times on the point of ascending the throne, each time supported by a formidable host of followers, each time he was supplanted through the boldness or the intrigues of the more turbulent chieftains, each time he submitted with grace and dignity to the exclusion,¹ remained strenuously faithful to the cause, repressed the ambition in which he was by no means wanting, condescended to the condition and zealously discharged the duties of a loyal subject. This he did though the nearest male relation of the Prophet, the son of his uncle, and the husband of a violent woman, the Prophet's daughter, and the father of sons who might have looked forward to the great inheritance.² The tragedy of the death of these sons casts back even a more powerful interest on the gentle but valiant Ali.³

Never was disunion so perilous to the cause of Mohammedanism ; never would a contested succession have produced such disastrous consequences. The dangerous swarm of rival prophets were multiplying in different parts of Arabia ; it required the collective force of Islam to crush them ; but they fell before the arms and the authority of the caliphs. Moseila-

¹ Dr. Weil seems to think not so willingly, on the first submission, i. p. 6; on the last, p. 153-155. Ali, by general tradition, is exculpated from all share in the murder of Othman. Dr. Weil is throughout very unfavorable to Ali.

² Ali, during the lifetime of Fatima the Prophetess, took no second wife: he had altogether fifteen sons and eighteen daughters. — Weil, p. 253.

³ Hasan and Hussein. Dr. Weil, pitilessly critical, is dead to all the pathetic circumstances of the death of Hussein. Even Tabari's striking account he throws into a note. — p. 317.

ma, the most formidable of all, whose extraordinary influence, subtlety, and valor, seemed at one time to balance the rising fortunes of Mohammedanism, to render it doubtful under the banner of which religion, that of Moseilama or of Mohammed, would go forth the great Arab invasion of the civilized world, lost at length his power and his life before the Sword of God, the intrepid Khaled.¹ The effect of this, no doubt, was not merely to suppress these hostile sects, but to centre the enthusiasm, which was now burning in diverging lines, into one fiery torrent; to crowd the ranks of Islam with new warriors, who had joined it rather from the restless love of enterprise than from any strong conviction as to the relative truth of either creed, and were ready to transfer their allegiance, as success and glory were the only true tests of the divine favor, to the triumphant cause. They became at once earnest and zealous proselytes to a religion which actually bestowed such higher successes upon earth, and promised rewards, guaranteed by such successes, in the life to come. Soldiers, marauders by birth and habit, they had become followers of either prophet by the accidents of local or tribal connection, by the excitement of the imagination and the passion of sect. Their religion was a war-cry, and so that it led to conquest they cared little what name it might sound.²

That war-cry was now raised against all who refused faith or tribute to the creed and to the armies of the

¹ Dr. Weil treats the intrigue of Moseilama with the Prophetess Ladjah and the obscene verses quoted with such coarse zest by Gibbon, as fictions of the Mussulman. Moseilama was then 100, if not 150, years old. I confess the latter sounds to me most like fiction. — On Moseilama, p. 21-26.

² For the wars of Khaled in Persia under Abubeker, see Weil, 31 *et seq.*

Caliph. The first complete foreign conquest of Mohammedanism was Syria, the birthplace of Christianity. Palestine, the hallowed scene of the Saviour's life and death, was wrested by two great battles,¹ and by the sieges of a few great cities, Bosra, Damascus, and Jerusalem, from the domain of Christendom. It was an easy conquest, fearfully dispiriting to the enemies of Islam, to the believers the more intoxicating, as revealing their irresistible might: the more it baffled calculation the more it appalled the defeated, and made those who found themselves invincible, invincible indeed. On the one side had at first appeared numbers, discipline, generalship, tactics, arms, military engines, the fortifications of cities; on the other, only the first burst of valor, which from its very ignorance despised those advantages. The effete courage of the Roman legionaries had been strengthened by the admission of barbarians into their ranks; and the adventurous campaigns of Heraclius against the Persians had shown that the old intrepidity of the Roman armies was not quite worn out, and under a daring and skilful general might still be aggressive as well as defensive. But now the Emperor and the armies seem alike paralyzed by the suddenness and impetuosity of the Arab movements. The Emperor stands aloof and does not head his armies. The armies melt away before the uncontrollable onset of the new enemies. At Adjnadein and at Jarmuk the slaughter of the Roman armies was counted by tens of thousands, that of the Mohammedans hardly by hundreds. But it was the religious

¹ Adjnadein, July 30, 634. — Weil, p 40, note. Jarmuk, after the death of Abubeker, August 22, 634. — Weil, 46, probably the following day Aug. 23.

impulse which made the inequality of the contest. Religious warfare had not yet become a Christian duty ; it atoned for no former criminality of life ; it had no promise of immediate reward ; it opened not instantaneously the gate of heaven. The religious feeling might blend itself with patriotism and domestic love. The Christian might ardently desire to defend the altar of his God, as well as the freedom of his country and the sanctity of his household hearth. But, even if the days of heroic martyrdom were not gone by, the martyrs whose memory he worshipped had been distinguished by passive endurance rather than active valor. The human sublimity of the Saviour's character consisted in his suffering. According to the monastic view of Christianity, the total abandonment of the world, with all its ties and duties, as well as its treasures, its enjoyments, and objects of ambition, advanced rather than diminished the hopes of salvation. Why should they fight for a perishing world from which it was better to be estranged ? They were more highly purified by suffering persecution than by triumphing over their adversaries. It is singular, indeed, that while we have seen the Eastern monks turned into fierce undisciplined soldiers, perilling their own lives and shedding the blood of others without remorse, in assertion of some shadowy shade of orthodox expression, hardly anywhere do we find them asserting their liberties or their religion with intrepid resistance. Hatred of heresy was a more stirring motive than the dread or the danger of Islamism. After the first defeats the Christian mind was still further prostrated by the common notion that the invasion of the Arabs was a just and heaven-commissioned visitation for their

sins. Submission was humble acquiescence in the will of God; resistance a vain, almost an impious, struggle to avert inevitable punishment. God was against them; hereafter he might be propitiated by their sufferings, but now (such was their gloomy predestinarianism) they were doomed to drink the lees of humiliation.

On the other hand, the young fanaticism of the Mussulman was constantly fed by immediate promises and immediate terrors. He saw hell with its fires blazing behind him if he fled, paradise opening before him if he fell.¹ The predestined was but fulfilling his fate, accomplishing the unalterable will of God, whether in death or victory. God's immutable decree was the guardian of his unassailable life, or had already appointed his inevitable death. The battle-cry of Khaled, the Sword of God, was "Fight, fight! Paradise! Paradise!" "Methinks" (cried the youthful cousin of Khaled in the heat of battle) "I see the black-eyed girls looking upon me, one of whom, if she should appear in this world, all mankind would die for the love of her. And I see in the hand of one of them a handkerchief of green silk, and a cap made of precious stones, and she beckons me, and calls out, Come hither quickly, I love thee!"² Contrast this as a motive to the heart of a ruder, a grosser race, with the Christian's calm, vague, trembling anticipations of a beatitude, of which that which was most definite was exemption from the sorrows and sins of life, the com-

¹ The exhortation of the generals was brief and forcible (at the battle of Jarmuk): "Paradise is before you; the devil and hell-fire in your rear." — Gibbon, c. xli. ix. 405.

² Ockley, i. p. 267.

panionship of saints and martyrs, or even of the Redeemer himself; or perhaps some indistinct vision of angelic presence, sweet and solemn but unimpassioned music, a wilderness of dazzling light.

But Christianity did not even offer a stubborn passive resistance.¹ The great cities, which, in the utter inexperience of the Arabs in the art of siege, might have been expected to be inexpugnable, except by fam-

Feeble resistance of Christianity. ine, fell one after another: Bosra, Damascus, Jerusalem became Mohammedan. The first

great conquest, before either of the decisive battles which lost Syria, showed that the religion as well as the arms of Islam was formidable to Christendom. The strong city of Bosra fell not merely by an act of treachery, but of apostasy, and that in no less a person than the governor, the base Romanus. In the face of the people, thus reduced to the yoke of the Saracens, the unblushing renegade owned his treason. He reproached the Christians as enemies of God, because enemies of his apostle; he disclaimed all connection with his Christian brethren in this world or the next, and he pronounced his new creed with ostentatious distinctness. "I choose God for my Lord, Mohammedanism for my religion, the temple of Mecca for the place of my worship, the Mussulmans for my brethren, and Mohammed for my prophet and apostle."

At Damascus the valiant Thomas, who had assumed

¹ The complete conquest of Syria occupied about five years. — Weil, l. 82. Abubeker's instructions to the first army which invaded Christian Syria were in these terms: "Fight valiantly. . . . Mutilate not the vanquished; slay not old men, women, or children; destroy not palm-trees; burn not fruit-trees; kill not cattle, but for food. You will find men in solitude and meditation, devoted to God; do them no harm. You will find others with their heads tonsured, and a lock of hair upon their shaven crowns; them smite with your sabres, and give them no quarter." — *Causin de Perceval*, iii. 843.

the command of the city, attempted to en-^{Fall of}counter the fanaticism of the Mussulmans by ^{Damascus.}awakening as strong fanaticism on his own side. The crucifix was erected at the gate from which Thomas issued forth to charge the enemy. The bishop with his clergy stood around, the New Testament was placed near the crucifix. Thomas placed his hand on the book of peace and love, and solemnly appealed to Heaven to decide the truth of the conflicting religions. "O God, if our religion be true, deliver us not into the hands of our enemies, but overthrow the oppressor. O God, succor those which profess the truth and are in the right way."¹ The prayer was interpreted by the apostate Romanus to Serjabil, the Mohammedan general. "Thou liest, thou enemy of God; for Jesus is of no more account with God than Adam. He created him out of the dust, and made him a living man, walking upon the earth, and afterwards raised him to heaven." But Christianity in the East was not yet a rival Mohammedanism; it required that admixture of the Teutonic character which formed chivalry, to combat on equal terms with the warriors of the Korân. Latin Christianity alone could be the antagonist of the new faith. The romantic adventure of Jonas the Damascene, who to save his life abandoned his religion, in his blind passion led the conquering Moslems in pursuit of the fugitives from Damascus, and was astonished that his beloved Eudocia spurned with contempt the hand of a renegade, may suggest that Christianity had no very strong hold on many of the bravest of the Roman soldiers.²

¹ Ockley, i. 87.

² This story, the subject of Hughes's *Siege of Damascus*, is told at length by Ockley and Gibbon: Dr. Weil treats it as fiction.

The capitulation of Jerusalem shows the terms imposed by the conqueror on his subjects who refused to embrace Islamism, and the degraded state to which the Christians sank at once under the Mohammedan empire. The characteristic summons of the city was addressed to the chief commanders and inhabitants of *Ælia*. If they admitted at once the unity of God, that Mohammed was the Prophet of God, and the resurrection and the last judgment, then it would be unlawful for the Mohammedans to shed their blood or violate their property. The alternative was tribute or submission; "otherwise I shall bring men against you who love death better than you do the drinking of wine or eating hog's-flesh."¹ He declared that he would not leave the walls till he had slain the garrison and made slaves of the people. During four months Jerusalem held out in gallant resistance; even then it refused to surrender but to the Caliph in person. The sternly frugal Omar arrived before the walls. On the part of the Romans the negotiation was conducted by the Bishop Sophronius; and Sophronius was constrained to submit to the humiliating function of showing the Holy Places of the city to the new Lord of Jerusalem;² to point out the site of the temple in order that the Caliph might erect there his stately mosque for the worship of Islam. In the secret bitterness of his

¹ Ockley, from the author of the History of the Holy Land.

² The Arabian traditions mention various artifices of Sophronius to divert Omar from the real holy place, but its true site had been described by the Prophet to Omar. The Prophet had seen it, as will be remembered, in his mysterious journey. One curious account states that Omar crept on his hands and knees till he came to the great sewer. He then stood up right, and proclaimed it to be the place described by the Prophet. — Hist. of Temple of Jerusalem, p. 178.

heart the bishop said, "Now indeed is the abomination of desolation in the holy of holies."

By the terms of the treaty the Christians sank at once to an inferior and subject people,¹ Christianity to a religion permitted to exist by the ^{Treaty of} capitulation. haughty disdain of the conqueror; it submitted to the ignominy of toleration. Christianity was to withdraw from the public gaze, to conceal itself in its own modest sanctuary, no longer to dazzle the general mind by the pomp of its processions or the solemnity of its services.² The sight of the devout Mussulman was not to be offended by the symbols of the faith; the cross was no longer to be exhibited on the outside of the churches. The bells were to be silent; the torches no longer to glitter along the streets. The Christians were to wail their dead in secrecy; they were, at the same time, though their ceremonies were not to be insulted by profane interruption, not to enjoy the full privilege of privacy. Their churches were at all times to be open, if the Mussulman should choose to enter; but to attempt to convert the Mussulman was a crime. They were interdicted from teaching their children the Korân, lest, no doubt, it should be profaned by their irreverent mockery; even the holy language (the Arabic) was prohibited: they were not to write or engrave their signet-rings with Arabic letters.

The monasteries were allowed to remain, and the

¹ The capitulation is in the History of the Temple, above cited. It is quoted from the work of Abderrahman Ibn Tamin. It pretends that these were terms submitted of their own accord by the Christians, but the language of the conquering Mussulman is too manifest.

² They were not publicly to exhibit the *associating* religion, that is, which associated other gods with the one God.

Mussulman exacted the same hospitality within those hallowed walls which was wont to be offered to the Christian. The monks were to lodge the wayfaring Mussulman, as other pilgrims, for three nights and give him food. No spy was to be concealed in church or monastery.

The whole people was degraded into a marked and abject caste. Everywhere they were to honor the Mussulmans, and give place before them. They were to wear a different dress ; not to presume to the turban, the slipper, or girdle, or the parting of the hair. They were to ride on lowly beasts, with saddles not of the military shape. The weapons of war were proscribed, the sword, the bow, and the club. If at any time they carried a sword, it was not to be suspended from the girdle. Their foreheads were to be shaved, their dress girt up, but not with a broad girdle. They were not to call themselves by Mussulman names ; nor were they to corrupt the abstemious Islamite by selling wine ; nor possess any slave who had been honored by the familiarity of a Mussulman. Omar added a clause to protect the sanctity of the Mussulman's person, it was a crime in a Christian to strike a Mussulman.

Such was the condition to which the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem fell at once ; nearly the same terms, no doubt, were enforced on all the Christians of Syria. For neither Antioch nor Aleppo, nor any of the other great towns, made any vigorous or lasting resistance. The Emperor Heraclius withdrew his troops, and abandoned the hopeless contest. Syria, from a province of the Roman empire, became a province of Islamism, undisturbed by any

serious aggression of the Christians till the time of the Crusades.

The Christian historian is not called upon to describe the Mohammedan conquest of Persia. The religion of the fire-worshippers, and the throne of the Sassanian dynasty, occupied the arms of the Mohammedans less than twenty years. Yezdegird, the last of the Sassanians, perished in his flight by an ignoble hand. The Caliph was master of all the wealth, the territory, and the power of that Persian kingdom which had so long contested the East with the Byzantine empire.

At the same time the tide of conquest was flowing westward with slower but as irresistible force.¹ or Egypt. In less than three years the Saracens were masters of Egypt. Egypt fell an easy prey, betrayed by the internal hostility of the conflicting Christian sects. The Monophysite religious controversy had become a distinction not of sect only but of race. The native Egyptian population, the Copts, were stern Monophysites; the Greeks, especially those of Alexandria, adhered to the Council of Chalcedon. Mokawkas, by his name a native Egyptian, had attained to great power and influence; he is called Governor of Egypt under Heraclius. Mokawkas, according to the tradition, had been among the potentates summoned by Mohammed himself to receive the doctrine of Islam. He had returned a courteous refusal, accompanied with honorable gifts. Now, on the principle that religious hatred is more intense against those who differ the least in opinion, Mokawkas and the whole Coptic popula-

¹ The invasion of Amrou is dated June, 638; the capture of Alexandria, December 22, A.D. 640 (641, Weil).

tion, perhaps groaning under some immediate tyranny, preferred to the rule of those who asserted two natures in Christ, that of those who altogether denied his divinity. They acquiesced at once in the dominion of Amrou; they rejoiced when the proud Greek city of Alexandria, the seat of the tyrannical patriarch, who would enforce upon them the creed of Chalcedon, fell before his arms; they were only indignant that the contemptuous toleration of the Mohammedans was extended as well to those who believed in the two natures, as to those who adhered to the Monophysitic creed.¹

The complete subjugation of Africa was less rapid; it was half a century before the fall of Carthage. The commencement of the eighth century saw the Mohammedans masters of the largest and most fertile part of Spain. Latin Christianity has lost the country of Cyprian and Augustine; the number of extinguished bishoprics is almost countless.

The splendor of these triumphs of the Mohammedan arms has obscured the progress of the Mohammedan religion. In far less than a century, not only has the Caliph become the sovereign, but Islamism the dominant faith in Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and part of Spain.² But how did the religion, though that of the ruling power, become that of the subject people? In Arabia alone the Korân had demanded the absolute extirpation of all rival modes of belief, of Judaism and Christianity, as well as of the older idolatries. Though vestiges both of Judaism and Christianity might remain, to Omar is attributed the glory of having fulfilled the Prophet's injunctions. But the earlier con-

¹ Compare Weil, p. 105-114.

² Ockley, vol. i. p. 318.

quests do not seem, like those of a later ^{Progress of} period, that of the Ghaznevides in India, ^{Mohammedanism.} and of the Turks in Europe, the superinduction of an armed aristocracy in numbers comparatively small; of a new and dominant caste into an old society, which in the one case remained Brahminical or Buddhist, in the other Christian. Mohammedanism in most of the conquered countries becomes the religion of the people. In Persia the triumph of the religion was as complete as that of the arms. The faithful worshippers of fire, the hierarchy of Zoroaster, dwindled away, and retired either into the bordering and more inaccessible districts, or into India. On the south of the Caspian, on Mount Elbourz, the sacred fire continued to burn in solitary splendor, after it had been extinguished or had expired on the countless temples, which, under the Sassanian dynasty, had arisen from the Tigris nearly to the Indus. The sacred books of Zoroaster, or at least those of the revived Zoroastrianism under Ardeschir Babhegan, were preserved by the faithful communities, who found an hospitable reception in India. Soon after the conquest the followers of Magianism seem to have become so little dangerous, that the Caliphs gave to them the privilege of the same toleration as to the Christians and Jews; they became what the Korân denied them to be, a third people of the Book. The formation of a new national language, the modern Persian, from the admixture of the old native tongue with the Arabic, shows the complete incorporation of the two races, who have ever since remained Mohammedan. But in the countries wrested from Christianity the case was different. With the remarkable exception of North-
ern Africa, perhaps of Southern Spain, Christianity,

though in degradation and subjection, never ceased to exist. There was no complete change wrought like the slow yet total extinction of Paganism in the Roman world by Christianity. In all the Christian countries, in Syria, and other parts of Asia, and in Egypt, of the three fearful alternatives offered by the Arabian invader — Islam, the sword, or tribute — the Christians, after a vain appeal to the sword, had quietly acquiesced in the humiliating tribute. They had capitulated on the payment of a regular poll-tax, and that not a very heavy one, imposed on the believers in every religion but that of the Korân. So the Nestorian and Jacobite Christians in Persia and Syria, the Copts in Egypt, and a few waning communities for a certain time even in Africa, maintained their worship. Still the relative numbers of the Mohammedans increased with great rapidity. But as, for the achievement of these immense conquests, spread over so vast a surface, the Arabian armies must have been very inconsiderable (little confidence can be placed in the statement of numbers in Oriental writers), so also looking, in a general way, to the population of Arabia, and supposing that the enthusiasm of conquest and religion swept forth a very large part of it in these armed migrations to foreign lands, they must still have borne but a small proportion to the conquered races. In most countries the Arabic language became not merely that of the state but of the people.

Our information is singularly deficient as to this silent revolution in the Christian part of the Mohammedan conquests. We have seen, though not so distinctly, perhaps, as we might wish, primitive Christianity gradually impregnating the mind and heart of the

Roman world ; the infant communities are found settling in all the great cities, and gradually absorbing into themselves a large portion of the people ; minds of all orders, orators, philosophers, statesmen, at length emperors, surrender to the steady aggression of the Gospel. In some cases may be traced the struggles of old religious belief, the pangs and throes of the spiritual regeneration. We know the arguments which persuaded, the impulses which moved, the hopes and fears which achieved, the religious victory.

But the moral causes, and moral causes there must have been, for the triumph of Islamism, are ^{Causes} altogether obscure and conjectural. Egypt ^{obscure.} has shown how the mutual hostility of the Christians advanced the progress of the Mohammedan arms ; it is too probable that it advanced likewise the progress of the Mohammedan faith. What was the state of the Christian world in the provinces exposed to the first invasion of Mohammedanism ? Sect opposed to sect, clergy wrangling with clergy, upon the most abstruse and metaphysical points of doctrine. The orthodox, the Nestorians, the Eutychians, the Jacobites, were persecuting each other with unexhausted animosity ; and it is not judging too severely the evils of religious controversy to suppose that many would rejoice in the degradation of their adversaries under the yoke of the unbeliever, rather than make common cause with them in defence of their common Christianity. In how many must this incessant disputation have shaken the foundations of their faith ! It had been wonderful if thousands had not, in their weariness and perplexity, sought refuge from these interminable and implacable controversies in the simple,

intelligible truth of the Divine Unity, though purchased by the acknowledgment of the prophetic mission of Mohammed.

Mohammed, when he sanctioned one of the old Arabian usages, Polygamy, foresaw not how powerful an instrument this would be for the dissemination of his religion. This usage he limited, indeed, in the Korân, but claimed a privilege in himself of extending to the utmost. His successors, and most of the more wealthy and powerful Mohammedans, assumed the privilege and followed the example of the Prophet, if not in direct violation, by a convenient interpretation of the Law.

Polygamy, on the whole, is justly considered as unfavorable to population, but while it diminishes in one class, it may proportionately tend to rapid and continual increase in another. The crowding together of numerous females in one harem, unless they are imported from foreign countries, since the number of male and female births are nearly equal, must withdraw them from the lower and poorer classes. While then the wealthy and the powerful would have very large families, the poor would be condemned to sterile celibacy, to promiscuous concubinage, or worse. In this relation stood the Christian to the Mohammedan population. There can be no doubt that the Christian females were drawn off in great numbers by violence, by seduction, by all the means at the command of the conqueror, of the master, of the purchaser, into the harems of the Islamites. Among the earliest questions suggested to the Caliph by the chiefs of the Syrian army, was the lawfulness of intermarriage with Grecian women, which had been prohibited

by the severe Abu Obeidah. The more indulgent Caliph Omar, though himself the most abstemious of men, admitted the full right of the brave Mohammedans to those enjoyments which they had won by their valor. Those who had no families in Arabia, might marry in Syria; and might purchase female slaves to the utmost of their desires and of their abilities.¹ The Christian, on the other hand, confined by his religion to one wife, often too degraded or too poor to desire or to maintain one; with a strong and melancholy sense of the insecurity of his household; perhaps with the monastic feeling, already so deeply impressed on many minds, now strengthened by such dismal calamities, might, if of a better class, shrink from being the parent of a race of slaves; or impose upon himself as a virtue that continence which was almost a necessity.

But all the children of Christian women by Mohammedans, even if the mothers should have remained faithful to the Gospel, would, of course, be brought up as Mohammedans; and thus, in the fresh and vigorous days of the early Arabian conquerors, before the harem had produced its inevitable eventual effects, effeminacy, feebleness, premature exhaustion, and domestic jealousies, polygamy would be constantly swelling the number of the Mohammedan aristocracy, while the Christians were wasting away in numbers, as in wealth and position. Nor would it be the higher ranks of the conquerors alone which would be thus intercepting, as it were, the natural growth of the Christian population, and turning it into Mohammedan. The Arab invasions were not, like the Teutonic, the migrations of tribes and nations, but the inroad of

¹ Ockley, i. 275.

armies. Some might return to their families in Arabia; a few, when settled in foreign lands, might be joined by their household; but by far the larger number of the warriors, whether married or unmarried, would assert the privilege of conquest sanctioned by the Korân, and by the Caliph, the expounder of the Korân. As long as there were women, the hot Arab would not repress his authorized passions; he would not wait for Paradise to reward his toils. The females would be the possession of the strongest; and he would not permit his offspring, even if the mother should be a fervent Christian, and retain influence over her child (in most cases she would probably be indifferent, if not a convert), to inherit the degradation of an inferior caste, but would assert for him all the rights of Islamitish descent. It would be difficult to calculate the effect of this constant propagation of one race, and diminution of the other, even in a few generations.

So grew the Mohammedan empire into a multitude of Mohammedan nations, owning, notwithstanding contested successions, at least a remote allegiance to the Caliph, the heir and representative of the Prophet, but with their religious far more formidable to Christendom than their political unity. Christendom was not only assailed in front and on its more immediate borders; not only reduced to but a precarious and narrow footing in Asia; endangered, so soon as the Arabs became a naval as well as a military power, along the whole of the Mediterranean, in all its islands and on all its coasts: but it was flanked, as it were, by the Mohammedans of Spain, who crossed the Pyrenees, and penetrated into the very heart of the Frankish empire.

Extent of
Moham-
medan con-
quests.

- But the most important consequence of the outburst of Mohammedanism in the history of the world and of Christianity was its inevitable ^{Religious} ^{consequences} transmutation of Christianity into a religion of war, at first defensive, afterwards, during the Crusades, aggressive. Religious wars, strictly speaking, were as yet unknown. Christian nations had mingled in strife, religious animosities had imbibited, or even been a pretext for wars between the Arian Goths or Vandals, and the Trinitarian Romans or Franks. Local persecutions, as among the Donatists of Africa, had been enforced and repelled by arms; perhaps in some instances bishops, in defence of their native country, had at least directed military operations. In ancient history the gods of conflicting nations had joined in the contest. But the world had not yet witnessed wars of which religion was the avowed and ostensible motive, the object of conquest the propagation of an adverse faith, the penalty of defeat the oppression, if not the extirpation, of a national creed. The appearance of the Crescent or of the Cross, not so much over the fortresses or citadels, as over the temples of God, the churches, or the mosques, was the conclusive sign of the victory of Christian or Islamite. Hence sprung the religious element in Christian chivalry; and happily, or rather mercifully for the destinies of mankind in which Christianity and Christian civilization were hereafter to resume, or, more properly, to attain their slow preponderance (it may be hoped, their complete and final triumph), was it ordained that the ruder barbarian virtues, strength, energy, courage, endurance, enterprise, had been infused into the worn-out and decrepit Roman empire; that kings of Teutoni

descent, Franks, Germans, Normans, had inherited the dominions of the Western empire, and made, in some respects, until the late conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, common cause with the Christian East. Christendom thus assailed along its whole frontier, and threatened in its very centre, in Rome itself, and even in Gaul, was compelled to emblazon the Cross on its banner, and to heighten all the impulses of freedom and patriotism by the still stronger passion of religious enthusiasm. Christianity had subdued the world by peace, she could only defend it by war. However foreign then and adverse to her genuine spirit; however it might tend to promote the worst and most anti-Christian vices, cruelty, licentiousness, pride, hatred, and to establish brute force as the rule and law of society; however the very virtues of such a period might harmonize but doubtfully with the Gospel; it was an ordeal through which it must pass. The Church must become militant in its popular and secular sense; it must protect its altars, its temples, its Gospel itself by other arms than those of patient endurance, mild persuasion, resigned and submissive martyrdom.

The change was as complete as inevitable. Christianity in its turn began to make reprisals
Christianity warlike. by the Mohammedan apostleship of fire and sword. The noblest and most earnest believers might seem to have read the Korân rather than the Gospel. The faith of Christ or the sword is the battle-word of Charlemagne against the Saxons; the Pope preaches the Crusades; and St. Louis devoutly believes that he is hewing his way to heaven through the bleeding ranks of the Saracens.

Nor indeed, in some other respects, was Mohammedanism altogether an unworthy antagonist of Christianity. Not less rapid and wonderful than the expansion of the Mohammedan empire, and the religion of Islam, was the growth of Mohammedan civilization — that civilization the highest, it should seem, attainable by the Asiatic type of mankind. Starting above six centuries later, it has nearly reached its height long before Christianity. The barbarous Bedouins are become magnificent monarchs; in Damascus, in Bagdad, in Samarcand, in Cairo, in Cairoan, in Fez, in Seville, and in Cordova, the arts of peace are cultivated with splendor and success. The East had probably never beheld courts more polished than that of Haroun al Raschid. Cairo, in some points at least, rivalled Alexandria. Africa had not yet become a coast of pirates. In Spain cultivation had never been carried to such perfection; Andalusia has never recovered the expulsion of the Moors. In most of the Mohammedan cities the mosques were probably, in grandeur and decoration (so far as severe Islamism would allow), as rich as the Christian cathedrals of those times. Letters, especially poetry, were objects of proud patronage by the more enlightened caliphs; the sciences began to be introduced from Greece, perhaps from India. Europe recovered the astronomy of Alexandria, even much of the science of Aristotle, from Arabic sources. Commerce led her caravans through the whole range of the Mohammedan dominions; the products of India found their way to the court of Cordova. Mohammedanism might seem in danger of decay, from the progress of its own unwarlike magnificence and luxury. But it was con-

stantly finding on its borders, or within its territories, new fierce and often wandering tribes. New Arabs, as it were, who revived all its old adventurous spirit, embraced Islamism with all the fervor of proselytes, and either filled its thrones with young dynasties of valiant and ambitious kings, or propagated its empire into new regions. The Affghans overran India, and established the great empire of the Ghaznevdes. The Turks, race after race, Seljukians and Osmanlies, seized the falling crescent, and, rivalling in fanaticism the earliest believers, perpetuated the propagation of the faith.

The expansion of Islamism itself, the enlargement of her stern and narrow creed, is even more extraordinary. The human mind, urged into active and vigorous movement, cannot be restrained within close and jealous limits. The Korân submits to a transmutation more complete than the Gospel under the influences of Asiatic Gnosticism and Greek philosophy. Metaphysical theology, if it does not tamper with the unity of God, discusses his being and attributes. The rigid predestinarianism is softened away, if not among the soldiery, in the speculative schools. The sublime, unapproachable Deity is approached, embraced, mingled with, by the Divine Love of Sufi. Monachism enslaves the Mohammedan, as it had the Christian mind. The dervish rivals the Christian anchorite, as the Christian anchorite the Jewish Essene or the Indian Fakir.

CHAPTER III.

CONVERSION OF ENGLAND.

CHRISTIANITY had thus lost the greater part of her dominion in two continents. Almost the whole of Asia had settled down under what might seem a more congenial form of civil and religious despotism; it became again Asiatic in all its public and social system. Northern Africa was doomed to exchange her Roman and Christian civilization for Arabic religion, manners, and language, which by degrees, after some centuries, partly from the fanatic and more rude Mohammedanism of the savage native races, the Berbers and others, sunk back into utter barbarism. In Europe, in the meantime, Christianity was ^{European} ^{Christian.} still making large acquisitions, laying the foundations of that great federation of Christian kingdoms, which by their hostility, as well as their intercourse, were to act upon each other: until at length that political and balanced system should arise, out of which and by means of which, our smaller continent was to take the lead in the fuller development of humanity; and Christian Europe rise to a height of intellectual and social culture, unexampled in the history of mankind, and not yet, perhaps, at its full and perfect growth. For it was Christianity alone which maintained some kind of combination among the crumbling fragments

of the Roman empire. If the Barbaric kingdoms had two associating elements, their common Teutonic descent and their common religion, far the weaker was the kindred and affinity of race. Their native independence was constantly breaking up that affinity into separate, and, ere long, hostile tribes. No established right of primogeniture controlled the perpetual severance of every realm, at each succession, into new lines of kings. Thus Christianity alone was a bond of union, strong and enduring. The Teutonic kingdoms acknowledged their allegiance to the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome; Rome was the centre and capital of Western Christendom.

Western Christendom was still aggressive. Its first Conquests of Western Christianity. effort was to reclaim Britain, which had been almost entirely lost to pagan barbarism: and next advancing beyond the uncertain boundary of the old Roman empire, to plant all along the Rhine, and far beyond, among the yet unfelled forests and untilled morasses of Germany, settlements which gradually grew up into great and wealthy cities. Slowly, indeed, but constantly in advance, after the repulse of the Saracenic invasion by Charles Martel, Christianity remained, if not undisputed, yet the actual sovereign of all Europe, with the exception of the Mauro-Spanish kingdom and some of the Mediterranean islands; and so compensated by its conquests in the North for its losses in the East and South. Till many centuries later, a new Asiatic race, the Seljukian Turks, a new outburst, as it were, with much of the original religious fanaticism, precipitated itself upon Europe, and added the narrow remnant of the Greek empire to Islamism and Asiatic influence.

Britain was the only country in which the conquest by the Northern barbarians had been followed by the extinction of Christianity.^{Christianity in Britain.} Nothing certain is known concerning the first promulgation of the Gospel in Roman Britain. The apostolic establishment by St. Paul has not the slightest historical ground; and considering the state of the island, a state of fierce and perpetual war between the advancing Roman conquerors and the savage natives, may be dismissed as nearly impossible. The Roman legionary on active service, the painted Briton, in stern resistance to the Roman and under his Druidical hierarchy, would offer few proselytes, even to an apostle. The conversion of King Lucius is a legend. There can be no doubt that conquered and half-civilized Britain, like the rest of the Roman empire, gradually received, during the second and third centuries, the faith of Christ. The depth of her Christian cultivation appears from her fertility in saints and in heretics. St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, probably imbibed the first fervor of those Christian feelings, which wrought so powerfully on the Christianity of the age, in her native Britain. St. Alban, from his name and from his martyrdom, which there seems no reason to doubt, was probably a Roman soldier.¹ Our legendary annals are full of other holy names; while Pelagius, and probably his companion Celestine, have given a less favorable celebrity to the British Church.²

¹ This will account for St. Alban's death in the persecution of Dioclesian, which did not extend, in its extreme violence at least, to the part of the empire governed by Constantius. Yet the doubtful protection of that emperor may neither have been able nor willing to prevent zealous officers from putting the military test to their soldiers. The persecution began with the army. — See Hist. of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 270.

² St. Germain, Bishop of Auxerre, is said to have been sent into Britain to

But all were swept away, the worshippers of the Christianity retires before the Saxons. saints and the followers of the heretics, by the Teutonic conquest. The German races which overran the island came from a remote quarter yet unpenetrated by the missionaries of the Gospel. The Goths, who formed three kingdoms in Italy, Spain, and Southern France, were already Christians; the Lombards partially converted; even among the Franks, Christianity was known, and perhaps had some proselytes before the victories of Clovis. But the Saxons and the Anglians were far more rude and savage in their manners; in their religion unreclaimed idolaters. They knew nothing of Christianity, but as the religion of that abject people whom they were driving before them into their mountains and fastnesses. Their conquest was not the settlement of armed conquerors amidst a subject people, but the gradual expulsion — it might almost seem, at length, the total extirpation — of the British and Roman British inhabitants. Christianity receded with the conquered Britons into the mountains of Wales, or towards the borders of Scotland, or took refuge among the peaceful and flourishing monasteries of Ireland. On the one hand, the ejection, more or less complete, of the native race, shows that the contest was fierce and long; the reoccupation of the island by paganism is a strong confirmation of the complete expulsion of the Britons. The implacable hostility engendered by this continuous war, prevented that salutary reaction of the Christianity of the conquered races on the barbarian conquerors, which took

extirpate Pelagianism, which had spread to a great extent. But this, considering how early the monk left his native land, must be very doubtful — The authority is Prosper.

place in other countries. The clergy fled, perhaps fought, with their flocks, and neither sought nor found opportunities of amicable intercourse, which might have led to the propagation of their faith; while the savage pagans demolished the churches and monasteries (which must have existed in considerable numbers) with the other vestiges of Roman civilization.¹ They were little disposed to worship the God of a conquered people or to adopt the religion of a race whom they either despised as weak and unwarlike, or hated as stubborn and implacable enemies.

A century — a century of continued warfare² — would hardly allay the jealousy with which the Anglo-Saxons would have received any attempt at conversion from the British churches. Nor was there sufficient charity in the British Christians to enlighten the paganism of their conquerors. They consoled themselves (they are taunted with this sacrifice of Christian zeal to national hatred) for the loss of their territory, by the damnation of their conquerors, which they were not generous enough to attempt to avert: they would at least have heaven to themselves, undisturbed by the intrusion of the Saxon.³ Happily Christianity appeared in an opposite quarter. Its missionaries from Rome were unaccompanied by any of

¹ The fine legend of the Halleluiah Victory, in which St. Germanus, at the head of an army of newly baptized Christians (at Easter), marched against the Saxons, chanting Alleluia, and overwhelming them with rocks and trees in a difficult pass of the Welsh mountains, is one of the brightest episodes in the war.

² The first Saxon invasion was A.D. 476. Augustine came to England, A.D. 597.

³ "Qui inter alia inerrabilem scelerum facta, quæ historicus eorum Gildas flebili sermone describit, et hoc addebant, ut nunquam genti Saxonum sive Anglorum, secum Britanniam incolenti, verbum fidei prædicando committerent." — Bede, H. E. i. c. 22.

these causes of mistrust or dislike. It came into that part of the kingdom the farthest removed from the hostile Britons. It was the religion of the powerful kingdom of the Franks; the influence of Bertha, the Frankish princess, the wife of King Ethelbert, wrought no doubt more powerfully for the reception of the faith than the zeal and eloquence of Augustine.

Gregory the Great, it has been said, before his accession to the Papacy, had set out on the sublime though desperate mission of the reconquest of Britain from idolatry. It was Gregory who commissioned the monk Augustine to venture on this glorious service. Yet so fierce and savage, according to the common rumor, were the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of Britain, that Augustine shrunk from the wild and desperate enterprise; he hesitated before he would throw himself into the midst of a race of barbarous unbelievers, of whose language he was ignorant. Gregory would allow no retreat from a mission which he had himself been prepared to undertake, and which would not have appalled, even under less favorable circumstances, his firmer courage.

The fears of Augustine as to this wild and unknown land proved exaggerated. The monk and his forty followers landed without opposition on the shores of Britain. They sent to announce themselves as a solemn embassy from Rome, to offer to the King of Kent the everlasting bliss of heaven, an eternal kingdom in the presence of the true and living God. To Ethelbert, though not unacquainted with Christianity (by the terms of his marriage, Bertha, the Frankish princess, had stipulated for the free exercise of her religion), there must have been something strange

and imposing in the landing of these peaceful missionaries on a shore still constantly swarming with fierce pirates, who came to plunder or to settle among their German kindred. The name of Rome must have sounded, though vague, yet awful to the ear of the barbarian. Any dim knowledge of Christianity which he had acquired from his Frankish wife would be blended with mysterious veneration for the Pope, the great high-priest, the vicar of Christ and of God upon earth. With the cunning suspicion which mingles with the dread of the barbarian, the king insisted that the first meeting should be in the open air, as giving less scope for magic arts, and not under the roof of a house. Augustine and his followers met the king with all the pomp which they could command, with a crucifix of silver in the van of their procession, a picture of the Redeemer borne aloft, and chanting their litanies for the salvation of the king and of his people. "Your words and offers," replied the king, "are fair; but they are new to me, and as yet unproved, I cannot abandon at once the faith of my Anglian ancestors."¹ But the missionaries were entertained with courteous hospitality. Their severely monastic lives, their constant prayers, fastings, and vigils, with their confident demeanor, impressed more and more favorably the barbaric mind. Rumor attributed to them many miracles. Before long the King of Kent was an avowed convert; his example was followed by many of his noblest subjects. No compulsion was used, but it was manifest that the royal favor inclined to those who received the royal faith.

¹ All this must have gone on through the cold process of interpretation, probably by some attendants of the queen. Augustine knew no Teutonic language. Latin to the Anglo-Saxons was as unknown.

Augustine, as the reward of his triumph, and as the encouragement of his future labors, was nominated to preside over the infant Church. He received a Metropolitan pallium, which made him independent of the bishops of Gaul. The choice of the see wavered for a short time between Canterbury and London, but it was eventually placed at Canterbury. The Pope already contemplated the complete spiritual conquest of the island, and anticipated a second metropolitan see at York. Each metropolitan was to preside in his province over twelve bishops. So deliberately did the ardent Gregory partition this realm, which was still divided into conflicting pagan kingdoms. Augustine was in constant correspondence with Rome; he requested and received instructions upon some dubious points of discipline. The questions and the replies are deeply tinged with the monastic spirit of the times.¹ It might seem astonishing that minds capable of achieving such great undertakings, should be fettered by such petty scruples; but unless he had been a monk, Augustine would hardly have attempted, or have succeeded in the conversion

The connection with Rome.

¹ Some of the strange questions submitted to the Papal judgment have been the subject of sarcastic animadversion.* But the age and system were in fault, not the men. There are functions of our animal nature on which the less the mind dwells the better. It was the vital evil of the monastic system, that it compelled the whole thoughts to dwell upon them. The awfulness of the religious rites, which it was the object of this system to guard by the most minute provisions as to personal purity, was in all probability much more endangered. But on the whole it is impossible not to admire the gentleness, moderation, and good sense of Gregory's decisions. It is remarkable to find him shaking off the fetters of a rigid uniformity of ceremonial. "Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis, quæ pia, quæ religiosa, quæ recta sunt, elige, et hæc quasi in fasciculum collecta, apud asyllum mentis in consuetudinem depone." — Bede, i. c. 27.

* Hume, Hist. ch. i.

of Britain. With this monkish narrowness singularly contrasts the language of Gregory. On the more delicate question as to the course to be pursued in the conversion of the pagans, whether that of rigid, uncompromising condemnation of idolatry with all its feelings and usages, or the gentler though somewhat temporizing plan of imbuing such of the heathen usages, as might be allowed to remain, with a Christian spirit; whether to appropriate the heathen temples to Christian worship, and to substitute the saints of the Church for the deities of the heathen — was it settled policy, or more mature reflection which led the Pope to devolve the more odious duty, the total abolition of idolatry with all its practices, upon the temporal power, the barbarian king; while it permitted the milder and more winning course to the clergy, the protection of the hallowed places and usages of the heathen from insult by consecrating them to holier uses? To Ethelbert the Pope writes, enjoining him, in the most solemn manner, ^{Policy of Gregory.} to use every means of force as well as persuasion to convert his subjects; utterly to destroy their temples, to show no toleration to those who adhere to their idolatrous rites. This he urges by the manifest terrors of the Last Day, already darkening around; and by which, believing no doubt his own words, he labors to work on the timid faith of the barbarian. To Mellitus, now bishop of London, on the other hand, he enjoins great respect for the sacred places of the heathen, and forbids their demolition. He only commands them to be cleared of their idols, to be purified by holy-water for the services of Christianity. New altars are to be set up, and relics enshrined in

the precincts. Even the sacrifices were to be continued under another name.¹ The oxen which the heathen used to immolate to their gods were to be brought in procession on holy days. The huts or tents of boughs, which used to be built for the assembling worshippers, were still to be set up, the oxen slain and eaten in honor of the Christian festival: and thus these outward rejoicings were to train an ignorant people to the perception of true Christian joys.

The British Church, secluded in the fastnesses of Wales, could not but hear of the arrival of the Roman missionaries, and of their success in the conversion of the Saxons. Augustine and his followers could not but inquire with deep interest concerning their Christian brethren in the remote parts of the island. It was natural that they should enter into communication: unhappily they met to dispute on points of difference, not to join in harmonious fellowship on the broad grounds of their common Christianity. The British Church followed the Greek usage in the celebration of Easter; they had some other points of ceremonial, which, with their descent, they traced to the East: and the zealous missionaries of Gregory could not comprehend the uncharitable inactivity of the British Christians, which had withheld the blessings of the Gospel from their pagan conquerors. The Roman and the British clergy met, it is said, in solemn synod. The Romans demanded submission to their disci-

British
Church.

Meeting of
Roman and
British
clergy.

¹ "Quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est, ut a cultu demonum in obsequio veri Dei debeant commutari; ut dum gens ipse eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans ad loca, quæ consuevit, familiarius concurrat." — Greg. M. Epist. ad Mellit.: quoted also in Bede, i. 30.

pline, and the implicit adoption of the Western ceremonial on the contested points. The British bishops demurred; Augustine proposed to place the issue of the dispute on the decision of a miracle. The miracle was duly performed, — a blind man brought forward and restored to sight. But the miracle made not the slightest impression on the obdurate Britons. They demanded a second meeting, and resolved to put the Christianity of the strangers to a singular test, a moral proof with them more convincing than an apparent miracle. True Christianity, they said, “is meek and lowly of heart. Such will be this man (Augustine), if he be a man of God. If he be haughty and ungentle, he is not of God, and we may disregard his words. Let the Romans arrive first at the synod. If on our approach he rises from his seat to receive us with meekness and humility, he is the servant of Christ, and we will obey him. If he despises us, and remains seated, let us despise him.” Augustine sat, as they drew near, in unbending dignity. The Britons at once refused obedience to his commands, and disclaimed him as their Metropolitan. The indignant Augustine (to prove his more genuine Christianity) burst out into stern denunciations of their guilt, in not having preached the Gospel to their enemies. He prophesied (a prophecy which could hardly fail to hasten its own fulfilment) the divine vengeance by the arms of the Saxons. So complete was the alienation, so entirely did the Anglo-Saxon clergy espouse the fierce animosities of the Anglo-Saxons, and even imbitter them by their theologic hatred, that the gentle Bede relates with triumph, as a manifest proof of the divine wrath against the refractory Britons,

a great victory over that wicked race, preceded by a massacre of twelve hundred British clergy (chiefly monks of Bangor), who stood aloof on an eminence praying for the success of their countrymen.¹

During the lifetime of Augustine Christianity appeared to have gained a firm footing in the kingdom of Kent. A church arose in Canterbury, with dwellings for the bishop and his clergy; and a monastery without the walls, for the cœnobites who accompanied him. Augustine handed down his see in this promising state to his successor, Laurentius. The king of the East Saxons (Essex) had followed the example of the King of Kent. Two other bishoprics, at London and at Rochester, had been founded, and intrusted to Mellitus and Justus. But Ethelbert, the Christian King of Kent, died, and was buried by the side of his wife, Bertha. About the same time died also Sebert, the King of Essex. The successors to both kingdoms fell back to paganism. Both nations, at least the leading men, joined as readily in the rejection, as they had in the acceptance of Christianity. The new King of Kent was pagan in morals as in creed. He was inflamed with an unlawful passion for his father's widow. The rudeness and simplicity of the men of Essex show how little real knowledge of the religion had been disseminated; they insisted on partaking of the fine white bread which the bishops were distributing to the faithful in the Eucharist: and when the clergy refused, unless they submitted to be baptized, they cast them out of the land.

¹ "Itaque in hoc primum arma verti jubet, et sic cæteras nefandæ militiæ copias . . . delevit." — H. E. ii. 2.

It was a sad meeting of the three Christian bishops, who saw all their pious labors frustrated ; and *Laurentius*. so desperate seemed the state of things, that the bishops of London and of Rochester fled into France. *Laurentius* determined on one last effort ; it was prompted, as he declared, by a heavenly vision. He appeared one morning before the king, and, casting off his robe, showed his back scarred and bleeding from a recent and severe flagellation. The king inquired who had dared to treat with such indignity a man of his rank and character. The bishop averred that St. Peter had appeared to him by night, and had inflicted that pitiless but merited punishment for his cowardice in abandoning his heaven-appointed mission. The king was struck with amazement, bowed at once before the awful message, commanded the reinstatement of Christianity in all its honors, and gave the best proof of his sincerity in breaking off his incestuous connection. The fugitive bishops were recalled ; *Justus* resumed the see of Rochester, but the obstinate idolaters of London refused to receive *Mellitus*. That prelate, on the death of *Laurentius*, succeeded to the Metropolitan see of Canterbury.

The powerful kingdom of Northumberland was opened to the first teachers of Christianity by the same influence which had prepared the suc-^{Christianity in Northum-}berland. cess of *Augustine* in Kent. *Edwin* the king married a daughter of *Ethelbert*, the Christian sovereign of Kent. The same stipulation was made as in the case of *Bertha*, for the free exercise of her religion. The sanctity attributed to their females by the whole German race, the vague notion that they were often gifted with prophetic powers, or favored with divine revela-

tions; with something, perhaps, of a higher cultivation and commanding gentleness, derived from a purer religion, increased the natural ascendancy of birth and rank. Ethelberga was accompanied into Northumberland by the saintly Paulinus. Already, in the well-organized scheme of Gregory for the spiritual affairs of this island, York had been designated as the seat of a northern Metropolitan. Paulinus was consecrated before his departure bishop of that see. But Paulinus labored long in vain; his influence reached no further than to prevent the family of the queen from relapsing into paganism.

Personal danger, the desire of revenge, and paternal feeling, opened at length the hard heart of Edwin. An assassin, in the pay of his enemy the King of Wessex, attempted his life: the blow was intercepted by the body of a faithful servant. At that very time his queen was brought to bed of her first child, a daughter. Paulinus, who was present, in sincerity no doubt of heart, assured the king that he owed the safety of his life, and the blessing of his child, to the prayers which the bishop had been offering up to the God of the Christians. "If your God will likewise grant me victory over my enemies, and revenge upon the King of Wessex, I will renounce my idols, and worship him." As a pledge that he was in earnest, he allowed the baptism of the infant.

Edwin was victorious in his wars against Wessex. But, either doubting whether after all the
Conversion of King Edwin. God of the Christians was the best object of worship for a warlike race, or mistrusting his own authority over his subjects, he still hesitated, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of Paulinus, to

fulfil his promise. He ceased to worship his idols, but did not accept Christianity. Even letters from the Pope to Edwin and his queen had but little effect. Paulinus now perhaps first obtained knowledge of Edwin's wild and romantic adventures in his youth, and of a remarkable dream, which had great influence on his future destiny. An exile from the throne of his fathers, Edwin had at length found precarious protection in the court of Redwald, king of the East Anglians. Warned that his host meditated his surrender to his enemies, he was abandoning himself to his desperate fate, when an unknown person appeared to him in a vision, not only promised to fix the wavering fidelity of Redwald, but his restoration likewise to the throne of his ancestors, in greater power and glory than had ever been obtained by any of the kings of the island.

Paulinus, however he obtained his knowledge, seized on this vision to promote his holy object. He boldly ascribed it to the Lord, who had al-^{Or the North-}
^{umbrians.} ready invested Edwin in his kingdom, given him victory over his enemies, and, if he received the faith, would likewise deliver him from the eternal torments of hell. Edwin summoned a conference of his pagan priesthood; this meeting gives a striking picture of the people and the times. To the solemn question, as to which religion was the true one, the High Priest thus replied:—"No one has applied to the worship of our gods with greater zeal and fidelity than myself, but I do not see that I am the better for it; I am not more prosperous, nor do I enjoy a greater share of the royal favor. I am ready to give up those ungrateful gods; let us try whether these new ones will reward us better." But there were others of more reflective minds.

A thane came forward and said, "To what, O King, shall I liken the life of man? When you are feasting with your thanes in the depth of winter, and the hall is warm with the blazing fire, and all around the wind is raging and the snow falling, a little bird flies through the hall, enters at one door and escapes at the other. For a moment, while within, it is visible to the eyes, but it came out of the darkness of the storm, and glides again into the same darkness. So is human life; we behold it for an instant, but of what has gone before, or what is to follow after, we are utterly ignorant. If the new religion can teach this wonderful secret, let us give it our serious attention." Paulinus was called in to explain the doctrines of the Gospel. To complete the character of this dramatic scene, it is not the reflective thane, but the high priest who yields at once to the eloquence of the preacher. He proposed instantly to destroy the idols and the altars of his vain gods. With Edwin's leave, he put on arms and mounted a horse (the Anglian priests were forbidden the use of arms and rode on mares), and, while the multitude stood aghast at his seeming frenzy, he spurred hastily to the neighboring temple of Godmundingham, defied the gods by striking his lance into the wall, and encouraged and assisted his followers in throwing down and setting fire to the edifice. The temple and its gods were in an instant a heap of ashes.¹

Edwin, with his family and his principal thanes, yielded their allegiance to Christianity. York was chosen as the seat of Paulinus the Metropolitan. In both divisions of the great Northumbrian kingdom,

¹ Bede, ii. c. xiii.

the archbishop continued for six years, till the death of Edwin, to propagate the Gospel with unexampled rapidity. For thirty-six consecutive days he was employed, in the royal palace of Glendale, in catechizing and baptizing in the neighboring stream; and in Deira the number of converts was equal to those in Bernicia. The Deiran proselytes were baptized in the river Swale, near Catterick.

The blessings of peace followed in the train of Christianity. The savage and warlike people seemed tamed into a gentle and unoffending race. So great are said to have been the power and influence of Edwin as Bretwalda,¹ or Sovereign of all the kings of Britain, that a woman might pass, with her new-born babe, uninjured from sea to sea. All along the roads the king had caused tanks of water to be placed, with cups of brass, to refresh the traveller. Yet Edwin maintained the awfulness of military state; wherever he went he was preceded by banners; his rigorous execution of justice was enforced by the display of kingly strength.

But the times were neither ripe for such a government nor such a religion. A fierce pagan obtained, not at first the crown, but a complete ascendancy in yet un-Christianized Mercia. The savage Penda entered into a dangerous confederacy with Ceadwalla the Briton, King of Gwyneth, or North Wales. Ceadwalla was a Christian, but the animosity of race was stronger than the community of religion.

¹ I leave the question as to the real existence of a Bretwalda to Mr. Kemble, and those, if there still are those, who resist his arguments. If no Bretwalda, as is most probable, he had great power. Much of this history, so striking in many scenes, trembles on the verge of legend.

The ravages of the Briton were more cruel and ruthless than those of Penda himself, who was thought ferocious even among a ferocious and pagan people.

A.D. 633. Edwin fell in the great battle of Hatfield Chase, near Doncaster; and with Edwin seemed to fall the whole noble but unstable edifice of Christianity in the north of the island. The queen of Edwin fled with Paulinus to the court of her brother, the King of Kent.¹

The successors to the Northumbrian kingdom, which
Fall of Edwin and of Christianity. was now again divided, Osric and Eanfrid, the sons of the former usurper, and enemies of Edwin, made haste to disclaim all connection with the fallen king by their renunciation of Christianity. Both, however, were cut off, one in war, the other by treachery. Oswald was now the eldest surviving prince of the royal house of Edelfrid; and Oswald set up the Cross as his standard, appealed, and not in vain, to the Christian's God, and to the zeal of his Christian followers. After ages revered the Cross, to which was ascribed the victory of Oswald over the barbarous Ceadwalla, and the reëstablishment of the kingdom; portions of the wood were said to be endowed with miraculous powers. The Roman clergy had fled with Paulinus after the fall of Edwin; and the gratified Oswald, eager to lose no time in the restoration of Christianity, looked to his nearest neighbors in Scotland for missionaries to accomplish the holy
Monasteries of Scotland and Ireland. work. The peaceful monastic establishments of Ireland had spread into Scotland, and made settle-

¹ Paulinus, who had received the pall of the archbishopric of York, as Honorius that of Canterbury, from the Pope Honorius, undertook the administration of the vacant bishopric of Rochester. — Bede, ii. 18.

ments in the Western Isles. Of these was Hii, or Iona, the retreat of the holy Columba; and in this wild island had grown up a monastery far renowned for its sanctity. From this quarter Oswald sought a bishop for the Northumbrian Church. The first who was sent was Cormac, a man of austere and inflexible character, who, finding more resistance than he expected to his doctrines, in a full assembly of the nation, sternly reproached the Northumbrians for their obstinacy, and declared that he would no longer waste his labors on so irreclaimable a race. A gentle voice was heard: "Brother, have you not been too harsh with your unlearned hearers? Should you not, like the apostles, have fed them with the milk of Christian doctrine, till they could receive the full feast of our sublimer truths?" All eyes were turned on Aidan, an humble but devout monk; by general accla-

Aidan.
mation that discreet and gentle teacher was saluted as bishop. The Episcopal seat was placed at Lindisfarne, which received from a monastery, already established and endowed, the name of Holy Island. In this seclusion, protected by the sea from sudden attacks of pagan enemies, lay the quiet bishopric; and on the wild shores of the island the bishop was wont to sit and preach to the thanes and to the people who crowded to hear him. Aidan was yet imperfectly acquainted with the Saxon language, and the king, who as an exile in Scotland had learned the Celtic tongue, sat at the bishop's feet, interpreting his words to the wondering hearers. From the Holy Island, Aidan and his brethren, now familiar with the Saxon speech, preached the Gospel in every part of the kingdom;¹ they would

¹ Compare the high character of Aidan in the Saxon, and as to ritual

receive no reward from the wealthy, only that hospitality required by austere and self-denying men ; all gifts which they did receive were immediately distributed among the poor, or applied to the redemption of captives. Churches arose in all quarters, and Christianity seemed to have gained a permanent predominance throughout Northumbria.

Oswald might enjoy the pious satisfaction of assisting in the conversion of the most pagan of the Saxon kingdoms, that of Wessex.¹ The Bishop Birinus had been delegated by the Pope (Honorius) on this difficult enterprise. His success, if not altogether, was in great part due to the visit of Oswald, to demand in marriage the daughter of Cynegils, the king. The king, his whole family, and his principal thanes, received baptism at the hands of Birinus, for whose residence was assigned the city of Dorchester, near Oxford.

But paganism was still unbroken in Mercia, and at the head of the pagan power stood the aged but still ferocious and able Penda, who had already once overthrown the kingdom of Northumbria and killed in battle the Christian Edwin. A second invasion by Penda the Mercian was fatal to Oswald ; he, too, fell in the field. His memory lived long in the grateful reverence of his people. His dying thoughts were said to have been of their eternal welfare ; his dying words " The Lord have mercy on their souls." A miraculous power was attributed to the dust of the field where his blood had flowed. The places,

observance, Roman, Bede, iii. 5. Bede even excuses Aidan's error as to the time of keeping Easter. — iii. 17.

¹ "Paganissimos." — Bede.

where his head and arms had been exposed on high poles by the insulting conqueror till they were laid to rest by the piety of his successor, were equally fertile in wonders.

That successor, his brother Oswio, followed the example of Oswald's Christian devotion with better fortune. But the commencement of ^{Oswio and} ^{Oswin} his reign was sullied by a most unchristian crime. While Oswio was placed on the throne of Bernicia, Oswin, of the race of Edwin, was raised to that of Deira. Oswin was beautiful in countenance and noble in person, affable, generous, devout. The attachment of the good Bishop Aidan to Oswin was scarcely stronger than that of his ruder subjects. Jealousies soon arose between the two kingdoms which divided Northumbria. The guileless Oswin was betrayed and murdered by the more politic Oswio. On the spot where the murder was committed, Gelling near Richmond, a monastery was founded, at once in respect for the memory of the murdered and as an atonement for the guilt of the murderer.

The ability of Penda and the unmitigated ferocity of the old Saxon spirit gave him an advantage over his more gentle and civilized neighbors. This aged chief now aspired to the nominal, as he had long possessed the actual, sovereignty over the island. He had dethroned the King of Wessex; East Anglia was subservient to his authority; his influence named the King of Deira, and when he laid waste Bernicia as far as Bamborough, Oswio had neither the courage nor the power to resist the conqueror of Edwin and of Oswald. The influence of the gentler sex at length brought Mercia within the pale of Christianity. Alchfrid, the son

of Oswio, had married the daughter of Penda. The son of Penda, Peada, visited his sister. Alchfrid, partly by his own influence, partly by the beauty of his sister Alchfleda, of whom Peada became enamoured, succeeded in winning Peada to the faith of Christ. Peada returned to the court of his father a baptized Christian, accompanied by four priests. With that indifference which belongs to all the pagan systems, especially in their decline, even Penda, though he adhered to his war-god Woden, did not oppose the free promulgation of Christianity; but with much shrewdness he enforced upon those who professed to believe the creed of the Gospel the rigorous practice of its virtues. They were bound to obey the God in whom they chose to believe.¹

Penda himself maintained to the end his old Saxon and pagan privilege of ravaging his neighbors' territories and of enforcing the payment of an onerous tribute. His plunder and his exactions drove Oswio at length to despair. He promised a richer offering to God than he had ever paid to the Mercian Bretwalda, if he might obtain deliverance from the enemy of his family, his country, and his religion. The terrible battle which decided the fate of Northumbria, and led to the almost immediate reception of Christianity throughout the great kingdom of Mercia, was fought on the banks of the Aire² near Leeds. Penda fell, and with Penda fell paganism. According to the Saxon proverb, the death of five kings was avenged in the waters of Win-
A.D. 655. wed — the death of Anna, of Sigebert, and of Egene, East Anglians, of Edwin and of Oswald.

Oswio, by this victory, became the most powerful

¹ Bede, iii. 21.

² At Winwéd field.

king in the island. Immediately after the death of Penda he overran Mercia and East Anglia; his authority was more complete than had ever been exercised by any Bretwalda or supreme sovereign. The Christianity of the island was almost co-extensive with the sovereignty of Oswio. In all the kingdoms, except by some singular chance, that of Sussex, it had been preached with more or less success. Everywhere episcopal sees had been founded and monasteries had arisen. In Kent, perhaps, alone, the last vestiges of idolatry had been destroyed by the zeal of Ercombert. Essex, almost the first to entertain, was one of the last to settle down into a Christian kingdom. Redwald, who had first embraced the faith, had wanted power or courage to establish it throughout his kingdom. He attempted a strange compromise. A temple subsisted for some time, in which the king had raised an altar to Christ, by the side of another which reeked with bloody sacrifices to the god of his fathers. But the zeal of his successors made up for the weakness of Redwald. Sigebert, the brother of Erpwald, Redwald's successor, abandoned the throne for the peaceful seclusion of a monastery. From this retreat he was forced in order to join in battle against the terrible Penda. He refused to bear arms, but not the less perished by the sword of the pitiless Mercian. But from that time Christianity prevailed in Essex, as well as throughout East Anglia, though perhaps less deeply rooted than in other parts of the island: for in the fatal pestilence which not long after ravaged both England and Ireland, many of the East Anglians, ascribing it to the wrath of their deserted deities, returned to their

Power of
Oswio.

East Anglia.
A.D. 627.

A.D. 665.

former idolatry. The episcopal seat of Essex was in London; that of East Anglia, first at Dunwich, afterwards at Thetford.

But triumphant Christianity was threatened with Division in the Anglo-Saxon Church an internal schism; one half of the island had been converted by the monks from Scotland, the other by those of Rome. They were opposed on certain points of discipline, held hardly of less importance than vital truths of the Gospel.¹ The different period at which each, according to the Eastern or the Roman usage, celebrated Easter, became not merely a speculative question, in which separate kingdoms or separate Churches might pursue each its independent course, but a practical evil, which brought dispute and discord even into the family of the king. The queen of Oswio, Eanfled, followed the Roman usage, which prevailed in Kent; Oswio, the king, cherished the memory of the holy Scottish prelate Aidan, and would not depart from his rule. So that while the queen was fasting with the utmost rigor on what in her calendar was Palm Sunday, the commencement of Passion week, the king was holding his Easter festival with conscientious rejoicings.

A synod was assembled at Whitby, the convent of the famous Abbess Hilda, at which appeared, on the Scottish side, Colman, the Bishop of Lindisfarne; on the other, Wilfrid, afterwards Archbishop of York, who had visited Rome, was firmly convinced of the Roman supremacy, and exercised great influence over Alchfrid, the heir to the throne. With Wilfrid was Agilbert, afterwards Bishop of Paris, and other dis-

¹ It is curious to find Greek Christianity thus at the verge of the Roman world maintaining some of its usages and coequality.

tinguished men. Colman urged the uninterrupted descent of their tradition from St. John ; the authority of Anatolius, the ecclesiastical historian ; and that of the saintly Columba, the founder of Iona. Wilfrid alleged the supreme authority of St. Peter and his successors, and the consent of the rest of the Catholic world. "Will he," concluded Wilfrid, "set the authority of Columba in opposition to that of St. Peter, to whom were given the keys of heaven?" The king broke in, and, addressing the Scottish prelates, said, "Do you acknowledge that St. Peter has the keys of heaven?" "Unquestionably!" replied Colman. "Then, for my part," said Oswio, "I will hold to St. Peter, lest, when I offer myself at the gates of heaven, he should shut them against me." To this there was no answer.

A second question, that of the tonsure, was agitated, if with less vehemence, not without strong altercation. The Roman usage was to shave the crown of the head, and to leave a circle of hair, which represented the Saviour's crown of thorns ; the Scottish shaved the front of the head in the form of a crescent, and allowed the hair to grow behind. Here likewise the Roman party asserted the authority of St. Peter, and taunted their adversaries with following the example of Simon Magus and his followers! Gradually the Roman custom prevailed on both these points: the Scottish clergy and monks in England by degrees conformed to the general usage ; those who were less pliant retired to their remote monasteries in Iona or in Ireland.

In no country was Christianity so manifestly the parent of civilization as among our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. The Saxons were the fiercest of the Teutonic

race. Roman culture had not, more than the Gospel, approached the sandy plains or dense forests which they inhabited in the north of Germany. On the rude manners of the barbarian had been engrafted the sanguinary and brutalizing habits of the pirate. Every vestige of the Roman civilization of the island had vanished before their desolating inroad, and the Britons, during their long and stubborn resistance, had become as savage as their conquerors. The religion of the Anglo-Saxons was as cruel as their manners; they are said to have sacrificed a tenth of their principal captives on the altars of their gods.¹ A more settled residence in a country already brought into cultivation may in some degree have mitigated their ferocity, at all events weaned them from piratical adventure; but the century and a half which had elapsed before the descent of Augustine on their coasts had been passed in constant warfare, either against the Britons or of one kingdom against another.

Anglo-Saxon Britain had become again a world by itself, occupied by hostile races, which had no intercourse but that of war, and utterly severed from the rest of Europe. The effect of Christianity on Anglo-Saxon England was at once to reëstablish a connection both between the remoter parts of the island with each other, and of England with the rest of the Christian world. They ceased to dwell apart, a race of warlike, unapproachable barbarians, in constant warfare with the bordering tribes, or occupied in their own petty feuds or inroads; rarely, as in the case of Ethel-

¹ Sidon. Apoll. vii. 6. Compare Amm. Marc. xxviii. p. 526; Procop. Hist. Goth. iv.; Julian, orat. i. in laud. Constant. p. 34; Zosimus, iii.; Orosius, vii. p. 649. See Lingard, Hist. of England, ch. ii. p. 62-3.

bert, connected by intermarriage with some neighboring Teutonic state. Though the Britons were still secluded in their mountains, or at extremities of the land, by animosities which even Christianity could not allay, yet the Picts and Scots, and the parts of Ireland which were occupied by Christian monasteries, were now brought into peaceful communication, first with the kingdom of North-^{Intercourse with Rome.}umbria, and, through Northumbria, with the rest of England. The intercourse with Europe was of far higher importance, and tended much more rapidly to introduce the arts and habits of civilization into the land. There was a constant flow of missionaries across the British Channel, who possessed all the knowledge which still remained in Europe. All the earlier metropolitans of Canterbury and the bishops of most of the southern sees were foreigners; they were commissioned at least by Rome, if not consecrated there; they travelled backwards and forwards in person, or were in constant communication with that great city, in which were found all the culture, the letters, the arts, and sciences which had survived the general wreck. But the nobler Anglo-Saxons began soon to be ambitious of the dignity, the influence, or the higher qualifications of the Christian priesthood. Nor were the Roman clergy or monks so numerous as to be jealous of those native laborers in their holy work; if there was any jealousy, it was of the independent Scottish missionaries, their rivals in the north, and the opponents of their discipline. A native clergy seems to have grown up more rapidly in Britain than in any other of the Teutonic kingdoms. But they were in general the admiring pupils

of the Roman clergy. To them Rome was the centre and source of the faith: a pilgrimage to Rome, to an aspirant after the dignity or the usefulness of the Christian priesthood, became the great object and privilege of life. Every motive which could stir the devout heart or the expanding mind sent them forth on this holy journey: piety, which would actually tread a city honored by the residence, and hallowed by the relics of apostles; awful curiosity, which would behold and kneel before the vicar of Christ on earth, the successor of that Pope who had brought them within the pale of salvation; perhaps the desire of knowledge, and the wish to qualify themselves for the duties of their sacred station. Nor was this confined to the clergy. Little more than half a century after the landing of Augustine, Alchfrid, the son of the King of Northumbria, had determined to visit the eternal city. He was only prevented by the exigencies of the times, and the authority of his father. He was no doubt excited to this design by the accounts of the secular and religious wonders of the city, which already filled the mind of the famous Wilfrid, to whom his father, Oswio, had intrusted his education. Wilfrid had already, once at least, visited Rome; his friend Benedict Biscop several times.

The life of Wilfrid, the first highly distinguished of the native clergy, is at once the history of Anglo-Saxon Christianity in Britain to its complete establishment, and a singular illustration of the effects of this intercourse with the centre of civilization in Italy on himself and on his countrymen.¹

¹ Eddii, Vit. S. Wilfridi apud Gale X. Scriptores compared with the Ecclesiastical History of Bede.

Wilfrid was the son of a Northumbrian thane. The sanctity of his later life, as usual, reflected *backward* back a halo of wonder around his infancy. The house in which his mother gave him birth shone with fire, like the burning bush in the Old Testament. In his youth he was gentle, firm, averse to childish pursuits, devoted to study. A jealous step-mother seconded his desire to quit his father's house; she bestowed on him arms, a horse, and accoutrements, such as might become the son of a nobleman, when he should present himself at the court of his king. The beauty and quickness of the youth won the favor of the queen, Eanfled, who, discerning no doubt his serious turn of mind, intrusted him to the care of a *cœnobite*, with whom he retired to the monastery of Lindisfarne. After a few years he was seized with an *A.D. 664*. earnest longing to visit the seat of the great apostle, St. Peter. Eanfled listened favorably to his design, gave him letters to her kinsman Ercombert, King of Kent; and, accompanied by another youth, Benedict Biscop, he crossed, in a ship provided and manned by King Ercombert, into France, and found his way to Lyons. In that city he was hospitably *In Lyons*. received by Delfinus, the rich and powerful prelate of the see. Delfinus was so captivated by his manners and character that he made him an offer of splendid secular employment, proposed to adopt him as his son, to marry him to his niece, and put him at the head of the government over great part of Gaul.¹ But Wil-

¹ Eddius, the biographer, and Bede agree in this statement. But there are great difficulties in the story. Smith, in his notes on Bede, observes that there is no Delfinus in the list of bishops of Lyons. (Could he be a prelate so called from being a native of Dauphiny?) And in those troubled

frid was too profoundly devoted to his religious views, too fully possessed with the desire of accomplishing his pilgrimage to Rome; he declined the dazzling offer of the noble virgin bride and her dowry of worldly power. He arrived at Rome; and if his mind, accustomed to nothing more imposing than the rude dwelling of a Northumbrian thane, or the church of wood and wattels, expanded at the sight of the cities, which probably, like Lyons, still maintained some of the old provincial magnificence, with what feelings must the stranger have trod the streets of Rome, with all its historical and religious marvels! In Rome the Archdeacon Boniface, one of the council

In Rome. of the Pope, kindly undertook the care of the young Saxon. He instructed him in the four Gospels, in the Roman rule of keeping Easter, and other points of ecclesiastical discipline, unknown or unpractised in the Anglo-Saxon Church. He was at length presented to the successor of St. Peter, and received his blessing. Under the protection of certain relics, one of the inestimable advantages which often rewarded a pilgrimage to Rome, Wilfrid returned to his friend the Bishop of Lyons. There he resided three years; and now, tempted no more by secular offers, or acknowledged to be superior to them, he received, at his earnest request, the tonsure according to the Roman form. But Delfinus (so runs the legend) had incurred the animosity of the Queen Bathildis. With eight other bishops he was put to death. Wilfrid stood prepared to share the glorious martyrdom of his friend. His beauty arrested the

and lawless times in France, how could a bishop dispose of a civil government of such extent?

arm of the executioner; and when it was found that he was a stranger he was permitted to depart in peace.¹

The young Saxon noble, who had seen so many distant lands — had been admitted to the familiarity of such powerful prelates — had visited Rome, received the blessing of the Pope, and travelled under the safeguard of holy relics — was welcomed by his former friend Alchfrid, now the pious ^{In Northumbria.} king of Northumbria, with wondering respect. He obtained first a grant of land at a place called Æstanford; afterwards a monastery was founded at Ripon, and endowed with xxx manses of land, of which Wilfrid was appointed abbot. He was then admitted into the priesthood by Agilbert, the Bishop of Wessex. Colman, the Scottish bishop of Lindisfarne, after his discomfiture in the dispute concerning Easter, retired in disgust and disappointment to his native Iona. Tuta, another Scot, was carried off by the fatal plague, which at this time ravaged Britain. Upon his decease, the Saxon Wilfrid was named by common consent to the Northumbrian bishopric. But the plague had swept away the greater part of the southern prelates. Wina alone, the West-Saxon bishop, was considered by Wilfrid as canonically consecrated; the rest were Scots, who rejected the Roman discipline concerning Easter and the tonsure. Wilfrid went over to France; the firm champion of the Catholic discipline was received with the highest

¹ Here is a greater difficulty. The Queen Bathildis is represented by the French historians, not as a Jezebel who slays the prophets of the Lord (as she is called by Eddius), but as a princess of exemplary piety, a devout servant of the church, and the foundress of monasteries. Ebroin too, the Mayor of the Palace, in this legend is drawn in very dark colors. But on Bathildis and Ebroin more hereafter

honor^{Consecrated}. No less than twelve bishops as-
^{at Compiègne.}sembled for his consecration at Compiègne :
 he was borne aloft on a gilded chair, supported only
 by bishops — no one else was allowed to touch it. He
 remained some time (it is said three years) among his
 friends in Gaul.¹ On his return to England a wild
 adventure on the shores of his native land showed how
 strangely the fiercest barbarism still encountered the
 progress of civilization — paganism that of Christian-
 ity. The kingdom of Sussex was yet entirely heathen.
^{Sussex.} Wilfrid was driven by a storm on its coast.
 The Saxon pirates had become merciless wreckers ;
 they thought everything cast by the winds and the
 sea on their coasts their undoubted property, the crew
 and passengers of vessels driven on shore their lawful
 slaves. They attacked the stranded bark with the ut-
 most ferocity : the crew of Wilfrid made a gallant
 resistance. It was a strange scene. On one side
 the Christian prelate and his clergy were kneeling
 aloof in prayer ; on the other a pagan priest was en-
 couraging the attack, by what both parties supposed
 powerful enchantments. A fortunate stone from a
 sling struck the priest on the forehead, and put an
 end to his life and to his magic. But his fall only
 exasperated the barbarians. Thrice they renewed the
 attack, and thrice were beaten off. The prayers of
 Wilfrid became more urgent, more needed, more suc-
 cessful.² The tide came in, the wind shifted ; the
 vessel got to sea, and reached Sandwich. At a later

¹ There may be some confusion in his two periods of residence in Gaul.

² Eddius compares the pagan priest to Balaam, the slayer to David, the resistance of this handful of men to that of Gideon, the prayers of Wilfrid to those of Moses and Aaron when Joshua fought with Amalek.

period of his life Wilfrid nobly revenged himself on this inhospitable people by laboring, and with success, in their conversion to Christianity.

On Wilfrid's return to Northumbria, after his long unexplained absence, he found his see preoccupied by Ceadda, a pious Scottish monk, a disciple of the venerated Aidan.¹ Wilfrid peaceably retired to his monastery at Ripon. He was soon summoned to more active duties: he obeyed the invitation of Wulfhere, King of Mercia, to extend Christianity in his kingdom. In the south he must have obtained high reputation. On the death of Deus-dedit, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Wilfrid was intrusted with the care of the vacant diocese. On the arrival of Theodorus, who had been invested in the metropolitan dignity at Rome, almost his first act was to annul the election of Ceadda, and to place Wilfrid in the Northumbrian see at York. Ceadda made no resistance; and as a reward for his piety and his submission, was appointed to the Mercian see of Lichfield.

The Christianity of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, whether from Rome or Iona, was alike monastic. That form of the religion already prevailed in Britain, when invaded by the Saxons, with them retreated into Wales, or found refuge in Ireland. It landed with Augustine on the shores of Kent; and came back again, on the invitation of the Northumbrian king, from the Scottish isles. And no form of Christianity could be so well suited for its high purposes at that time, or tend so powerfully to promote civilization as well as religion.

¹ Perhaps after all Wilfrid was only nominated by the Roman party, who, diminished by the plague, may not have been able to support their choice.

The calm example of the domestic virtues in a more polished, but often, as regards sexual intercourse, more corrupt state of morals, is of inestimable value, as spreading around the parsonage an atmosphere of peace and happiness, and offering a living lesson on the blessings of conjugal fidelity. But such Christianity would have made no impression, even if it could have existed, on a people who still retained something of their Teutonic severity of manners, and required therefore something more imposing—a sterner and more manifest self-denial—to keep up their religious veneration. The detachment of the clergy from all earthly ties left them at once more unremittingly devoted to their unsettled life as missionaries, more ready to encounter the perils of this wild age; while (at the same time) the rude minds of the people were more struck by their unusual habits, by the strength of character shown in their labors, their mortifications, their fastings, and perpetual religious services. All these being, in a certain sense, monks, the bishop and his clergy cœnobites, or if they lived separate only less secluded and less stationary than other ascetics, wherever Christianity spread, monasteries, or religious foundations with a monastic character, arose. These foundations, as the religion aspired to soften the habits, might seem to pacify the face of the land. They were commonly placed, by some intuitive yearning after repose and security, in spots either themselves beautiful by nature, by the bank of the river, in the depth of the romantic wood, under the shelter of the protecting hill; or in such as became beautiful from the superior care and culture of the monks,—the draining of the meadows, the planting

of trees, the home circle of garden or orchard, which employed or delighted the brotherhood. These establishments gradually acquired a certain sanctity: if exposed like other lands to the ravages of war, no doubt at times the fear of some tutelary saint, or the influence of some holy man, arrested the march of the spoiler. If the growth of the English monasteries was of necessity gradual, the culture around them but of slow development (agricultural labor does not seem to have become a rule of monastic discipline), it was not from the want of plentiful endowments, or of ardent votaries. Grants of land and of movables were poured with lavish munificence on these foundations;¹ sometimes tracts of land, far larger than they could cultivate, and which were thus condemned to sterility. The Scottish monks are honorably distinguished as repressing, rather than encouraging, this prodigality.² The Roman clergy, if less scrupulous, might receive these tributes not merely as offerings of religious zeal to God, but under a conviction that they were employed for the improvement as well as the spiritual welfare of the people. Nor was it only the sacred mysterious office of ministering at the altar of the new God, it was the austere seclusion of the monks, which seized on the religious affections of the Anglo-Saxon convert. When Christianity first broke upon their rude but earnest minds, it was embraced with the utmost fervor, and under its severest forms. Men were eager to escape the awful pun-

¹ Bede calls some of these donations, "stultissimos."

² "Aidanus, Finan et Colmannus, miræ sanctitatis fuerunt et parsimonii. Adeo enim sacerdotes erant illius temporis ab avaritiâ immunes ut nec territoria, nisi coacti, acceperunt." — Henric. Hunting. apud Gale, lib. iii. p. 333.

ishments, and to secure the wonderful promises of the new religion by some strong effort, which would wrench them altogether from their former life. As the gentler spirit of the Gospel found its way into softer hearts, it made them loathe the fierce and rudely warlike occupations of their forefathers. To the one class the monastery offered its rigid course of ceremonial duty and its ruthless austerities, to the other its repose. Nobles left their halls, queens their palaces, kings their thrones, to win everlasting life by the abandonment of the pomp and the duties of their secular state, and, by becoming churchmen or monks, still to exercise rule, or to atone for years of blind and sinful heathenism.

CHAPTER IV.

WILFRID — BEDE.

WILFRID, the type of his time, blended the rigor of the monk with something of prelatie magnificence. The effect of his visit to more polished countries — to Gaul and Italy — soon appeared in his diocese. He who had seen the churches of Rome and other Italian cities, would not endure the rude timber buildings,¹ thatched with reeds — the only architecture of the Saxons — and above which the Scottish monks had not aspired.² The church of Paulinus at York had been built of stone, but it was in ruins; it was open to the wind and rain, and the birds flew about and built their nests in the roof and walls. Wilfrid repaired the building, roofed it with lead, and filled the windows with glass. The transparency of this unknown material excited great astonishment. At Ripon he built the church from the ground of smoothed stones; it was of great height, and supported by columns and aisles.³ All the chieftains and thanes of the kingdom were invited to the consecration of this church. Wilfrid read from the altar

¹ Lappenberg observes that the Anglo-Saxons have no other word for building but *getimbrian*, to work in wood. — *Geschichte Engl.*, i. 170.

² Eddius, c. xvi.

³ "Polito lapide a terrâ usque ad summum, edificatam variis columnis et porticibus suffultam in cultum erexit et consummavit." — Eddius, xviii.

the list of the lands which had been bestowed by former kings, for the salvation of their souls, upon the church, and those which were offered that day, and also of the places once dedicated to God by the Britons, and abandoned on their expulsion by the Saxons. This act was meant for the solemn recognition of all existing rights, the encouragement of future gifts, and, it seems, the assertion of vague and latent claims.¹ After this Christian or sacerdotal commemoration, there was something of a return to heathen usage, during three days and three nights uninterrupted feasting. But the architectural wonder of the age was the church at Hexham, which was said to surpass in splendor every building on this side of the Alps. The depth to which the foundations were sunk, the height and length of the walls, the richness of the columns and aisles, the ingenious multiplicity of the parts, as it struck the biographer of Wilfrid, give the notion of a building of the later Roman, or, as it is called, Byzantine style, aspiring into something like the Gothic.²

The friend and companion of Wilfrid at Rome, Benedict Biscop, (a monk of Holy Island), was introducing, in a more peaceful and less ostentatious way, the arts and elegancies of life. When about to build his monastery at Wearmouth, he crossed into Gaul to collect masons skilled in working stone after the Roman manner; when the walls were finished, he sent for

Benedict
Biscop.

¹ Eddius, c. xvii.

² "Cujus profunditatem in terrâ cum domibus mirificè politis lapidibus fundatam, et super terram multiplicem domum, columnis variis et multis porticibus suffultam, mirabilique altitudine et longitudine murorum ornata, et variis linearum anfractibus viarum aliquando sursum, aliquando deorsum per cochleas circumductam." — Eddius, c. xxii.

glaziers, whose art till this time was unknown A.D. 576. in Britain.¹ Nor was architecture the only art introduced by the pilgrims to Rome. Benedict brought from abroad vessels for the altar, vestments which could not be made in England, and especially two palls, entirely of silk, of incomparable workmanship.² Books, embellished if not illuminated manuscripts, and paintings, came from the same quarter. Wilfrid's offering to the church of Ripon was a copy of the Gospels, written in letters of gold, on a purple ground.³ Other manuscripts were adorned with gold and precious stones. On each of his visits to Rome Benedict brought less ornamented books; on one occasion a large number: and he solemnly charged his brethren, among his last instructions, to take every precaution for the security and preservation of their library. The pictures, which he brought from Rome, were to adorn two churches, one at Wearmouth, dedicated to St. Peter; one at Yarrow, to St. Paul. These were no doubt the earliest specimens of Christian painting in the country. In the ceiling of the nave at Wearmouth were the Virgin and the twelve apostles; on the south wall subjects from the Gospel history; on the north from the Revelations. Those in St. Paul's illustrated the agreement of the Old and New Testament. In one compartment was

¹ Painted glass seems to have been known at an early period in Gaul, —

"Sub versicoloribus figuris vernans herbida crusta,
Sapphiratos flectit per prasinum vitrum capillos."

Sidon. Apollin.

This, however, seems a kind of mosaic.

² "Vasa sancta, et vestimenta quia domi invenire non poterat . . . cloacrica."

³ "Aure purissimo in membranis depurpuratis, coloratis." — Eddius, c. xvii.

Isaac bearing the wood for sacrifice, and below the Saviour bearing his cross.¹

So far Wilfrid rises to his lofty eminence an object of universal respect, veneration, and love. On a sudden he is involved in interminable disputes, persecuted with bitter animosity, degraded from his see, an exile from his country, and dies at length, though at mature age, yet worn out with trouble and anxiety. The causes of this reverse are lost in obscurity. It was not the old feud between the Roman and the Scottish clergy, for Theodorus, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the head of the Roman party, joins the confederacy against him. As yet the jealousies between the secular and the regular clergy, the priests and monks, which at a later period, in the days of Odo and Dunstan, distracted the Anglo-Saxon Church, had not begun. The royal jealousy of the pomp and wealth of the bishop, which might seem to obscure that of the throne, though no doubt already in some strength, belongs in its intensity to other times. Egfrid, now King of Northumbria, had been alienated from Wilfrid, through his severe advice to the Queen Ethelreda to persist in her vow of chastity. The first husband of Ethelreda had respected the virginity which she had dedicated to God. When compelled to marry Egfrid, she maintained her holy obstinacy, and took refuge, by Wilfrid's connivance, in a convent, to escape her conjugal duties. A new Queen, Ercemburga, instead of this docile obedience to

¹ Bede, after describing the pictures, proceeds: "*Quatenus intrantes ecclesiam omnes etiam literarum ignari, quaquaversum intenderent, vel semper amabilem Christi, sanctorumque ejus, quamvis in imagine contemplarentur aspectum: vel Dominicæ Incarnationis gratiam vigilantiori mente recolerent, vel extremi discrimen examinis quasi coram oculis habentes, districtius se ipsi examinare meminerint.*" — Smith's Bede, p. 295.

Wilfrid, became his bitterest enemy.¹ She it was who inflamed her husband with jealousy of the state, the riches, and the pride of the bishop, his wealthy foundations, his splendid buildings, his hosts of followers. Theodorus, the Archbishop of Canterbury, eagerly accepted the invitation of the King of Northumbria, to assist in the overthrow of Wilfrid.

Theodorus was a foreigner, a Greek of Tarsus, and might perhaps despise this aspiring Saxon. After the death of Archbishop Deus-dedit, ^{Theodorus Archbishop of Canterbury.} the see of Canterbury had remained vacant four years. The kings of Kent and North- ^{A.D. 664.} umbria determined to send a Saxon, Wighard, to Rome, to receive consecration. Wighard died at Rome; the Pope Vitalian was urged to supply the loss. His choice fell upon Theodorus, a de- ^{A.D. 668.} vout and learned monk. Vitalian's nomination awoke no jealousy, but rather profound gratitude.² It was not the appointment of a splendid and powerful primate to a great and wealthy church, but a successor to the missionary Augustine. But Theodorus, if he brought not ambition, brought the Roman love of order and of organization, to the yet wild and divided island; and the profound peace which prevailed might tempt him to reduce the more than octarchy of independent

¹ The language ascribed to Erceburga might apply to a later archbishop of York, the object of royal envy and rapacity. "Enumerans ei . . . omnem gloriam ejus secularem, et divitias, nec non Cœnobiorum multitudinem, et ædificiorum magnitudinem, innumerumque sodalium exercitum, *regalibus* vestimentis et armis ornatum." This is not Wolsey, but Wilfrid.

² "Episcopum quem petierant a Romano Pontifice." There is a violent dispute (compare Lingard, *Anglo-Sax. Antiq.*, and note in Kemble's *Anglo-Saxons*, ii. 355) upon the nature of this appointment; all parties, except Mr. Kemble, appear to me to overlook the state of Christianity in England at the time.

bishops into one harmonious community. As yet there were churches in England, not one Church. Theodorus appears to have formed a great scheme for the submission of the whole island to his metropolitan jurisdiction. He summoned a council at Hertford, which enacted many laws for the regulation of the power of the bishops, the rights of monasteries, on keeping of Easter, on divorces, and unlawful marriages. Archbishop Theodorus began by dividing the great bishoprics in East Anglia and in Mercia, and deposed two refractory prelates. He proceeded on his sole spiritual authority, with the temporal aid of the king, to divide the bishopric of York into three sees; so, by the appointment of three bishops, Wilfrid was entirely superseded in his diocese.¹ Wilfrid appealed to Rome, and set out to lay his case before the Pope.² So deep was the animosity, that his enemies in England are said to have persuaded Theodoric, King of the Franks, and Ebroin, mayor of the palace, to seize the prelate on his journey, and to put his companions to the sword. Winfred, the ejected Bishop of Mercia, was apprehended in his stead, and thrown into prison.

The wind was fortunately adverse to Wilfrid, and drove him on the coast of Friesland. The barbarous and pagan people received the holy man with hospitality; their fisheries that year being remarkably successful, this was attributed to his presence; and the king, the nobles, and the people, were alike more disposed to listen to the Gospel, first preached among

¹ Eddius compares Egfrid and Theodorus to Balak and Balaam. — Wilkins, Concil.

² Eddius says that he left England amid the tears of many thousands of his monks.

them with Wilfrid's power and zeal. The way was thus prepared for his disciple, Willibrod, and for that remarkable succession of missionaries from England, who, kindred in speech, converted so large a part of Germany to Christianity.

After nearly a year passed in this pious occupation in Friesland, Wilfrid ventured into Gaul, and was favorably received by Dagobert II. Two years elapsed before he found his way to Rome. The Pope (Agatho) received his appeal, submitted it to a synod, ^{A.D. 679.} who decided in his favor. Agatho issued his ^{October.} mandate for the reinstatement of Wilfrid in his see.

Though the Papal decree denounced excommunication against the layman, degradation and dep- ^{In Northumbria.} rivation against the ecclesiastic, who should dare to disobey it, it was received by the King of Northumbria with contempt, and even by Archbishop Theodorus with indifference. Wilfrid, on his return, though armed with the papal authority, which he was accused of having obtained by bribery,¹ was ignominiously cast into prison, and kept in solitary confinement. The queen, with the strange mixture of superstition and injustice belonging to the age, plundered him of his reliquary, a talisman which she kept constantly with her, in her own chamber and abroad. Wilfrid's faithful biographer relates many miracles, wrought during his imprisonment. The chains of iron, with which they endeavored to bind him, shrunk or stretched, so as either not to admit his limbs, or to drop from them. The queen fell ill, and attributed her sick-

¹ See Eddius for this early instance of the suspected venality of the Roman curia. "Insuper (quod execrabilis erat), defamaverant in animarum suarum perniciem, ut *pretio* dicerent redempta esse scripta, quæ ad salutem observantium ab apostolicâ sede destinata sunt." — c. xxxiii.

ness to the stolen reliquary. She obtained his freedom, and was glad when the dangerous prelate, with his relics, was safe out of her kingdom.

He fled to Mercia, but the Queen of Mercia was the sister of Egfrid; to Wessex, but there the queen was the sister of Ercemburga; he found no safety. At length he took refuge among the more hospitable pagans of Sussex — the only one of the Saxon kingdoms not yet Christian. The king and the queen, indeed, had both been baptized; the king, Ethelwach, at the persuasion of Wulfhere, King of Mercia, who rewarded his Christianity with the prodigal grant of the Isle of Wight; Eabba, the queen, had been admitted to the sacred rite in Worcestershire. Yet, till the arrival of Wilfrid, they had not attempted to make proselytes among their subjects. They had rested content with their own advantages. A few poor Irish monks at Bosham (near Chichester) had alone penetrated the wild forests and jungles which cut off this barbarous tribe from the rest of England. But their rude hearts opened at once to the eloquence of Wilfrid. He taught them the arts of life as well as the doctrines of the Gospel. For three years this part of the island had suffered by drought, followed by famine so severe, that an epidemic desperation seized the people. They linked themselves by forties or fifties hand in hand, leaped from the rocks, were dashed in pieces, or drowned.¹ Though a maritime people,

¹ The South Saxons are thus described:

"Gens igitur quædam scopulosis indita terris
Saltibus incultis, et densis horrida dumis
Non facilem propriis aditum præbebat in arvis,
Gens ignara Dei, simulacris dedita vanis."

Prodegara, p. 191

on a long line of sea-coast, they were ignorant of the art of fishing. Wilfrid collected a number of nets, led them out to sea, and so provided them with a regular supply of food. The wise and pious benefactor of the nation was rewarded by a grant of the peninsula of Selsey (the isle of seals). There he built a monastery, and for five years exercised undisturbed his episcopal functions.

A revolution in the west and south of the island increased rather than diminished the influence of Wilfrid. Ceadwalla, a youth of the Conquest of Sussex by Ceadwalla. royal house of Wessex, had lived as an outlaw in the forests of Chiltern and Anderida. He appeared suddenly in arms, seized the kingdom of the West Saxons, conquered Sussex, and ravaged or subdued parts of Kent. Some obscure relation had subsisted between Ceadwalla (when an exile), and the Bishop Wilfrid.¹ Wilfrid's protector, Adelwalch, fell in battle during the invasion of the stranger. After Ceadwalla had completed his conquests by the subjugation of the Isle of Wight, Wilfrid became his chief counsellor, and was permitted by the king, still himself a doubtful Christian, if not a heathen, to convert the inhabitants; and Ceadwalla granted to the Church one third of the Isle of Wight. The conversion of Ceadwalla is Conversion of Ceadwalla. too remarkable to be passed over. It has been attributed to his horror of mind at the barbarous murder of his brother in Kent.² It was no light and

Eddius admits that the South Saxons were *compelled* by the king to abandon their idolatry. According to Bede, they understood catching eels in the rivers. — H. E. iv. 13.

¹ "Sanctus antistes Christi in nonnullis auxiliis et adjumentis sæpe anxiatum exulem adjuvavit et confirmavit." — Eddius, c. 41.

² According to Henry of Huntingdon, Ceadwalla was not a Christian

politic conviction, but the deep and intense passion of a vehement spirit. The wild outlaw, the bloody conqueror, threw off his arms, gave up the throne which he had won by such dauntless enterprise and so much carnage. He went to Rome to seek that absolution for his sins, from which no one could so effectually relieve him as the successor of St. Peter. At Rome he was christened by the name of Peter. At Rome he died, and an epitaph, of no ordinary merit for the time, celebrated the first barbarian king, who had left his height of glory and of wealth, his family, his mighty kingdom, his triumphs and his spoils, his thanes, his castles, and his palaces, for the perilous journey and baptism at the hands of St. Peter's successor. His reward had been an heavenly for an earthly crown.¹

when he invaded Kent. Wolf (his brother), a savage marauder, was surprised and burned in a house, in which he had taken refuge, by the Christians of the country. "Post hæc Ceadwalla Rex West Saxonie, de his et aliis sibi commissis pœnitens, Romam perrexit." — Apud X. Script. p. 742.

¹ "Culmen, opes, sobolem, pollentia regna, triumphos.

Exuvias, proceres, mœnia, castra, Lares,
 Quæque patrum virtus et quæ congesserat ipse
 Cædwal armipotens liquit amore Dei.
 Ut Petrum sedemque Petri rex cerneret hospes,
 Cujus fonte meras sumeret almus aquas,
 Splendificumque jubar radianti sumeret haustu,
 Ex quo vivificus fulgor ubique fluit.
 Percipiensque alacer redivivæ præmia vitæ
 Barbaricam rabiem, nomen et inde suum
 Conversus, convertit ovans, Petrumque vocari,
 Sergius Antistes jussit, ut ipse Pater
 Fonte renascentis, quem Christi gratia purgans
 Protinus ablutum vexit in arce poli.
 Mira fides regis! clementia maxima Christi,
 Cujus consilium nullus adire potest!
 Sospes enim veniens supremo ex orbe Britanni,
 Per varias gentes, per freta, perque vias,
 Urbem Romuleam vidit, templumque verendum
 Aspexit Petri, mystica dona gerens.

Archbishop Theodorus was now grown old, and felt the approach of death; he was seized with remorse for his injustice to the exiled bishop of York. Wilfrid met his advances to reconciliation in a Christian spirit. In London Theodorus declared publicly that Wilfrid had been deposed without just cause; at his decease intrusted his own diocese to his charge, and recommended him as his own successor. Wilfrid either declined the advancement, or, more probably, was unacceptable to the clergy of the South. After a vacancy of two years, the Abbot of Reculver, whose name, Berchtwald, indicates his Saxon descent, was chosen. He was the first native who had filled the see.¹

Wilfrid was again invested in his full rights as Bishop of York. The king, Egfrid, had ^{Wilfrid re-}fallen in battle against the Picts. His suc-^{instated in}cessor was Aldfrid, who had been educated in piety and learning by certain Irish monks. This, though an excellent school for some Christian virtues, had not taught him humble submission to the lofty Roman pretensions of Wilfrid. The feud between the king and the bishop broke out anew. Wilfrid pressed some antiquated claims on certain alienated possessions of the Church; the king proposed to erect Ripon into a bishopric independent of York. Wilfrid retired to the court of Mercia.

A general synod of the clergy of the island was held

*Candidus inter oves Christi sociabilis ivit,
Corpore nam tumulum, mente superna tenet;
Commūtasse magis sceptrorum insignia credas,
Quem regnum Christi præmeruisse vides."*

Bede, H. E. v. 7.

¹ According to the Saxon chronicle and others. Bede calls him a native of Wessex

at a place called Eastanfeld. The synod demanded the unqualified submission of Wilfrid to certain constitutions of Archbishop Theodorus. Wilfrid reproached them with their contumacious resistance, during twenty-two years, to the decrees of Rome, and tauntingly inquired whether they would dare to compare their archbishop of Canterbury (then a manifest schismatic) with the successors of St. Peter.¹ However the clergy might reverence the spiritual dignity of Rome, the name of Rome was probably less imposing to the descendants of the Saxons than to most of the Teutonic tribes. The Saxons had only known the Romans in their decay, as a people whom they had driven from the island. The name was perhaps associated with feelings of contempt rather than of reverence. The king and the archbishop demanded Wilfrid's signature to an act of unconditional submission. Warned by a friendly priest that the design of his enemies was to make him surrender all his rights and pronounce his own degradation, Wilfrid replied with a reservation of his obedience to the canons of the fathers. They then required him to retire to his monastery at Ripon, and not to leave it without the king's permission; to give up all the papal edicts in his favor; to abstain from every ecclesiastical office, and to acknowledge the justice of his own deposition. The old man broke out with a clear and intrepid voice into a protest against the iniquity of depriving him of an office held for forty years. He recounted his services

Expulsion of
Wilfrid.

¹ "Interrogavit eos quâ fronte auderent statutis apostolicis ab Agathone sancto et Benedicto electo, et beato Sergio sanctissimis papis ad Britanniam pro salute animarum directis præponere, aut eligere decreta Theodori episcopi quæ in discordiâ constituit." So writes Eddius, no doubt present at the synod.

to the Church. The topics were singularly ill-chosen for the ear of the king. He had extirpated the poisonous plants of Scottish growth, had introduced the true time of keeping Easter, and the orthodox tonsure ; he had brought in the antiphonal harmony : and "having done all this" (of his noble apostolic labors, his conversion of the heathen, his cultivation of arts and letters, his stately buildings, his monasteries, he said nothing), "am I to pronounce my own condemnation ? I appeal in full confidence to the apostolic tribunal." He was allowed to retire again to the court of Mercia. But his enemies proceeded to condemn him as contumacious. The sentence was followed by his excommunication, with circumstances of more than usual indignity and detestation. Food which had been blessed by any of Wilfrid's party was to be thrown away as an idol offering ; the sacred vessels which he had used were to be cleansed from the pollution.

But the dauntless spirit of Wilfrid was unbroken, his confidence in the rightful power of the pope unshaken. At seventy years of age he again undertook the dangerous journey to Italy, again presented himself before the pope, John V. A second decree was pronounced in his favor. On his return, the archbishop, overawed, or less under the influence of the Northumbrian king, received him with respect. But the king, Aldfrid, refused all concession. "I will not alter one word of a sentence issued by myself, the archbishop, and all the dignitaries of the land, for a writing coming, as ye say, from the apostolic chair." The death of Aldfrid followed ; it was attributed to the divine vengeance ; and it was also given out that, on his deathbed, he had expressed deep contrition for

the wrongs of Wilfrid. On the accession of Osred a new synod was held on the banks of the Nid. The A.D. 705. archbishop Berchtwald appeared with Wilfrid, and produced the apostolic decree, confirmed by the papal excommunication of all who should disobey it. The prelates and thanes seemed disposed to resist; they declared their reluctance to annul the solemn decision of the synod at Eastanfeld. The abbess Alfrede, the sister of the late king, rose, and declared the deathbed penitence of Aldfrid for his injustice. She was followed by the ealdorman, Berchfrid, the protector of the realm during the king's minority, who declared that, when hard pressed in battle by his enemies, he had vowed, if God should vouchsafe his deliverance, to espouse Wilfrid's cause. That deliverance was a manifest declaration of God in favor of Wilfrid. Amity was restored, the bishops interchanged the kiss of peace; Wilfrid reassumed the monasteries of Ripon Death of Wilfrid. A.D. 709. and Hexham. The few last years of his life (he lived to the age of 76) soon glided away. He died in another monastery, which he had founded at Oundle; his remains were conveyed with great pomp to Ripon.

So closes the life of Wilfrid, and the first period of Christian history in England. The sad scenes of sacerdotal jealousy and strife, which made his course almost a constant feud and himself an object of unpopularity, even of persecution, are lost in the spectacle of the blessings conferred by Christianity on our Saxon ancestors. Even the wild cast of religious adventure in this life was more widely beneficial than had been a more tranquil course. As the great Prelate of the North, as a missionary, his success

showed his unrivalled qualifications. As a bishop, he provoked hostility by an ecclesiastical pomp which contrasted too strongly with the general poverty, and his determination to enforce strict conformity to the authority of Rome offended the converts of the Scottish monks. His banishment into wild pagan countries and his frequent journeys to Rome, were advantageous, though in a very different manner, the former among the rude tribes to whom he preached the Gospel, the latter to his native land. He never returned to England without bringing something more valuable than Papal edicts in his own favor.¹

The hatred of the churchmen of this time might seem reserved for each other; to all besides their influence was that of pure Christian humanity. Their quarrels died with them; the civilization which they introduced, the milder manners, the letters, the arts, the sciences survived. On the estates which the prodigal generosity of the kings, especially when they gained them from their heathen neighbors, bestowed on the Church, with the immediate manumission of the slaves, could not but tend to mitigate the general condition of that class. Some of these were probably of British descent, and so Christianity might allay even that inveterate national hostility. Nor were their own predial slaves alone directly benefited by the influence of the Churchmen. The redemption of slaves was one of the objects for which the canons allowed the alienation of their lands. Among the pious acts by which a wealthy penitent might buy off the corporal austerities demanded by the discipline of the

¹ Compare Kemble's *Anglo-Saxons*, ii. 432 *et seq.* I was glad to find that I had anticipated the high authority of Mr. Kemble.

Church, was the enfranchisement of his slaves. The wealth which flowed into the Church at that time in so full a stream was poured forth again in various channels for the public improvement and welfare.¹ The adversaries of Wilfrid, as well as his friends, like Benedict Biscop, were his rivals in this generous strife for the advancement of knowledge and civility. Theodorus, the archbishop, was a Greek by birth; perhaps his Greek descent made him less servilely obedient to Rome. While the other ecclesiastics were introducing the Roman literature with the Roman service, Theodorus founded a school in Canterbury for the study of Greek. He bestowed on this foundation a number of books in his native language, among them a fine copy of Homer.

The rapid progress of Christianity and her attendant civilization, appears from the life and occupations of Bede. Not much more than seventy years after the landing of Augustine on the savage, turbulent, and heathen island, in a remote part of one of the northern kingdoms of the Octarchy, visited many years later by its first Christian teacher, a native Saxon is devoting a long and peaceful life to the cultivation of letters, makes himself master of the whole range of existing knowledge in science and history as well as in theology; and writes Latin both in prose and verse, in a style equal to that of most of his contemporaries. Nor did Bede stand alone; the study of letters was promoted with equal activity by Archbishop Theodorus, and by Adrian, who having declined the

Bede born
673, died 735.

¹ Burke observes, "They extracted the fruits of virtue even from crimes, and whenever a great man expiated his private offences, he provided in the same act for the public happiness." — Abridgment of Eng. Hist. Works, x. p. 268.

archbishopric, accompanied Theodorus into the island. Aldhelm¹ of Malmesbury was only inferior in the extent of his acquirements, as a writer of Latin poetry, far superior to Bede.

The uneventful life of Bede was passed in the monastery under the instructor of his earliest youth, Benedict Biscop. Its obscurity, as well as the extent of his labors, bears witness to its repose.² Bede stood aloof from all active ecclesiastical duties, and mingled in none of the ecclesiastical disputes. It was his office to master, and to disseminate through his writings, the intellectual treasures brought from the continent by Benedict.

Even if Bede had been gifted with original genius, he was too busy in the acquisition of learning to allow it free scope. He had the whole world of letters to unfold to his countrymen. He was the interpreter of the thoughts of ages to a race utterly unacquainted even with the names of the great men of pagan or of Christian antiquity.

The Christianity of the first converts in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms was entirely ritual. The whole theology of some of the native teachers was contained in the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Some of them were entirely ignorant of Latin, and for them Bede himself translated these all-sufficient manuals of Chris-

¹ Aldhelm was born about 856, died 709.

² The Pope Sergius is said to have invited Bede to Rome in order to avail himself of the erudition of so great a scholar. This invitation is doubted.—See Stevenson's *Bede*, on another reading in the letter adduced by William of Malmesbury. I agree with Mr. Wright (*Biograph. Lit.* p. 265), that it is more probable the Pope should send for Bede than for a nameless monk from the monastery at Wearmouth. It is nearly certain that Bede did not go to Rome. The death of Pope Sergius accounts very naturally for Bede's disobedience to the papal mandate, or courteous invitation.

tian faith into Anglo-Saxon.¹ Bede was the parent of theology in England. Whatever their knowledge, the earlier foreign bishops were missionaries, not writers; and the native prelates were in general fully occupied with the practical duties of their station. The theology of Bede flowed directly from the fountain of Christian doctrine, the sacred writings. It consists in commentaries on the whole Bible. But his interpretation is that which now prevailed universally in the Church. By this the whole volume is represented as a great allegory. Bede probably did little more than select from the more popular Fathers, what appeared to him the most subtle and ingenious, and therefore most true and edifying exposition. Even the New Testament, the Gospels, and Acts, have their hidden and mysterious, as well as their historical, signification. No word but enshrines a religious and typical sense.²

The science as the theology of Bede was that of his age—the science of the ancients (Pliny was the author chiefly followed), narrowed rather than expanded by the natural philosophy, supposed to be authorized and established by the language of the Bible.³ Bede

¹ See the letter of Bede to Bishop Egbert, in which he enjoins him to enforce the learning these two forms by heart: "Quod non solum de laicis, id est, in populari vitâ constitutis, verum etiam de clericis sive monachis, qui Latine sunt lingue expertes, fieri oportet." He urges their efficacy against the assaults of unclean spirits. — Smith's Bede, p. 306.

² "De rerum natura," in Giles, vol. vi.

³ It is this Christian part of Bede's natural philosophy which alone has much interest, as showing the interworking of the biblical records of the creation, now the popular belief, into the old traditional astronomy derived by the Romans from the Greeks; and so becoming the science of Latin Christendom. The creation by God, the creation in six days, is of course the groundwork of Bede's astronomical science. The earth is the centre and primary object of creation. The heaven is of a fiery and subtle nature, round, equidistant in every part, as a canopy, from the centre of the earth. It turns round every day, with ineffable rapidity, only moderated by the

had read some of the great writers, especially the poets of antiquity. He had some familiarity with Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, and even Lucretius. This is shown in his treatises on Grammar and Metre. His own poetry is the feeble echo of humbler masters, the Christian poets, Prudentius, Sedulius, Arator, Juvenius, which were chiefly read in the schools of that time. It may be questioned, however, whether many of the citations from ancient authors, often adduced from mediæval writers, as indicating their knowledge of such authors, are more than traditional, almost proverbial, insulated passages, brilliant fragments, broken off from antiquity, and reset again and again by writers borrowing them from each other, but who had never read another word of the lost poet, orator, or philosopher.

resistance of the seven planets, — three above the sun: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, then the Sun; three below: Venus, Mercury, the Moon. The stars go round in their fixed courses; the northern perform the shortest circle. The highest heaven has its proper limit; it contains the angelic virtues, who descend upon earth, assume ethereal bodies, perform human functions, and return. The heaven is tempered with glacial waters, lest it should be set on fire: the inferior heaven is called the firmament, because it separates these superincumbent waters from the waters below. These firmamental waters are lower than the spiritual heavens, higher than all corporeal beings, reserved, some say, for a second deluge, others more truly, to temper the fire of the stars. The rest of Bede's system on the motions of the planets and stars, on winds, thunder, light, the rainbow, the tides, belongs to the history of philosophy. His work on the Nature of Things is curious as showing a monk, on the wild shores of Northumberland, so soon after the Christianization of the island, busying himself with such profound questions, if not observing, recording the observations of others on the causes of natural phenomena; learning all that he could learn, teaching all he had learned, in the Latin of his time; promoting at least, and pointing the way to these important studies. Bede's chronological labors (he was a strenuous advocate for the shorter Hebrew chronology of the Old Testament, in order to establish his favorite theory, so long dominant in theology, of the six ages of the world) implied and displayed powers of calculation rare at that time in Latin Christianity. in England probably unrivalled, if not standing absolutely alone. — *Epist. ad Pleguin.*, Giles, i p. 145

The works of Bede were written for a very small intellectual aristocracy. To all but a few among the monks and clergy, Latin was a foreign language, in which they recited, with no clear apprehension of its meaning, the ordinary ritual.¹

But even at this earlier period, Christianity seized and pressed into her service the more effective vehicle of popular instruction, the vernacular poetry. No doubt from the first there must have been some rude preaching in the vulgar tongue, but the extant Anglo-Saxon homilies are of a later date. Cædmon, however, the greatest of the Anglo-Saxon poets, flourished during the youth of Bede. So marvellous did the songs of Cædmon (pouring forth as they did the treasures of biblical poetry, the sublime mysteries of the Creation, the Fall, the wonders of the Hebrew history, the gentler miracles of the New Testament, the terrors of the judgment, the torments of hell, the bliss of heaven) sound to the popular ear, that they could be attributed to nothing less than divine inspiration. The youth and early aspirations of Cædmon were invested at once in a mythic character like the old poets of India and of Greece, but in the form of Christian miracle.

The Saxons, no doubt, brought their poetry from their native forests. Their bards were a recognized order: in all likelihood in the halls of the kings of the Octarchy, the bard had his seat of honor, and while he quaffed the mead, sang the victories of the thanes

¹ See above, quotation from Epist. to Egbert. Bede adds, that for this purpose he had himself translated the Creed and Lord's Prayer into the vernacular Anglo-Saxon. "Propter quod et ipse multis sæpe sacerdotibus idiotis, hæc quoque utraque, et symbolum videlicet, et Dominicam orationem, in linguam Anglorum translata obtuli." — Epist. ad Egbert. His birth is uncertain; he died about 680.

and kings over the degenerate Roman and fugitive Briton. Of these lays some fragments remain, earlier probably than the introduction of Christianity, but tinged with Christian allusion in their later tradition from bard to bard: such are the Battle of Conisborough, the Traveller's Song, and the Romance of Beowulf.¹ The profoundly religious mind of Cædmon could not endure to learn these profane songs of adventure and battle, or the lighter and more mirthful strains. When his turn came to sing in the hall, and the harp was handed to him, he was wont to withdraw in silence and in shame.² One evening he had retired from the hall; it was that night his duty to tend the cattle; he fell asleep. A form appeared to him in a vision and said, "Sing, O Cædmon!" Cædmon replied, "that he knew not how to sing, he knew no subject for a song." "Sing," said the visitant, "the Creation." The thoughts and the words flashed upon the mind of Cædmon, and the next morning his memory retained the verses, which Bede thought so sublime in the native language as to be but feebly rendered in the Latin.

The wonder reached the ears of the famous Hilda, the abbess of Whitby: it was at once ascribed to the grace of God. Cædmon was treated as one inspired. He could not read, he did not understand Latin. But when any passage of the Bible was interpreted to him, or any of the sublime truths of religion unfolded, he sat for some time in quiet rumination, and poured it

¹ Kemble's Beowulf, with preface.

² "Unde nonnunquam in conviviis, cum esset lætitiæ causâ, et omnes per ordinem cantare deberent, ille ubi appropinquare sibi citharam cernebat, surgebat a mediâ cenâ, et egressus ad suam domum repedabat." — Bede, H. E. iv. c. 24.

all forth in that brief alliterative verse, which kindled and enchanted his hearers. Thus was the whole history of the Bible, and the whole creed of Christianity, in the imaginative form which it then wore, made at once accessible to the Anglo-Saxon people. Cædmon's poetry was their bible, no doubt far more effective in awakening and changing the popular mind than a literal translation of the Scriptures could have been. He chose, by the natural test of his own kindred sympathies, all which would most powerfully work on the imagination, or strike to the heart, of a rude yet poetic race.

The Anglo-Saxon was the earliest vernacular Christian poetry, a dim prophecy of what that poetry might become in Dante and Milton. While all the Greek and Latin poetry labored with the difficulties of an uncongenial diction and form of verse; and at last was but a cold dull paraphrase of that which was already, in the Greek and in the Vulgate Bible, far nobler poetry, though without the technical form of verse; the Anglo-Saxon had some of the freedom and freshness of original poetry. Its brief, sententious, and alliterative cast seemed not unsuited to the parallelism of the Hebrew verse; and perhaps the ignorance of Cædmon kept him above the servility of mere translation.¹

Aldhelm of Malmesbury was likewise skilled in the vernacular poetry; but though he used it for the purpose of religious instruction, it does not seem to have

¹ The poetry of Cædmon may be judged by the admirable translations in the volume on Anglo-Saxon poetry by J. J. Conybeare. The whole has been edited, with his fulness of Anglo-Saxon learning, by Mr. Thorpe; London, 1832. Mr. Conybeare may to a certain degree have Miltonized the simple Anglo-Saxon; but he has not done more than justice to his vigor and rude boldness.

been written verse, though one of his songs survived in the popular voice for some time.¹ What he no doubt considered the superior majesty or sanctity of the Latin was alone suited for such mysterious subjects. Of Aldhelm it is recorded that he saw with sorrow the little effect which the services of religion had on the peasantry, who either listened with indifference to the admonitions of the preacher, or returned home utterly forgetful of his words. He stationed himself therefore on a bridge over which they must pass, in the garb of a minstrel, and when he had arrested the crowd and fully enthralled their attention by the sweetness of his song, he gradually introduced into his profane and popular lay some of the solemn truths of religion. Thus he succeeded in awakening a deeper devotion and won many hearts to the faith, which he would have attempted in vain to move by severer language, or even by the awful excommunication of the church. What he himself no doubt despised, his vernacular verse, in comparison with the lame stateliness of his poor hexameters, ought to have been his pride.

Among a people accustomed to the association of music, however rude, with their poetry, the choral ser-

¹ "Nativæ quippe linguae non negligebat carmina, adeo ut teste libro Elfredi, de quo superius dixi, nullâ unquam ætate par ei fuerat uspiam poemâ Anglicam posse facere, tantum componere, eadem appositè vel canere vel dicere. Denique commemorat Elfredus carmen triviale Adhelmum fecisse; adjiciens causam qua probet rationaliter tantum virum his quæ videntur frivola instituisse. Populum eo tempore semibarbarum, parum divinis sermonibus intentum, statim cantatis missis domos cursitare solitum: ideoque sanctum virum, super pontem qui rura et urbem continuat, abeuntibus se opposuisse obicem, quasi artem cantandi professum. Eo plus quam semel facto, plebis favorem et concursum emeritum hoc commento, sensim inter ludicra verbis scripturarum insertis, cives ad sanitatem reduxisse, qui si severè et cum excommunicatione agendum putasset, profecto profecisset nihil." — W. Malnesb. Vit. Adhelm.; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, p. 4.

vice of the church must have been peculiarly impressive. The solemn Gregorian system of chanting was now established in Rome, and was introduced into England by the Roman clergy and by those who visited Rome, with zealous activity. Here, though opposed on some points, Archbishop Theodorus and Wilfrid acted in perfect amity.¹ In Kent the music of the church had almost from the first formed a part of the divine worship, and James the Deacon, the companion of Paulinus, had taught it in Northumbria. It is recorded to the praise of Theodorus that on his visitation throughout the island he introduced everywhere that system of chanting which had hitherto been practised in Kent alone; and among the important services to the church, of which Wilfrid boasted before the synod of Eastre-field, is the introduction of antiphonal chanting.² So much importance was attached to this part of the service, that Pope Agatho permitted John, the chief of the Roman choir, to accompany Benedict Biscop to England³ in order to instruct the monks of Wearmouth in singing: John gave lessons throughout Northumbria.

Even at this early period the Anglo-Saxon laws are strongly impregnated with the dominant Christianity: they are the laws of kings, whose counsellors, if not their co-legislators, are prelates. In those of King Ina of Wessex, either the parent or the priest is bound to bring, or force to be brought, the infant to holy bap-

¹ Bede, H. E. iv. 2.

² "Aut quomodo juxta ritum primitivæ ecclesiæ consono vocis modulamine binis astantibus choris persultare, responsorii antiphonæque reciprocis instruerem." — Eddius, c. 46.

³ Bede, H. E. iv. 18. On this and on the pictures brought from Rome on more than one occasion, compare Wright, *Biographia Literaria*, Life of B. Biscop.

tism within thirty days under a penalty of thirty shillings;¹ if he should die unbaptized, the wehrgeld of this spiritual death is the whole possessions of the guilty person. Spiritual relationship was placed in the same rank with natural affinity. The godfather claimed the wehrgeld for the death of his godson, the godson for that of the godfather. Sunday was hallowed by law. The slave who worked by his lord's command was free, and the lord paid a fine; if by his own will, without his lord's knowledge, he suffered corporal chastisement. If the free man worked on the holy day without his lord's command, he lost his freedom or paid a compensation of sixty shillings.

Already the awful church had acquired a recognized right of sanctuary. The nature of kirk shot, a payment of certain corn and seed as first fruits, is somewhat obscure, whether paid to the church as the church, or to the church only from lands held of the church. The laws of Kent, during the archiepiscopate of Berchtwald, protect the Sabbath, punish certain immoralities, and guarantee all grants of lands to the church: there are even exemptions from secular imposts.

Thus, then, in less than a century and a half from the landing of Augustine to the death of A.D. 597-785. Bede, above half a century before the conflicting kingdoms were consolidated into one monarchy, every one of these kingdoms had become Christian. Each had its bishop or bishops. Kent had its metropolitan see of Canterbury and the bishopric of Rochester; Essex, London; East Anglia, Dunwich, afterwards under Archbishop Theodorus Elmham, removed later to No

¹ Thorpe, vol. i. p. 103; Kemble, ii. 490 *et seq.* et append. D.

wich: late-converted Sussex had Selsey; Wessex, Winchester, afterwards also Sherburn. The great kingdom of Mercia at first was subject to the single Bishop of Lichfield; Leicester, Worcester, Hereford, and Sidmanchester in Lindesay were severed from that vast diocese. The province of York, according to Archbishop Theodorus's scheme, was to comprehend York, Hexham, and Lindisfarne. Hexham fell in the Danish invasions; Lindisfarne was removed to Durham; a see at Ripon saw but one bishop; the modern bishopric of Carlisle may be considered the successor of the bishopric of Whitherne in Galloway. Above these rose the Metropolitan of Canterbury; after some A.D. 785. struggle for its independence that of York. As in all the Teutonic kingdoms the hierarchy became a coördinate aristocracy, taking their seats as representatives of the nation in the witenagemote,¹ counsellors of the king as great territorial lords, sitting later as nobles with the earls, as magistrates with the ealdermen. Besides their share in the national councils, as a separate body they hold their own synods, in which they enact laws for all their Christian subjects — at Hertford, at Hatfield, at Cloveshoo probably near Tewkesbury (Cloveshoo was appointed as the place of meeting for an annual synod), later at Calcuith supposed to be in Kent. Peaceful monasteries arise in all quarters; monasteries in the strict sense, and also conventual establishments, in which the clergy dwell together, and from their religious centres radiate around and dissem-

¹ As in all the Teutonic kingdoms, the province of the Witan, or parliament, and the synod, were by no means distinctly comprehended or defined. The great national council, the Witan, in its sovereign capacity, passed laws on ecclesiastical subjects; the synods at least occasionally trenched on the civil laws.

inate Christianity through the land. Each great church, certainly each cathedral, had its monastery, the priests of which were not merely the officiating clergy of the church, but the missionaries in all the surrounding districts. Christianity became the law of the land, the law underwent the influence of Christianity. The native Teutonic religion, except in a few usages and superstitions, has absolutely disappeared. The heathen Danes, when they arrive, find no vestige of their old kindred faith in tribes sprung not many centuries before from the same Teutonic races. The Roman arts, which the fierce and savage Jutes and Angles had obliterated from the land, revive in another form. Besides the ecclesiastical Latin, a Teutonic literature has begun; the German bards have become Christian poets. No sooner has Anglo-Saxon Britain become one (no doubt her religious unity must have contributed, if imperceptibly, yet in a great degree to her national unity) than she takes her place among the confederation of European kingdoms.

CHAPTER V.

CONVERSION OF THE TEUTONIC RACES BEYOND THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

WHILE the early Christianity of these islands retired before the Saxon conquerors to Wales, to the Scottish Hebrides, and to Ireland, and looked on the heathen invaders as hopeless and irreclaimable Pagans, beyond the pale of Christian charity, and from whom it was a duty, the duty of irreconcilable hatred, to withhold the Gospel, that faith was flowing back upon the continent of Europe in a gentle but almost continuous tide. In Anglo-Saxon England it was only after a century, that, on the invitation of the Northumbrian king already converted by Roman missionaries, the monks from Iona, and from some, perhaps, of the Irish monasteries, left their solitudes, and commenced their mission of love.

But already, even before the landing of Augustine Conversion of
Germans. in England, an Irish monk has found his way to the continent, and is commencing the conversion of German tribes in a region, if within the older frontier of the Roman territory, reduced again to the possession of heathen Teutonic tribes: and from that time out of these islands go forth the chief apostles of Germany. Columban is the forerunner, by at least a century, of the holy Boniface.¹

¹ Columban lived at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century.

It is difficult to conceive the motives which led forth these first pious wanderers from their native St. Columban land. Columban, at his outset, was no missionary, urged by a passionate or determined zeal to convert Pagan nations to the Cross of Christ; nor was he a pilgrim, lured forth from his retreat by the unconquerable desire of visiting the scenes of apostolic labors, the spiritual wonders of Rome, or to do homage to the relics of Saints or Apostles. He and his followers seemed only to seek a safe retreat in which he might shroud his solitary devotion; or, if his ascetic fame should gather around him an increasing number of disciples, form a cœnobitic establishment. They might have found, it might be supposed, retirement not less secure against secular intrusion, as wild, as silent, as holy, in the yet peaceful Ireland, or in the Scottish islands, as in the mountains of the Vosges or the valleys of the Alps.¹

But the influence of Columban, as the parent of so many important monasteries on the borders and within the frontier of Teutonic Paganism, as well as the reverence with which his holy character was invested, and which enabled him to assert the moral dignity of Christianity with such intrepidity, are events which strongly mark the religious history of this age. The stranger monk issues from his retreat to rebuke the vices of kings, confronts the cruel Brunehaut, and such is the fearful sanctity which environs the man of God, that even her deadly hostility can venture nothing beyond his banishment.

Columban was born in Leinster, at the period when Ireland is described as a kind of Hesperian elysium of

¹ Mabillon, *Ann. Benedict.*, vol. i. p. 191.

^{His birth.} peace and piety. His early aspirations after monastic holiness were fostered in the convent of Banchor, on the coast of Ulster. He became a proficient in the mystic piety of the day. But he was suddenly seized with the desire of foreign travel; he wrung an unwilling consent to his departure from his spiritual father, Comgal, abbot of Banchor. He just touched on, but shrunk from, the contaminated shores of Paganized Britain, and landed in Gaul. The fame of his piety reached the ears of one of the kings of the land: all that Columban requested was permission to retire into some unapproachable wilderness.

The woody mountains of the Vosges rose on the frontiers of the kingdoms of Austrasia and of Burgundy. Tribes of Pagan Suevians then occupied that part of Switzerland which bordered on those kingdoms. War and devastation had restored as solitudes to nature districts which had been reclaimed to culture and fertility by the industry of Roman colonists. It was on the site of ancient towns that hermits now found their wildernesses. Columban, with his twelve followers, first settled among the ruins of a small town called Anegratis. The woods yielded herbs and roots and the bark of trees for food, the streams water and probably fish. But the offerings of piety were not wanting; provisions were sent by those who were desirous of profiting by the prayers of these holy men. But the heart of Columban yearned for still more profound solitude. In the depths of the wild woods, about seven miles off, as he wandered with his book, he found a cave, of which the former inhabitant, a bear, gave up quiet possession to the saint—for the wild beasts, wolves as well as bears and the Pagan

In Alsace,
about
A.D. 590.

Suevians, respected the man of God. Miracle as usual arose around the founder of a monastery. The fame of the piety and wonder-working powers of Columban gathered a still increasing number of votaries; the ruins of Anegratis could no longer contain the candidates for the monastic life.

About eight miles distant lay the more extensive ruins of a fortified Roman town, Luxovium,¹ now overgrown with the wild forest jūngle, but formerly celebrated for its warm springs. Amid the remains of splendid baths and other stately buildings, Columban determined to establish a more regular monastery. The forest around is said to have been strewn with marble statues, and magnificent vestiges of the old Pagan worship. On this wreck of heathenism rose the monastery of Luxeuil. Neophytes crowded from all parts; the nobles of the court threw off their arms, or fled from the burdensome duties of civil life to this holy retreat. A second establishment became necessary, and in a beautiful spot, watered by several streams, rose the succursal abbey of Fontaines. Columban presided as abbot over all these institutions. His delight was ever to wander alone in the woods, or to dwell for days in his lonely cave. But he still exercised strict superintendence over all the monasteries of the Rule which he had formed; he mingled in and encouraged their useful labors in husbandry, it was thought, with more than human wisdom and sagacity.

¹ "Invenitque castrum firmissimo munimine olim fuisse cultum, a supradicto loco distans plus minus octo millibus quem prisca tempora Luxovium appellabant: ibique aquæ calidæ cultu eximio extractæ habebantur. Ibi imaginum lapidearum densitas vicinos saltus densabat, quas cultu miserabili rituque profano vetusta paganorum templa honorabant." — Jonas, Vit. Columb. c. 9.

But peace was not to be found even in the lonely forests of the Vosges. After twelve years of Dispute with Gaulish bishops. undisturbed repose, religious disputes invaded the quiet shades of Luxeuil. Columban was arraigned before a synod of Gaulish bishops for his heterodox usage about keeping Easter, in which he adhered to the old British discipline. Columban answered with a kind of pathetic dignity, "I am not the author of this difference. I came as a stranger to this land for the sake of our common Lord and Saviour Christ. I beseech you by that common Lord who shall judge us all, to allow me to live in silence, in peace, and in charity, as I have lived for twelve years, beside the bones of my seventeen departed brethren. Let Gaul receive into her bosom all those who, if they deserve it, will be received into the kingdom of heaven."

Columban had to wage a nobler strife against the vices of the neighboring court. The famous Brunehaut Queen Brunehaut and King Thierry. had fled from the kingdom of the elder of her royal grandchildren, Theodebert of Austrasia, and taken refuge with the younger, Thierry, King of Burgundy. She ruled the realm by the ascendancy of that strong and unscrupulous mind which for About A.D. 606. above forty years had raised her into a rival of that more famous Fredegonde, her rival in the number of her paramours, and in the number of murders which she had perpetrated.¹ She ruled the king through his vices. Thierry had degenerated, like the

¹ It was not till 613 that she met with a death horrible as her own crimes. Exposed on a camel to the derision of the camp of her enemy, King Chlotaire, she was tied to the tail of a wild horse, and literally torn to shreds. — H. Martin, p. 169. What wonder that in such days men sought refuge in the wilderness, and almost adored hermits like Columban!

rest of the race of Clovis, from the old Teutonic virtues, and plunged headlong into Roman license. In vain his subjects had attempted to wean him from his countless mistresses by a marriage with the daughter of the Visigothic king. Neglected, mortified, persecuted by the arts of Brunehaut, the unhappy princess returned to her home. Already Brunehaut had resisted the remonstrances of Didier, Bishop of Vienne, who had rebuked the incontinence of Thierry and his ill-usage of his wife. Didier was murdered on his road from Lyons to Vienne. The fame of Columban induced Thierry to visit his saintly retirement. Columban seized the opportunity to reproach him for his adulteries, and to persuade him that the safety of his realm depended on his having a legitimate heir. Thierry listened with awe to the man of God; he promised to act according to his wise counsels. Even Brunehaut, the murderer of bishops, dared not lay her hand on him. Brunehaut saw her power in danger. Whether she sought the interview in the vain hope of softening him by her blandishments, or whether he came of his own accord, Columban visited the queen in her palace. The stern virtue of the saint was not to be moved. Brunehaut approached him, and entreated his blessing on two illegitimate sons of Thierry. (The benediction of the saint seems to have had some connection with their hopes of succession to the throne; to which, according to Frankish usage, legitimacy was not indispensable.) "These bastards, born in sin," replied Columban, "shall never inherit the kingdom." He passed away unmolested through the awe-struck court. Brunehaut began a petty and vexatious warfare, by cutting off the supplies from the monasteries, and stirring up jealousies

with other neighboring convents. Either to remonstrate, or to avert the royal anger, Columban again approached the court, then held at the village of Epais-ses,¹ but he refused to enter under the roof. Thierri ordered a royal banquet to be prepared and sent out to the saint at the door. "It is written," said Columban, "that God abhors the offerings of the wicked; his servants must not be polluted with food given by those who persecute his saints." He dashed the wine on the earth and scattered about the other viands. The affrighted king again promised amendment, but abstained not from his notorious adulteries. Columban then addressed to him a letter, in which he lashed his vices with unsparing severity, and threatened him with excommunication.² The king could bear no more; he appealed to his nobles, he appealed to his bishops, knowing no doubt their jealousy of the stranger monk and their dislike of some of his usages. He demanded free ingress and egress for his servants into the monastery. Columban haughtily replied, "that if he dared thus to infringe the monastic rule, his kingdom would fall, and his whole race be cut off." When Thierri himself attempted to enter the refectory, he shrunk before the intrepid demeanor and terrible language of the abbot. Yet with some shrewdness he observed, "Do not think that I will gratify your pride by making you a martyr." To a sentence of banishment the stranger monk replied, that he would not be driven from his monastery but by force. At length a man was found who did not quail before the saint. Columban was arrested, and carried

¹ The villa Brocarica, Bourcheresse, between Châlons and Autun. — H. Martin, *Histoire de la France*, ii. 160.

² Jonas describes the letter as "*verberibus plena*."

to Besançon ; but even there his guards, from awe, performed their duty so negligently ^{Columban banished.} that he escaped and returned to Luxeuil. Again he was seized, not without difficulty, and carried off amid the lamentations of his faithful followers. Two or three Irish monks alone were permitted to accompany him. He was hurried in rude haste toward Nantes ; at Orleans he was not allowed to enter the church, hardly permitted to visit the shrine of St. Martin at Tours ; and embarked on board a vessel bound to Ireland.

During all this journey the harsh usage of the royal officers was mitigated by the wondering ^{Journey through} reverence of the people : it is described as a ^{France.} continued scene of miracle. The language attributed to Columban by his admiring biographer shows not only the privilege assumed by the monastic saints of that day, of dispensing with the humble tone of meekness and charity, but also the fearless equality, or rather superiority, with which a foreign monk thus addresses the kings of the land. "Why are you retiring hitherward ?" said the Bishop of Tours. "Because that dog Thierry has driven me away from my brethren." To another he said, "Tell thy friend Thierry that within three years he and his children shall perish, and God will root up his whole race." In those days such prophecies concerning one of the royal families of the Franks was almost sure of its fulfilment.

Columban was justified in the estimation of men, even of kings, in taking this lofty tone. The vessel in which he was embarked was cast back on the coast of Neustria. The King Clothaire II. humbly ^{Return to} solicited the saint to hallow his kingdom by ^{France.} making it his residence. Columban declined the offer,

and passed into Austrasia, where King Theodebert received him with the same respectful deference.

The monks from Luxeuil flocked around their beloved master; but Columban declined likewise the urgent entreaties of Theodebert to bless his kingdom by the establishment of a monastery. He yearned for wilder solitudes. With his followers he went to Moguntiacum (Mentz), and embarked upon the Rhine. They worked their way up the stream till they reached the mouth of the Limmat, and followed that river into the lake of Zurich. From the shores of the lake they ^{Zug.} went by land to Tugium (the modern Zug). Around them were the barbarous heathen Suevians. Columban and his disciples had little of the gentle and winning perseverance of missionaries; they had been accustomed to dictate to trembling sovereigns. Their haughty and violent demeanor, which overawed those who had been brought up in Christianity, provoked the Pagans, instead of weaning them from their idolatries. A strange tale is told of a huge vat of beer, offered to the god Woden, which burst at the mere breath of Columban. St. Gall, his companion,¹ set their temples on fire, and threw their idols into the lake. The monks were compelled to fly; and Columban left the Pagans of that district with a most unapostolic malediction, devoting their whole race to temporal misery and eternal perdition.² They retreated to Arbon, on the lake of Constance; there, from

¹ The history of St. Gall is related in more than one form in Pertz, tom. ii. p. 1-34.

² "Fiant niti eorum in interitum; ergo ad mediam etatem cum pervenerint stuper ac dementia eos apprehendant, ita ut alieno sare oppressi, ignominiam suam agnoscant conversi." — Vita S. Galli, apud Pertz, ii. p. 7.

a Christian priest, named Willimar, they heard of a ruined Roman city at the end of the lake, ^{Bregenz} named Brigetium (Bregenz). At Brigetium Columban found a ruined church dedicated to St. Aurelia, which he rebuilt. But the chief objects of worship in the re-Paganized land were three statues of gilded brass. St. Gall preached to the people in their own language. He then broke their idols in pieces, and threw them into the water: part of his hearers applauded, but some departed in undisguised anger.

In this remote spot they built their monastery. St. Gall was a skilful fisherman, and supplied the ^{St. Gall} brethren with fresh fish from the lake. One silent night, when he was fishing, he heard (it is said), from the highest peak, the voice of the Spirit of the Mountains calling on the Spirit of the Waters in the depth of the lake. "I am here," was the reply. "Arise, then, to mine aid against these strangers who have cast me from my temple; let us expel them from the land." "One of them is even now busied in my waters, but I cannot break his nets, for I am rebuked by the prevailing name, in which he is perpetually praying."¹

The human followers of the Pagan deities were not so easily controlled. After two or three years the monks found a confederacy formed against them, at the head of which was a neighboring chieftain, the savage Cunzo.² Columban determined to retire. He

¹ This story is too picturesque and striking to be omitted. It is characteristic, too, to find the divinities to which the Greeks would have attributed such sights and sounds, turned into malignant spirits. Two naked girls were bathing in a stream in which St. Gall was fishing. Of old they would have passed for nymphs; with him they were devils in that enticing shape. Sounds which they hear on the mountains, when catching hawks, are voices of devils.

² Cunzo's daughter is said to have been betrothed to King Thierri.

had some thoughts of attempting the conversion of the Slavi and the Veneti; but an angel, perhaps the approach of age, admonished him to seek a quiet retreat in Italy. He was honorably received by Agilulf, King of Lombardy. After some time spent in literary labors, in confutation of the Arianism which still lingered in that part of Italy, he founded the famous monastery of Bobbio.¹

St. Gall, from real or simulated illness, remained behind. He withdrew with his boat and fishing nets to Arbon; he was accompanied by some of the Irish monks, and in that neighborhood founded the monastery, not less celebrated, which bore his name.

Thus these Irish monks were not merely reinvigorating the decaying monastic spirit, which perhaps was languishing from the extreme severity of the rule of Cassianus chiefly followed in the monasteries of Gaul, but they were winning back districts which had been won from Roman civilization by advancing barbarism. Monasteries replaced ruined Roman cities. From them issued almost a race of saints, the founders of some of the most important establishments within or on the borders of the old Roman territory: Magnus and Theodorus, the first abbots

Founders of
monasteries.

¹ I follow the early life of St. Gall in Pertz, from which was derived that of Walafrid Strabo. Jonas, the biographer of Columban, represents him as still persecuted by Brunehaut and Thierri, who may indeed have excited the confederacy against him. Jonas also carries Columban back to the court of Theodebert, King of Austrasia, whom, when in the height of his power, he endeavors to persuade to take the clerical habit. "When was it heard," was the indignant reply, "that a Merovingian on the throne stooped to become a clerk?" "If you become not one voluntarily," said the prophetic monk, "you will so by compulsion!" Theodebert afterwards, defeated by Brunehaut and the King of Burgundy, was forced to take orders, and then put to death. The history probably produced the prophecy. — Jonas, c. 27. Columban died about A.D. 615.

of Kempten and of Fussen; Attalus of Bobbio; St. Romaric of Remiremont; St. Omer, St. Bertin, St. Amand, the apostles of Flanders; St. Wandrille, the founder of Fontenelle, in Normandy.¹ Gradually the great establishments, founded on the rule of Columban, dropped the few peculiarities of discipline which distinguished them from the Roman Church; they retained those of their rule which differed from that of St. Benedict which was now beginning to prevail throughout western Christendom. Yet there was nothing of great importance to distinguish them from the Benedictine foundations; their rule, habits, studies (all, perhaps, but their dress) were those of western monasticism.²

Columban and his immediate followers had hardly extended the influence of Christianity beyond the borders of the old Roman empire. ^{English missionaries.}

But, important as outposts on the verge of Christendom, or even in districts which had reverted to barbarism, gradually encircling themselves with an enlarging belt of cultivation and of Christianity, they were only thus gradually and indirectly aggressive. Another century had nearly elapsed when the Apostle of Germany came forth from a different part of the British Isles. Those Saxon conquerors whom Columban, when he touched the shores of Britain, left behind as irreclaimable heathens, had now become Christians from one end of the land to the other. In their turn they were to send out their saintly and more adventurous missionaries into their native German forests. Wilfrid of York had already made some progress in

¹ Michelet, *Hist. de France*, i. 275.

² Mabillon, *Hist. Ordin. Benedict.*, i. p. 195.

the conversion of the Frisians on the lower part of the Rhine ; but almost all beyond the Rhine, when Boniface undertook the conversion of Germany, was the undisputed domain of the old Teutonic idolatry.

Boniface (his proper Saxon name was Winfrid) was St. Boniface. born near Crediton, in Devonshire. From his infancy he is said to have displayed a disposition to singular piety ; and in his youth the influence of his father could not repress his inclination to About A.D. 700. the monastic life. The father, alarmed by a dangerous illness, yielded to the wishes of the boy, who was received into a monastery at Exeter ; afterwards he moved to Netley. Having completed his studies, he was ordained priest at thirty ; and a confidential mission on which he was employed between a synod of the clergy and the Archbishop Berchtwald shows the estimation in which he was already held. But Boniface was eager for the more adventurous life of a missionary. His first enterprise was discouraging, and might have repressed less earnest zeal. With the permission of his superiors he embarked at London, landed on the coast of Friesland, and made his way to Utrecht. But Radbold, King of Frisia, at In Friesland. war with one of the Frankish kings, had About A.D. 716. commenced a fierce persecution of the Christians ; everywhere he had destroyed the churches, and rebuilt the temples. Boniface found his eloquence wasted on the stubborn heart of the pagan, and returned to England.

But his spirit was impatient of repose. He determined to visit Rome, perhaps to obtain the sanction of the head of Western Christendom for new attempts to propagate the Gospel in Germany. He About A.D. 718.

crossed the sea to Normandy, and with a multitude of other pilgrims journeyed through France, paying his adorations in all the more famous churches; escaped the dangers of the snowy Alps, the Lombards, who treated him with unexpected humanity, and the predatory soldiery, which were prowling about in all directions. He found himself, at length, ^{In Rome.} on his knees in the Church of St. Peter. He was received, on the presentation of recommendatory letters from his bishop, with condescending welcome. ^{A.D. 717-78.}

The Pope, Gregory II. (our history will revert to the intermediate succession of popes; we are ^{Gregory II.} now in the eighth century), entered into all ^{A.D. 715-780.} the views of Boniface, and sanctioned his passionate wish to ascertain how far the most savage tribes of Germany would receive the Gospel. ^{A.D. 719.} Gregory bestowed upon him ample powers, but exacted an oath of allegiance to the Roman see. He recommended him to all the bishops and to all orders of Christians, above all to Charles Martel,¹ who, as mayor of the palace exercised royal authority in that part of France. He urged Charles to assist the missionary by all means in his power in the pious work of reclaiming the heathen from the state of brute-beasts.² And Charles Martel faithfully fulfilled the wishes of the Pope. "Without the protection of the prince of the Franks," writes the grateful Boniface, "I could neither rule the people, nor defend the priests, the monks, and the handmaids of God, nor prevent pagan and idolatrous rites in Germany."³ The Pope attributes the spiritual subjugation

¹ See the letter in which Charles takes him under his mundebund or defence. — Apud Giles, i. 37.

² Gregor. II., Epist. iv. v. vi.

³ Bonifac., Epist. xii., apud Giles, to Daniel, Bishop of Winchester

of a hundred thousand barbarians by the holy Boniface to the aid of Charles.¹

Armed with these powers, and with a large stock of In Thuringia. relics, Boniface crossed the Alps and entered into Thuringia. This province was already in part Christian; but their Christianity required much correction (they were probably Arians), and the clergy were in no way disposed to that rigid celibacy now required of their order. Boniface did all in his power, but, notwithstanding the urgent addresses of the Pope himself to the Thuringians, by no means with complete success; they still resisted the monastic discipline. When he left Thuringia he heard of the death of Radbold? the pagan king of Friesland. He immediately embarked on the Rhine, in the hope of renewing, under better auspices, his attempts on that country. For

In Friesland. A.D. 719. three years he labored there with great success, as the humble assistant of the Bishop Willibrod. Again the temples fell, and the churches rose. Willibrod felt the approach of age, and desired to secure as his coadjutor, as the future successor to his bishopric, a youthful teacher of so much zeal and wisdom. The humility of Boniface struggled against the offers; the arguments, the earnest entreaties of the Prelate. He pleaded that he was not yet fifty, the canonical age of a bishop. At length he declared that he had been employed on a special service by the Pope to propagate the Gospel in Germany; he had already delayed too long in Friesland; he dared not decline, without the direct mandate of the Pope, his more imperative and arduous duties as a missionary.

Our curiosity, and higher feelings, are vividly ex-

¹ *Sirmond. Concil. ii. p. 527.*

cited by the thought of the earliest preachers of Christianity plunging into the unknown depths of the German forests, addressing the Gospel of peace to fierce and warlike tribes, encountering the strange and perhaps appalling superstitions of ages, penetrating into hallowed groves, and standing before altars reeking with human blood.¹ We expect the kindling adventure of romance to mingle with the quiet and steady course of Christian benevolence and self-sacrifice; at least perpetually to meet with incidents which may throw light on the old Teutonic character, the habits, manners, institutions of the various tribes. The biographers of the saints are in general barren of this kind of information; they rarely enter into details on the nature or the rites of the old religions; they speak of them in one sweeping tone of abhorrence; they condemn the gods under the vague term of idols, or adopt the Roman usage of naming them after the deities of Greece and Rome. On the miracles of their own saints they are diffuse and particular; but on the power, attributes, and worship of the heathen gods, except on a few occasions, they are almost silent. Boniface, it is said, on his first expedition among the Saxons and Hessians, baptized thousands, destroyed the heathen temples, and set up Christian churches. As a faithful servant he communicated his wonderful successes to Rome; he was sum-

Silence of
Christian
writers about
Paganism.

Boniface in-
vited to Rome,
722. In Rome,
723. Ordained
bishop, 723.

¹ Read (it is however on this subject quite vague) the counsel given to his countrymen, as to the mode of arguing with the heathen, by Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, as seen from his letters, in which he advises Boniface to keep on good terms even with the wicked clergy of France. It is curious, that he was to contrast the fertile lands of the Christians, flowing with oil and wine, and abounding in wealth, with the cold and dreary deserts left to the pagans and their gods. — Epist. xiv. i. 48.

moned to the metropolis of Christianity, and, after a professor of faith in the Trinity, which would bear the searching inquisition of Rome,¹ he was raised to the dignity of a bishop. On his return to Germany, Boniface found but few of his Hessian proselytes adhering to pure Christianity. They had made a wild mixture of the two creeds; they still worshipped their sacred groves and fountains; some yet offered sacrifices on their old altars. The wizards and soothsayers still maintained their influence; the trembling worshippers still acknowledged the might of their charms and the truth of their omens.

Boniface determined to strike a blow at the heart of the obstinate Paganism. There was an old and venerable oak,² of immense size, in the grove of Geismar, hallowed for ages to the Thunderer. Attended by all his clergy, Boniface went publicly forth to fell this tree. The pagans assembled in multitudes to behold this trial of strength between their ancient gods and the God of the stranger. They awaited the issue in profound silence. Some, no doubt, expected the axe to recoil on the sacrilegious heads of the Christians. But only a few blows had been struck, when a sudden wind was heard in the groaning branches of the tree, and down it came toppling with its own weight, and split into four huge pieces. The shuddering pagans at once bowed before the superior might of Christianity. Boniface built out of the wood a chapel to St. Peter. After this churches everywhere arose; and here and there a monastery was settled. But the want of laborers

¹ This was usual, or we might suppose that they dreaded another Ulphilas among these new German converts.

² Near Fritzlar. The oak is called *robur Jovis*.

was great; and Boniface sent to his native land for a supply of missionaries. A number of active and pious men flocked from England to his spiritual standard; and many devout women obeyed the impulse, and either founded or filled convents, which began to rise in the districts beyond the Rhine. The similarity of language no doubt qualified the English missionaries for their labors among the Teutonic races; Italians had been of no use.

Boniface had won a new empire to Christianity; and was placed over it as spiritual sovereign by the respectful gratitude of the Pope. He received the pall of a Metropolitan, and was empowered as primate to erect bishoprics throughout Germany. Again he visited Rome, and was invested by Gregory III., the new Pope, with full powers as representative of the Apostolic see.

The Metropolitan throne was fixed on the Rhine, at Mentz. This city had formerly been a bishop's see. In the wars of Carloman, the Frank, against the Saxons, the Bishop Gerold went out to battle with his sovereign and was slain. He was succeeded by his son, Gewelib, a man of strict morals, but addicted to hawks and hounds. Gewelib cherished the sacred hereditary duty of revenging his father's death.¹ He discovered the man by whose hand Gerold had fallen, lured him to an amicable interview in an island on the river, and stabbed him to the heart. Neither king nor nobles thought this just exaction of blood for blood the least disqualification for a

Boniface Metropolitan of Mentz.
A.D. 745.

¹ From the Life of Boniface by a presbyter of Mentz. — Pertz, p. 354. *Episcopus autem a cæde regressus, rudi populo, rudis adhuc præsul, licet ætate maturus, tamen fide . . . præficitur; non computantibus nec rege, nec cæteris optimatibus, vindictam patris crimen esse, dicentibusque "Vicem reddidit patris morti."*

Christian bishop. But the Christianity of Boniface was superior to the dominant barbarism. The blood-stained bishop was deposed by the act of a council, and on the vacancy the Metropolitan see erected at Mentz. From his Metropolitan see of Mentz, Boniface ruled Christian Germany with a parental hand. He exercised his power of establishing bishoprics by laying the foundations of some of those wealthy and powerful sees, which long possessed so commanding an influence in Germany. On his return from his third visit to Rome he passed through Bavaria; there he found but one solitary bishopric, at Passau. He founded those of Salzburg, of Freisingen, and of Ratisbon. In Thuringia the episcopal see was fixed at Erfurt; in Hesse, at Buraberg, which was afterwards removed to Paderborn: for Franconia he founded that of Wurtzburg. Besides these churches, those of Utrecht, Cologne, Eichstadt, Tongres, Worms, Spire, Augsburg, Constance, and Coire owned their allegiance to the supremacy with which the Metropolitan of Mentz had been invested by the successor of St. Peter.¹

Boniface ruled the minds of the clergy, the people, and the kings. He held councils, and condemned heretics: one, an impostor named Adalbert, who pretended to work miracles; the other, Clement, a Scot, who held some unintelligible doctrines on Christ's descent into hell, and on predestination.² The obsequious Frankish Sovereign of Neus-

¹ The acts of Boniface in the reformation of the clergy of France will be related in a subsequent chapter.

² I cannot in these very obscure persons discern with some Protestant writers of Germany, even my friend M. Bunsen, sagacious prophets and resolute opponents of Papal domination which was artfully and deliberately established by Boniface; a premature Luther and Calvin. Neither the

tria, who claimed dominion over the whole of Christian Germany, punished the delinquents with imprisonment. Carloman, himself, who had risen from the post of Mayor of the Palace to that of Sovereign, was so wrought on by the pious eloquence of Boniface, that he abandoned his throne, bequeathed his son to the perilous guardianship of his brother Pepin, went to Rome, and retired into a monastery.

Boniface even resisted within his own diocese, the author of his greatness. The Pope Stephen, on his visit to Pepin, presumed to ordain a Bishop of Mentz. Boniface resisted this encroachment, and it ^{Resists the} was only at the earnest representation of ^{Pope.} Pepin, who urged the unreasonableness of such a quarrel between the heads of the Church, that the feud was allayed.¹

But power and dignity were not the ruling passions of Boniface. He threw off all the pomp and authority of the Primate of Germany to become again the humble apostle. He surrendered his see to Lul- A.D. 753.

jealousies nor the politic schemes belong to the time. The respect of Boniface for Rome was filial not servile. The tenets of Adalbert and Clement were doubtless misunderstood or misrepresented, but they are to me altogether indistinct and uncertain.

¹ There is something remarkable in the simplicity with which Boniface remonstrates against certain unchristian practices at Rome. He asks Pope Zacharias if it can be true that heathen usages, such as feasts at the kalends of January, phylacteries worn by the women, enchantments and divinations, are allowed at Rome. He even ventures on one occasion to make more delicate inquiries as to simoniacal practices, especially that of selling metropolitan palls. "Quod talia a te nobis referantur, quasi nos corruptiores sumus canonum, et patrum rescindere traditiones quæramus, ac per hæc, quod absit, cum nostris clericis in simoniacam hæresim incidamus, accipientes et compellentes, ut hi quibus pallia tribuimus, nobis præmia largiantur." — Zacharias Epist. ad Bonifac. Labbe, Conc. "Non oportet ut qui caput ecclesiæ estis, cæteris membris exempla contentionis præbeatis." — Vit. Bonifac. apud Pertz, vol. ii. p. 336.

lus, one of the Englishmen whom he had invited to Germany, and set forth, if not to seek, not to shrink from martyrdom among the savage pagans. He obtained that last glorious crown of his devoted life. In Friesland he had made numerous converts; the day was appointed on which he was to administer the rite of confirmation to a multitude of these neophytes. The morn had begun to dawn on the open country where the tents had been pitched, when they were suddenly attacked by a band of armed heathens. The

Death of
Boniface.
A.D. 754.

converts of Boniface rose up in self-defence, but the saint discouraged their vain efforts, and exhorted them to submit in peace and joy to their heaven-appointed martyrdom. All met their doom; but their assailants quarrelled about the spoil; made themselves drunk with the wine, and so fell upon each other, and revenged the Christian martyrs. The body of St. Boniface was conveyed to the monastery of Fulda.

This renowned monastery had owed its foundation *Monasteries.* to Boniface. These great conventual establishments were of no less importance in German history than the bishoprics. The history of Fulda, illustrates the manner in which these advanced posts of Christianity and civilization were settled in the midst of the deep Teutonic forests.

Sturmi was the son of noble Christian parents in *Sturmi.* Noricum; the enthusiasm of youthful piety led him to follow Boniface into Germany. He was ordained priest, and labored successfully under the guidance of his master. He was seized with the dominant passion for the monastic state; and Boniface encouraged rather than repressed his ardor. With a

few companions he entered into the forest solitude, and fixed at first at Hertzfeld. But this retirement was at once too near the frontier and exposed to danger from the pagan Saxons. Boniface urged them to strike deeper into the wilderness. Though their impulse was so different, their adventures resembled those of the backwoodsmen in America, exploring the unknown forests. They tracked in their boats along some of the rivers; but their fastidious piety, and, not perhaps altogether unworldly sagacity, could find no place which united all the requisites for a flourishing monastery; profound seclusion, salubrious and even beautiful situation, fertile soil, abundant water.¹ With the tone, and, in their belief, with the authority of a prophet, Boniface declared, on their report, that the chosen site would be revealed at length. Sturmi set out alone upon an ass, and with a small stock of food plunged fearlessly into the wilderness. He beguiled the way with psalms, at the same time he surveyed the country with a keen and curious observation. At night he lit a circular fire, to scare away the wild beasts, and lay down in the midst of it. His ass was one day startled by a number of wild Slavonians bathing in a stream, and the saint perceived the offensive smell which proceeded from them.² They mocked him, probably by their gestures, but did him no harm. At

¹ "Tunc avidus locorum explorator ubique sagaci obtutu montuosa atque plana perlustrans loca, montes quoque et colles vallesque adspiciens, fontes et torrentes atque fluvios perlustrans, pergebat." — Vita S. Sturmi, Pertz, ii. 368.

² "Et ipse vir Dei eorum fetorem exhorruit." This seems to be meant literally, though the words which follow, "qui more Gentilium servum Dei subeannabant," might perhaps lead to another sense. If I am right in my translation, it is a curious illustration of the antipathy of races. — Apud Pertz, *ibid.*

length he arrived at a spot on the banks of the Fulda, where he was so delighted with the situation, the soil, the water, that having passed the whole day in exploring it, he determined that this must be the site predicted by Boniface. He returned to his companions. Boniface not merely approved of the choice, but also obtained a grant of the site, with a demesne extending four miles each way, from the pious Carloman, who, whatever his own title, gave it to God with as much facility as lands are now granted in Canada or Australia. Boniface himself went to visit the place, and watched the clearing of the forest and the preparations for building with unfailing interest. The monks of Fulda adopted the rule of St. Benedict; the multitude of candidates for admission was so great, that accommodation could not be found fast enough. Of all the gifts of Boniface, the most valuable was that of his body, which refused to repose anywhere but in the abbey of Fulda.

The abbots of Fulda were not perpetually employed in the peaceful and legitimate Christian Apostleship of Boniface for the conversion of Germany. At a later period they were summoned to attend Charlemagne on his Mohammedan mission for the conversion of the heathen Saxons by the sword. On his first campaign, the aged Sturmi was one of the flock of bishops, and abbots, and clergy who followed in the train of war.

England, meantime, had been still supplying the more peaceful warriors of the Cross, who endeavored in vain by preaching the Gospel to subdue the fierce and exasperated Saxons. Willibald, the Apostle of Friesland, was a Northumbrian. Adalbert, Bishop of

Utrecht, and Leofwin, who was martyred by the Saxons, with many others, came from our island. St. Ludger, though a Frisian by descent, had studied under Alcuin at York.¹ In this singular manner the Anglo-Saxon invasion of England flowed back upon the continent; and Gregory the Great, by his conversion of England, gave the remote impulse to the conversion of large parts of Germany.

¹ *Vita S. Ludgeri*, printed in Bede's works.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PAPACY FROM THE TIME OF GREGORY THE GREAT
TO GREGORY II.

	A.D.		A.D.
Gregory the Great, died	604	Adeodatus	672
Sabinianus	604, 606	Domnus	677
Boniface III.	607	Agatho	679
Boniface IV.	608	Leo II.	682
Deus-dedit	615, 618	Benedict	684
Boniface V.	618, 625	John V.	685
Honorius I.	625, 638	Conon	686
Severinus (2 months and 4 days)	639	Sergius	687, 701
John IV.	640	John VI.	702
Theodorus I.	642	John VII.	705, 707
Martin I.	649, 655	Sisinnus	708
Eugenius I.	654	Constantine	708
Vitalianus	657	Gregory II.	716

ALL these conquests of Christianity were, in a certain sense, the conquests of the Roman See. Augustine had been a Roman missionary, and though the ancient British Church had raised up something of an intractable spirit in some of the English kingdoms, and passing to the continent with Columban and his followers, had asserted some independence, and for a time had maintained usages which refused to conform to the Roman discipline; yet reverence for Rome penetrated with the Gospel to the remotest parts. Germany was converted to Latin

The Teutons
converted to
Latin Chris-
tianity.

Christianity. Rome was the source, the centre, the regulating authority recognized by the English apostles of the Teutons. The clergy were constantly visiting Rome as the religious capital of the world, to do homage to the head of Western Christendom, to visit the shrines of the apostles, the more devout to obtain relics, the more intellectual, knowledge, letters, arts. The Pontificate of Gregory the Great had been the epoch at which had commenced at least both this great extension of Latin Christianity, and the independence of the Roman See. But the impulse had been much stronger towards the subjugation of these new dominions, than towards emancipation from the secular power of the Eastern emperors. While the Papal influence was thus spreading in the West, and bishops from the remotest parts of the empire, and of regions never penetrated by the Roman arms, looked to Rome as the parent of their faith,—if not to an infallible, at least to the highest authority in Christendom—the Pope, in his relation to the Eastern empire, has sunk again into a subject. He is the pontiff of a city within a conquered province, that province arbitrarily governed by an officer of the sovereign. He is consecrated only after the permission of the Emperor, is expected to obey the imperial mandate even on religious matters, exposed to penalties for contumacy, in one case arrested, exiled, and with difficulty saved from capital punishment.

Popes subordinate to the Eastern Emperors.

In the century, or but few years more, after the death of Gregory the Great, down to the accession of Gregory II.,¹ a rapid succession of twenty-four popes filled the Apostolic See. Few of

Successors of Gregory I.

¹ Gregory the Great died 604. Gregory II. Pope 716.

them stand forth out of the obscurity of the times. The growth or rather the maintenance of the papal power is to be ascribed more to the circumstances of the age than to the character or ability of the popes. Many of them were of Roman, most of Italian birth; few, even if they had been greater men, ruled long enough to achieve any great acts. Two of those, whose reign was most protracted, were distinguished, the one, Honorius I., only for his errors; the other, Martin, for his misfortune.

Sabinianus, the successor of Gregory, has the character of a hard and avaricious man. He was Sabinianus. A.D. 604. Sept. 18. a native of Volterra, and had been employed as the envoy and representative of Gregory at Constantinople.¹ The admirers of Gregory describe Sabinianus as a bitter enemy to the fame of his holy predecessor. Gregory's unbounded liberality to the poor, Sabinianus reproached as a prodigal waste of the treasures of the Church, a vain ostentation, a low art to obtain popularity. A dreadful famine followed the accession of the new pontiff: he sold the corn, which Gregory was wont to distribute freely, at exorbitant prices;² and laid the fault of the parsimony, to which he said that he was compelled, on the prodigality of Gregory. But the people, some of whom are said to have perished with hunger before the eyes of the un pitying pope, could not comprehend what might have been necessary, or even wise, economy.

Sabinianus seems to have struck on a chord of popular Roman feeling, which answered more readily to his

¹ The Apocrisiarius was the title of the papal envoy at the Byzantine court.

² 30 solidi a bushel.

touch. The populace listened greedily to the charge, first said to have been made by Sabinianus, of the wanton destruction made by the late pope of the public buildings and other monuments of the city. Gregory was accused as having defaced with systematic Christian iconoclasm, and demolished the ancient temples, and of having thrown down and broken to pieces the statues which still adorned the city.¹ The revenge suggested by the malice of Sabinianus was the public destruction of the works of Gregory. The pious mendacity of Peter the Deacon, as it had saved the mortal remains of his master from insult, now protected his works. He assured the populace that himself had seen the Holy Ghost, in the shape of a dove, whispering into the ear of Gregory. Whatever be the truth of these old traditions, they betray the existence of two unscrupulous hostile factions, one adoring, the other bitterly persecuting the fame of Gregory; and exhibit a singular, yet not unnatural, state of feeling in the

¹ Platina (de Vit. Pontif.) connects these two rumors. The iconoclasm of which Gregory is accused has given rise to a long controversy. Platina indignantly rejects the charge of wantonly destroying the public edifices, and assigns very probable reasons for their decay. "Absit hæc calumnia a tanto Pontifice Romano, præsertim cui certè post Deum patria quam vita charior fuit. Multa profecto ex collapsis ædificiis exedit vetustas. Multa præterea demoliuntur homines ædificandi gratiâ, ut *quotidiè cernimus*. Impacta illa foramina, quæ tum in concavo fornicum, tum in conjuncturis marmorum, quadratorumve lapidum videntur, non minus a Romanis quam a barbaris avellendi æris causâ crediderim. In fornicibus enim, quo levior esset moles, ollas cum numismatibus collocabant. Lapides vero quadratos æneis clavis firmabant." The statues, he proceeds, fell of themselves, their marble or bronze pedestals being objects of plunder. The heads, the necks being the slenderest part, were knocked off in the fall. This is in answer to the accusation that Gregory caused the statues to be beheaded. I am not sure that Gregory's more religious contemporaries would have thought these charges calumnious: the period was not passed when the hatred of idolatry would predominate over the love of art.

Roman populace. The old Roman attachment to their majestic edifices, and even to the stately images of their ancient gods, is struggling successfully against their Christian reverence for their pontiff, but yielding to the most credulous Christian superstition. Superstition triumphed the more easily over a hard and avaricious prelate; and, on the Pope's refusal to allow the sainted Gregory the quiet enjoyment of Christian peace in heaven, brought him down to punish his guilty successor, and avenge his own wrongs. Thrice Gregory appeared to rebuke Sabinianus — thrice he appeared in vain; the fourth time the spirit struck the pontiff a violent blow on the head, of which he died. So exasperated were the people against Sabinianus, that his

funeral procession was conducted by a long circuit without the city, from the Lateran palace to St. Peter's, to escape the insults of the Romans. A vacancy of nearly a year ensued after the death of Sabinianus. The brief pontificate of Boniface III. is marked by the assumption of that awful title before which Christendom bowed for so many centuries, that of Universal Bishop. The pious humility of Gregory had shuddered at the usurpation of this title by the Patriarch of Constantinople. No language could express the devout abhorrence of this impious, heretical, diabolic, anti-Christian assertion of superiority. Boniface then represented the pope at the Imperial Court, and succeeded not merely in wresting this title from the rival prelate of Constantinople, but in obtaining an acknowledgment of the su-

A.D. 606.
Feb. 22, to
A.D. 607.
Feb. 19.¹

¹ I would observe that in many of these dates, it is that of the consecration and burial which are recorded, not the accession and death of the Pope.

premacý of St. Peter's successor.¹ Neither the motive of the donor of this magnificent privilege, nor the donor himself, commend the gift. It was the tyrant Phocas, who hated the Patriarch of Constantinople for his humanity, in protecting, as far as he had power, the widow and the three helpless daughters of the murdered emperor Maurice from his vengeance; and this hatred of the Patriarch of Constantinople, rather than the higher respect for the Bishop of Rome, still less any mature deliberation on the justice of their respective claims, awarded the superiority to the old Rome. On the death of Phocas the Patriarch of Constantinople resumed, if he had ever abandoned, the contested title.

Even greater obscurity hangs over the decision of a synod held by Boniface at Rome, which is thought to have invested the papal see in more substantial and immediate power. Seventy-two bishops, thirty-three presbyters, and the whole assembled clergy, passed a canon that, under the penalty of anathema, no one should form a party for the succession to a bishopric; three days were to elapse before the election, and all bribery and simoniacal bargaining were strictly forbidden. No election was to be good unless made by the clergy and people, and ratified by the prince. A later and more doubtful authority subjoins, not till approved by the pope, under the solemn form, "We will and we ordain."²

¹ The early authorities for this fact are Anastasius Bibliothecarius in Vit. Bonifac. IV., and Paulus Diaconus, Hist. Longobard. Schroëck (Chr. Kirch. Gesch., xvi. 73, and xix. 488) is disposed to question the whole, to which perhaps too much importance has been given by modern controversialists. Baronius and Pagi have added, without any authority, that Phocas forbade the Patriarch of Constantinople to call himself Universal Bishop.

² This sentence rests only on the late and doubtful authority of Platina, in Vit. Pontif.

Boniface IV., a Marsian, is celebrated for the conversion of the Pantheon into a Christian Church. With

Boniface IV. the sanction of the emperor, this famous temple, in which were assembled all the gods of the Roman world, was purified and dedicated to the new tutelar deities of mankind, the Virgin, and all the martyrs.

Boniface IV.
Nov. 807.

A.D. 808.

Sept. 15.

died A.D. 615.

May 26.

Deus-dedit.

A.D. 615.

Oct. 19.

died A.D. 618.

May 26.

Boniface V.

A.D. 618-626.

Oct. 26.

Deus-dedit and Boniface V. occupied the papal throne for ten years of peace, unbroken by any hostile collision, either with the Exarch or the Lombard kings, and even undisturbed by any important controversy.

But the fatal connection with the Eastern empire drove the succeeding popes into the intricacies and feuds of a new theological strife. While Mohammedanism was gathering in her might on its borders, and the stern assertors of the Divine Unity had already begun to wrest provinces from the Roman empire, the bishops in all the great sees of the East, the emperors themselves, were distracting their own minds, persecuting their subjects, and even spreading strife and bloodshed through their cities on the question of the single or the double Will in Christ. Honorius I. incurred a condemnation for heresy, his more orthodox successors suffered persecution, and one of them exile and death.

It might have been supposed that Nestorianism, with its natural offspring, Eutychianism, had exhausted or worn out the contest concerning the union of the Godhead and the manhood in the Saviour. The Church had asserted the coexistence of the two natures—man with all his perfect properties—God with all His perfect attri-

Controversy
at the
two wills in
Christ.

butes : it had refused to keep them in almost antagonistic separation with the Nestorian — to blend them into one with Eutyches. The Nestorian and the Monophysite had been alike driven away from the high places of the Church ; though still formidable sects, they were but sects.

But the Godhead and the manhood, thus each distinct and complete in itself, yet so intimately conjoined — where began the divergence ? where closed the harmony ? Did the will, not merely the consentient, but absolutely identical will, and one unconflicting operation of that will, having become an active energy, perform all the works of the Redeemer, submit to and undergo his passion ? or did each nature preserve its separate independence of will, and only by the concordance of these two at least theoretically conflicting wills, produce the harmonious action of the two natures ? At what point did the duality terminate — the unity begin ?

Sergius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, first, it might seem almost inadvertently, stirred this perplexing question. He discovered a writing of his holy predecessor, Mennas, which distinctly asserted that the Christ was actuated by but one will. He communicated it to some of the Eastern bishops, to Theodorus of Pharan, who had a high name as a theologian, and to Cyrus, then Bishop of Phasis ; both bowed before the authority, and accepted the doctrine of Mennas.

The Emperor Heraclius, though he did not aspire to the character of a distinguished theologian, like his predecessor Justinian, could not, even occupied as he was with his adventurous and successful campaigns in the East, keep himself aloof from religious A.D. 626.

controversy.¹ In a suspension of arms during his war of invasion against the Lazians he encountered at Phasis the Bishop Cyrus whom he consulted on the important question of the single or double will, the single or double operation in Christ. Cyrus appealed to the Patriarch of Constantinople, who on his own authority, and that of his predecessor, Menas, decided in favor of the Monothelitic view. This doctrine had already offered itself under the captivating aspect of an intermediate term, which might conciliate the Monophysites with the Church. In Armenia, four years before, Heraclius had an interview with Paul, a follower of Severus, who, taken with the notion of one operation in Christ, was disposed to accede (with this explanation) to the Council of Chalcedon. At a later period, a more important personage, the Jacobite Patriarch, Anastasius, consented to remain, on these terms, with the Catholic Church. He was to be rewarded with the patriarchate of Antioch. Anastasius, it is said by his enemies, a man of consummate craft, had overreached the unsuspecting emperor; the Jacobites mocked the simplicity of the Catholics, who, by this concession, instead of winning converts, had gone over to the doctrines of their adversaries. Monothelitism was but another form of Monophysitism.

Sergius of Constantinople addressed a letter to Honorius I. Honorius, in distinct words, declared himself a Monothelite. Yet Honorius, it is manifest, entirely misapprehended the question, and seemed not in the least to understand its subtle bearings on the contro-

¹ Walch has assigned the dates adopted in the text, for the various incidents in the history of the Monothelitic controversy. — *Ketzer-Geschichte*, t. ix.

versies of the East. The unity which he asserted was not an identity, but a harmony. His main argument was, that the sinless human nature of Christ, being ignorant of that other law in the members, warring against the law of the mind, there could be no conflicting or adverse will in the God-Man.¹ But this plainer and more practical conception of the question betrayed the unsuspecting Pope into words, to which the Monothelites, proud of their important partisan, as well as the stern polemic resentment of his adversaries, bound him down, with inexorable rigor. Notwithstanding the charitable attempt of one of his successors, John IV., to interpret his words in this wider meaning, Honorius I. was branded by the Council of Constantinople with the name of heretic.

The whole church might seem in danger of falling into the same condemnation. All the prelates of the great sees of Rome, of Constantinople, of Alexandria (now occupied by Cyrus, formerly Bishop of Phasis) and of Antioch, had asserted the one indivisible will in Christ. In Egypt this reconciling tenet had wrought wonders. On this basis had been framed certain chapters, which the followers of Dioscorus and of Severus, all the Jacobite sects, received with eager promptitude. For once the whole people of Alexandria became one flock; almost all Egypt, Libya, and the adjacent provinces, with one voice and one spirit, obeyed the ortho-

¹ Ὅθεν καὶ ἐν θέλημα ὁμολογοῦμεν τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπειδὴ προδήλως ὑπὸ τῆς θεότητος προσελήφθη ἡ ἡμετέρα φύσις, οὐκ ἁμαρτία ἐν ἐκείνῃ, δηλαδὴ ἡ φύσις πρὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας κτισθεῖσα, οὐκ ἦν μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν ἐφθάρη. — Honor. Epist., Labbe, 930. The metaphysical and practical character of the two letters contrast singularly. Honorius reproves the introduction of terms not recognized by the Scriptures.

dox Patriarch of Alexandria.¹ Sophronius alone, who during the controversy became Bishop of Jerusalem, the same Sophronius who afterwards signed the humiliating capitulation of Jerusalem to the Mohammedans, boldly asserted and elaborately defended the doctrine of the two wills. So deeply impressed was Sophronius with the vital importance of this question, that long after, when the Saracens were masters of the Holy City, he took Stephen, Bishop of Dora, to the spot which was supposed to be the Golgotha, the place of the Lord's crucifixion. "To that God," he said, "who on this very place was crucified for thee, at his second coming to judge the quick and the dead, thou shalt render thine account, if thou delayest or art remiss in the defence of his imperilled faith; go thou forth in my place. As thou knowest, on account of this Saracen invasion, now fallen upon us for our sins, I cannot boldly strive for the truth, and before the world proclaim, to the end of the earth, to the apostolic throne at Rome, the tenets of orthodoxy." Sophronius protested, appealed, wrote large volumes; and the religious peace which seemed descending on the afflicted East, gave place again to strife, and feud, and mutual anathema.

But in the Byzantine empire, the creed to its nicest shades and variations was an affair of state: it was fixed, or at least defined, by imperial authority. Heraclius, while he looked with miscalculating or awe-struck apathy on the progress of the Mohammedan arms, could not refrain from interference with this question of metaphysic theology. In his name appeared the famous *Ecthesis*,² or *Exposition* of the

¹ *Sergii ad Honor. Epist. apud Concil. Const. III., Labbe, p. 921.*

² *Ecthesis Heraclii apud Labbe, p. 200.*

Faith, drawn in all probability by the Patriarch Sergius, but which, as professed by the emperor, his subjects were bound to receive in humble and unquestioning obedience. The Ecthesis declared the two wills in Christ to be a heresy, which even the impious Nestorius had not dared to promulgate. It was affixed, as the proclamation of the imperial creed, on the gates of the great church at Constantinople. The publication of the Ecthesis was followed, or immediately preceded, by the death of Sergius of Constantinople and that of Honorius of Rome.

The Popes who succeeded Honorius amply retrieved by their resolute opposition to Monothelitism what was considered the delinquency of that prelate. On the death of Honorius, Severinus was elected to the papal throne; but the confirmation of his election was long delayed at Constantinople, and only conceded on the promise of his envoys that he would accede to the creed of Heraclius. Severinus, however, repudiated the Monothelitic doctrine. In the interval between the election and confirmation of Severinus, the plunder of the treasures of the Roman Church by the Exarch of Ravenna showed the unscrupulous and irreverent character of the Byzantine government. Maurice, the Chartulary, harangued the soldiers. While they were defrauded of their pay, the Church was revelling in wealth. The Exarch's officer occupied the Lateran palace, and sealed up all the accumulated riches which Christian emperors, patricians, consuls had bestowed for their souls' health, for the use of the poor, and the redemption of captives. The rapacious Exarch Isaac hastened to Rome. The plunder was divided, the Emperor propitiated by his

A.D. 638.
Oct. 12.

Severinus
Pope A.D.
638 (?), not
confirmed
till 640.

share, which was transmitted to Constantinople. The more refractory of the clergy, who presumed to remonstrate, were sent into banishment.

Severinus died after a pontificate of two months and four days. He was succeeded by John IV., a Dalmatian by birth.¹ John not only condemned the Monothelite doctrine, but piously endeavored to vindicate the memory of his predecessor Honorius from the imputation of heresy. Honorius had denied only the two human wills, the conflicting sinful will of fallen man, and the impeccable will, in the person of Christ.² But the apology of John neither absolved the memory of Honorius before the Council of Constantinople, nor did the religious reverence of his successors, whose envoys were present at that Council, interpose in his behalf. The apology of John was addressed to the Emperor Constantine, whom it did not reach. For the death of Heraclius. Heraclius was followed by a rapid succession of revolutions at Constantinople. The later years of that Emperor had contrasted unfavorably with the glorious activity of his earlier administration. The conqueror of Persia seemed to look on the progress of Mohammedanism with the apathy of despair. He had deeply wounded the religious feelings of his subjects by an incestuous marriage with his niece Martina. It was the object of his dying wishes, of his last testament, that his son by Martina, Heracleonas, should share the

A.D. 640.

Aug. 2.

John IV.

consecrated

Dec. 25.

Death of

Heraclius.

Revolution

in Constantinople.

¹ Anastasius in vita.

² "Decessor meus, docens de mysteriis incarnationis Christi, dicebat non fuisse in eo, sicut in nobis peccatoribus, mentis et carnis contrarias voluntates; quod quidam ad proprium sensum convertentes, divinitatis ejus et humanitatis unam eum voluntatem docuisse suspicati sunt." — Epist. Joan. Labbe or Mansi, sub ann. 641.

empire with his elder brother, Constantine. The two sons of Heraclius were proclaimed coequal A.D. 641. Cæsars, under the sovereignty of the Empress Martina. But even Constantinople would not submit to the sway of an incestuous female. Martina was compelled to descend from the throne, and was succeeded by the feeble Constantine, whose decaying health broke down after a reign of but a hundred days. The enemies of Martina ascribed his death to poison administered by his stepmother and by Pyrrhus the Patriarch. Martina indeed again assumed the empire; but Constantine on his death-bed had taken measures to secure the protection of the army for his children, the legitimate descendants of Heraclius. He had been assured that Heraclius had placed vast sums of money in the hands of the Patriarch to maintain the interests of Martina and her son. He, therefore, before he expired, sent a large donative to Valentinus, who commanded the army in the suburb of Chalcedon. Valentinus imperiously demanded the punishment of the guilty usurpers, of the assassins of Constantine. The citizens of Constantinople mingled with the ferocious soldiery. In the church of St. Sophia, Heracleonas was compelled to mount the pulpit, holding by the hand Constans, the elder of the sons of Constantine. With one voice the people, the soldiers, saluted Constans sole Emperor. A wild scene of pillage ensued; the barbarian soldiers, the Jews, and other lawless partisans desecrated the holy edifice by every kind of outrage. The Patriarch Pyrrhus, after depositing a protest on the high altar, fled. The Senate condemned Martina to the loss of her tongue, Heracleonas to the mutilation of his nose; these wretched victims were sent to die in exile.

Constans was sole Emperor, and would brook no rival. His own brother Theodosius was compelled to incapacitate himself for sovereignty by holy orders. Yet even so the jealousy of Constans felt no security. Nothing was indelible to the imperial will at Constantinople; a successful usurper would have shaken off even that disqualification. Nearly twenty years after, Theodosius, the deacon, was assassinated by the command of his brother, whom the indignant people drove from his throne.

In the meantime religious war continued without abatement between Rome and Constantinople. The Monothelite Paul succeeded the Monothelite Pyrrhus. The *Ecthesis* kept its place on the doors of the great church. But in the West, and in the whole of the African churches yet unsubdued by the Mohammedans, all Latin Christianity adhered to the doctrine of the two Wills. The monk Maximus, the indefatigable adversary of Monothelitism, travelled through the East and through Africa, denouncing the heresy of Sergius, and exciting to the rejection of the imperial *Ecthesis*. In

A.D. 645. Africa he held a long disputation, still extant, with the exile Pyrrhus. Theodorus I. had succeeded

after the short popedom of John IV. to the pontifical throne of Rome. Theodorus rejected Monothelitism with the utmost zeal. During his pontificate, Pyrrhus of Constantinople came to Rome. Whether or not he acknowledged himself confuted by the unanswerable metaphysics of Maximus, he presented a memorial recanting all his errors on the single Will in Christ.¹ The Pope Theodorus had received

¹ "Præsentis cuncto clero et populo, condemnavit omnia, quæ a se vel a decessoribus suis scripta vel acta sunt adversus immaculatam fidem." — Vit. Theodor.

with courtesy from Paul, the successor of Pyrrhus, the communication of his advancement to the see of Constantinople; he had expressed some cautious doubts as to the regularity of the deposition of Pyrrhus, yet he had given his full approbation, he had expressed his joy on the elevation of Paul.¹ But Paul was a Monothelite, Pyrrhus at his feet a penitent convert to orthodoxy. Pyrrhus was received with all A.D. 646. the honors which belonged to the actual patriarch of Constantinople.

But Pyrrhus, from what motive appears not, retired to Ravenna, recanted his recantation, and declared himself a conscientious Monothelite.² The indignant Pontiff was not content with the ordinary A.D. 648. terrors of excommunication against this double renegade. In a full assembly of the clergy of Rome, and of the neighboring bishops, he heaped the most vehement anathemas on the head of the new Judas, and calling for the consecrated wine on the altar, poured some drops into the ink, and so signed the excommunication with the blood of Christ. Is it to be supposed that the blood of the Redeemer was revered in a less appalling sense than in later ages, or that the passion of the Pope triumphed not only over Christian moderation, but over the strongest religious awe?³ Theodorus was not satisfied with the excommunication of Pyrrhus, he excommunicated Paul also. Paul revenged

¹ "Et quidem gavisus super hujus sumus ordinatione." — Epist. Theodori ad Episcop. Constantin. apud Labbe, sub ann.

² He may have hoped for his reinstatement in the patriarchate by the recommendation of the Exarch, and have found that his reconciliation with Rome stood in his way.

³ Theophanes, p. 509, ed. Bonn.; Anastas., p. 163, *ibid.*; Vit. Maximi; Epist. Synodal

himself by suppressing the religious worship of the Papal envoys at the Court, maltreating, and even causing to be scourged some of their attendants.

Martin I., the successor of Theodorus, plunged more deeply, and with more fatal consequences, into this religious strife, or rather this revolt of the Western Province against the religious supremacy of the Emperor. Constans had withdrawn the obnoxious *Ecthesis*; Paul the Patriarch had himself ordered it to be removed from the gates of the great Church. The *Ecthesis* of Heraclius was replaced by the *Type* of Constans. The *Type* spoke altogether a different language; it aspired to silence by authority this interminable dispute. It presumed not to define the Creed, further than all parties were agreed, or beyond the decisions of the former councils. It stated the question with perspicuity and fairness, and positively prohibited the use of the phrase either of the single or the double Will and Energy.¹ The penalties for the infringement of the Imperial decree were severe: against the ecclesiastic, deposition and deprivation; against the monk seclusion and banishment from his monastery; against the public officer, civil or military, degradation; against the private man of rank, confiscation of goods; against the common people, scourging and banishment.

Martin summoned a council in the Lateran, which was attended by 105 bishops, chiefly from Italy and the adjacent islands. After five sessions, in which the whole West repudiated Monothelitism with perfect unanimity, twenty canons were framed condemning that heresy with all its authors

Martin I.
June, 649.

A.D. 649.
Oct. 6.

¹ The *Type* in Labbe or Mansi, sub ann.

But Pope Martin was not content with anathematizing the erroneous doctrine of the Single Will, with humbling the rival prelate of Constantinople by excommunication in full council, with declaring the edict of the deceased Emperor Heraclius, the *Ecthesis*, absolutely impious; he denounced as of equal impiety the Type of the reigning Emperor. Its exhortation to peace he scorned as a persuasive to unholy acquiescence in heresy; silence on such doctrines was a wicked suppression of divine truth.

Nor was Martin wanting in activity to maintain his bold position. He published the decrees of the Lateran Council throughout the West; he addressed letters to the Frankish kings, entreating them to send representatives of their churches to join a solemn spiritual embassy to Constantinople. He despatched other missives to Britain, to Spain, and to Africa. He even appointed a Legate in the East to supersede the Monothelite patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem. His letter to Paul of Thessalonica is in a tone of condemnatory haughtiness which had hardly yet been assumed by a successor of St. Peter.¹

But to the Emperor of the East the Pope was a refractory subject and no more. In Constantinople the person of the bishop had never been invested in that

¹ See a curious specimen of the logic of anathema. The Bishop of Thessalonica, because he refuses to join Martin in anathematizing the Monothelites, is confirming all the errors of Pagans, Jews, and heretics: — "Ut per hoc non solum eos etiam quos anathematizamus, nempe ipsas hæreticorum personas, anathematizare recuses . . . sed ut etiam omnem omnium errorem Paganorum, Judæorum, hæreticorum in te confirmes. Si enim omnia omnium horum dogmata condemnamus, ut contraria et inimica veritati, tu vero omnia una nobiscum voce non anathematizas quæ anathematizamus, consequens est, te horum omnium errorem confirmasse, qui a nobis sive ab ecclesiâ catholicâ anathematizatur." — Ad Paul. Epist. Thessal. apud Labbe, sub ann. 649.

sanctity which shielded it from law, or that which was law in the East, the imperial will. Even the natural reverence for the holy office had been disturbed by the perpetual feuds, the mutual anathemas and excommunications, the depositions, the degradations, the expulsions, fatal to that unhappy see: and as old Rome was now a provincial city, her bishop would not command greater respect than the prelate of the Imperial Capital.

The Exarch Olympius received orders to seize the Pope if he persisted in his contumacy to the imperial edict, and to send him prisoner to Constantinople. But Olympius found the people of Rome prepared to take up arms in defence of their bishop. He attempted to obtain his end by more peaceful means. Later writers have protected the Pope by miracle from an attempted assassination,¹ and bowed the awestruck Exarch before the feet of Martin. But Olympius was hastily summoned from Rome to repel an invasion of Sicily by the Saracens, and died of fatigue in that island.

The new Exarch Theodorus, named Calliopas, was more resolute in the execution of his orders. He marched to Rome, and summoned the Pope to surrender to the Imperial authority. Some delay took place from the apprehensions of the Exarch, that soldiers, and means of defence, stones, and other weapons, were concealed in the Church. But Martin shrunk from bloodshed, and refused the offers of his partisans, headed by many of the clergy, to resist the Exarch. Martin had ordered his bed to be

A.D. 658.
June 15.

¹ The swordsman of Olympius was employed to stab the Pope while administering the communion to the Exarch; he was struck with blindness — Anastas. in Vit.

strewed before the high altar in the Lateran. The Exarch and his troops entered the Church, the light of the candles flickered on the armor of the soldiery. Martin obeyed the summons of the Exarch to accompany him to the Lateran palace; there he was permitted to see some of the clergy. But suddenly he was hurried into a litter, the gates of Rome closed June 19.

to prevent his partisans from following him, he was carried to the harbor of Portus, embarked and landed at Messina. Thence to Avidos, on the island July 1.

of Naxos, where he was first permitted the use of a bath. The pious clergy crowded with their votive presents: the presents were seized, and the donors beaten back by the soldiery: "he who is a friend to Pope Martin is an enemy to the State." From Avidos a messenger was sent to Constantinople, to announce the arrival of the heretic and rebel, the enemy and disturber of the whole Roman empire. On the 17th of September he arrived at Constantinople; he was left lying on a bed on the deck of the ship the whole day, the gaze of curious or hostile spectators. At sunset he was carried on a litter under a strong guard Pope Martin in Constantinople. to Prandearia, the chief guard-house. There

he was imprisoned, and forbidden to make known who he was. After ninety-three days of this im- Dec. 20.

prisonment he was conveyed, on account of his weakness, upon a litter before the Senate. He was commanded to stand, but being unable, was supported by two guards. "Wretch," said the chief minister, "what wrong has the Emperor done to thee? has he deprived thee of anything, or used any violence against thee?" Martin was silent. Twenty witnesses were examined in order to connect him with some treason

against the Emperor.¹ Troilus demanded why he had not prevented, but rather consented to the rebellion of the Exarch Olympius. "How could I oppose the rebellion of Olympius, who had the whole army of Italy at his command? Did I appoint him Exarch?" The Pope was carried out to be exposed in a public place, where the Emperor could see him from a window. He was then half stripped of his clothes, which were rent down, amid the anathemas of the people. The executioner fixed an iron collar round his neck, and led him through the city to the Prætorium, with a sword carried before him. He was then cast, first into a dungeon, where murderers were confined, then into another chamber, where he lay half naked and shivering with cold. The order for his execution was expected every moment. The next day the Patriarch Paul was lying A.D. 654. on his death-bed, and besought the Emperor to show mercy to the persecuted Martin.² Martin, who hoped for speedy martyrdom, heard this with regret. On the death of Paul, Pyrrhus, who had returned from Italy, resumed the throne of Constantino-ple. A long examination of Martin took place on the conduct of Pyrrhus at Rome. For eighty-five days Martin languished in prison: he was at length taken away, and embarked for the inhospitable shores of A.D. 655. Cherson. At Cherson he died. Such was the end of a Pope of the seventh century, who dared to resist the will of the Emperor. The monk Maxi-

¹ He denied that he had sent money to the Saracens; he had only given some moderate sums to certain destitute servants of God. He repudiated the charge of having disdained the worship of the Virgin. — *Ad Theodor. Epist.*; *Sirmond. iii. 320*; *Mansi sub ann.*

² All this curious detail is furnished by two letters of Martin himself, and a long account by one of his followers. — *Apud Labbe, pp. 63-75.*

mus and some of his followers were treated even with greater cruelty. Maximus refused to deny the two Wills in Christ; his tongue and his right A.D. 657. hand were cut off, and so mutilated he was sent into exile.¹

While Martin was yet living, Eugenius was elected to the see of Rome. His short rule² was fol- Pope Eugene-
nius I. lowed by the longer but uneventful Pontificate of Vitalianus. The popes, warned by the fate of Martin, if they did not receive, did not condemn the Type of Constans. They allowed the ques- A.D. 657.
July 30. tion of the two Wills in Christ to slumber.

Eugenius received from the new Patriarch of Constantinople, Peter, the account of his elevation, with a declaration of faith, silent on the disputed point. During the pontificate of Vitalianus Rome was visited by the Byzantine emperor. Constans had withdrawn from the Eastern Rome forever. He dared not confront the hatred of the people on account of the murder of his brother the Deacon Theodosius, whom not even the tonsure could protect from his jealousy.³ He was pursued by the curses of mankind; and by the avenging spectre of his brother, which constantly offered to his lips a cup of blood: "Drink, brother, drink!" Yet in his restless wanderings he at times proclaimed a

¹ Collatio S. Maxim. cum Theodoro, apud Labbe; Theophan. Cedrenus, Vit. Maximi. — Libellus Synod.

² If reckoned from the banishment of Martin, 2 years, 8 months, and 24 days (654-657). If from the death of Martin, only 6 months and 23 days. But the chronology is doubtful. — Binii. Not. in Anastas. Vit. apud Labbe, 482.

³ According to Cedrenus, at the tonsure of Theodosius, he had received the sacrament, it should seem, as a pledge for his brother's future security. *Ἐκεῖσε πρότερον αὐτὸν διὰ Παύλου πατριάρχου διάκονον, ὃς καὶ μετέδωκε ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἀρχόντων μνηστήριον ἐν ἀγίῳ ποτηρίῳ.*—P. 348

nobler object, the repression of the Saracens, who now began to command the Mediterranean and threaten Sicily, and of the Lombards, who seemed about to swallow up the Byzantine Exarchate in Italy.¹ It is even said that in his hatred to Constantinople, he proposed to restore the empire to old Rome.² But he visited Rome as a plunderer, not as the restorer of her

power. He was received by the Pope Vitalianus almost with religious honors. The

haughty conduct of Constans in Rome, and the timid servility of Vitalianus, contrast with the meetings of the Western Cæsars, fifty years later, with the successors of St. Peter. To the Emperor, the Pope is merely the high priest of the city. To the Pope, the Emperor is his undoubted lord and master. The Emperor has all the unquestioning arrogance of the sovereign, whose word is law, and who commands without scruple the plunder of the public edifices, sacred as well as profane; the Pope the subject, who dares not interpose to protect the property of the city, or even of the Church. Constans remained twelve days in

Rome; all the ornaments of brass, besides more precious metals, were stripped from the churches, the iron

roof torn from the Pantheon, now a church, and the whole sent off to Constantinople. Constans retired amid the suppressed execrations of all orders, to die a miserable death at Syracuse.

The Byzantine government did not discourage encroachments even on the spiritual supremacy of Rome in the West. Maurus, Bishop of Ravenna, embold-

¹ Paulus Diacon. lib. v.

² Βουλόμενος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς τὴν πρεσβυτέραν Ῥώμην μετενέγκειν. — Zonar. l. xiv. 11; Glycas. Theophanes.

ened by his city having become the capital of the Exarchate, asserted and maintained his independence of the Bishop of Rome. The Archbishop of Ravenna boasted of a privilege, issued by the Emperors Heraclius and Constantine, which exempted him from all superior episcopal authority, from the authority of the Patriarch of old Rome.¹ Vitalianus hurled his excommunication against Maurus. Maurus threw back his excommunication against Vitalianus. It was not till the pontificate of Leo II. that the pride of the Archbishop of Ravenna was humbled or self-humiliated, and Maurus, who had been an object of superstitious veneration to the people, deposed from his sanctity. Archbishop Theodorus, involved in a violent contest with his clergy, sacrificed the independent dignity of his see to his own power, and submitted to Rome; he was rewarded with the title of saint.²

Adeodatus and Domnus, or Donus, the successors of Vitalianus, have left hardly any record of their actions to Christian history. But the summons to a general council at Constantinople was issued by the successor of Constantine the Bearded, during the pontificate of Domnus; it arrived after the accession of Agatho, a Sicilian, to the Roman pontificate.

Constantine the Bearded was seized apparently with a sudden and an unexplained desire to reunite the East and the West under one creed. Monothelism may have been more unpopular in the East than outward

¹ "Sancimus amplius securam atque liberam ab omni superiori Episcopali conditione manere, et solum orationi vacare pro nostro imperio, et non subiacere pro quolibet modo patriarchæ antiquæ urbis Romæ, sed manere eam εὐνομένην." — Agnelli, Vit. Pontif. Ravenn. Apud Muratori, p. 148.

² Agnelli, p. 151.

Adeodatus.
A.D. 672,
April 11;
676, June 16

Donus.
A.D. 676,
Aug.;
678, April 11.

Agatho.
A.D. 678, Aug.

circumstances had shown; the monks may have been of the opposite party; Constantine himself may have felt religious doubts as to the prevailing creed. It was not, however, till fourteen years after his accession that the sixth general council actually assembled A.D. 680. at Constantinople to decide the question of Monothelitism. They met in a chamber of the imperial palace. The Emperor himself presided, by twelve of his chief ministers. Of the great patriarchs were present George of Constantinople, and Macarius of Antioch. The designated envoys of Pope Agatho were the Bishops Abundantius of Paternum, John of Portus, John of Rhegium, the sub-deacon Constantine, the presbyters Theodorus and Gregory, and the deacon John. Pope Agatho had entertained a hope of the presence of Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury, "the philosopher." He makes something like an ostentatious boast of the Lombard, Slavian, Frank, Gaulish, Gothic, and British bishops, subject to his authority.¹ Two monks, George and Peter, represented the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and of Alexandria. The proceedings were conducted with solemn regularity. On one side were the legates of Pope Agatho, on the other Macarius of Antioch, a determined Monothelite. During the seventh sitting George, the Patriarch of Constantinople, rose and declared that, having carefully compared the passages from the fathers, cited by the Westerns and by Macarius, he had been convinced by the unanswerable

¹ "*Sperabamus deinde de Britaniâ Theodorum archiepiscopum et philosophum ad nostram humilitatem conjungere; et maxime quia in medio gentium, tam Longobardorum, quamque Slavorum, necnon Francorum, Gallorum, et Gothorum, atque Britannorum, plurimi confamilorum nostrorum esse noscuntur.*" — Apud Mansi, sub ann. 680.

arguments of the Romans; "to them I offer my adhesion, theirs is my confession and belief." The example of George was followed by the Bishops of Ephesus, Heraclea, Cyzicum, Chalcedon, the Phrygian Hierapolis, Byzia in Thrace, Mytilene, Methymna, Selybria, Prusias, and Anastasiopolis. Macarius and his scholar, the monk Stephen, stood alone in open and contumacious resistance to the doctrine of the two wills. Macarius was degraded from his Patriarchal dignity; the monk Stephen condemned as another Eutyches or Apollinarius. The fifteenth session was enlivened by a strange episode. A monk, Polychronius, denounced as an obstinate Monothelite, challenged the council to put the doctrine to the test of a miracle. He would lay his creed on a dead body; if the dead rose not, he surrendered himself to the will of the Emperor. A body was brought into a neighboring bath. The Emperor, the ministers, the whole council, and a wondering multitude, adjourned to this place. Polychronius presented a sealed paper, which was opened and read; it declared his creed, and that he had been commanded in a vision to hasten to Constantinople to prevent the Emperor from establishing heresy. The paper was laid on the corpse; Polychronius sat whispering into its ear, and the patient assembly awaited the issue for some hours. But the obstinate dead would not come to life. An unanimous anathema (all seem to have been too serious for ridicule) condemned Polychronius as a heretic and a deceiver. The Synod returned to its chamber, and endeavored to argue with the contumacious Polychronius, who, still inflexible, was degraded from all his functions.¹

¹ Concil. sub ann.

The council proceeded with its anathemas. George of Constantinople endeavored to save his predecessors from being denounced by name; the council rejected his motion, and one cry broke forth — Anathema against the heretic Theodorus of Pharan! Anathema against the heretic Sergius! (of Constantinople). Anathema against the heretic Cyrus! Anathema against the heretic Honorius! (of Rome). Anathema against the heretic Pyrrhus; against the heretic Paul; against Peter, Macarius, Polychronius, and a certain Apergius! At the close of the proceedings of this sixth general council, a creed was framed, distinctly asserting the two wills and the two operations in Christ; and at the close of all, amid gratulations to the Cæsar, were again recited the names of the anathematized heretics, commencing with Nestorius, ending with Sergius, Honorius of Rome, and all the more distinguished Monothelites.

The decree of the council of Constantinople, the sixth ecumenic council, was at once a triumph and an humiliation to the see of Rome; a triumph as establishing the orthodoxy of the doctrines maintained in the West by all the Bishops of Rome, excepting Honorius. The Patriarch of Constantinople had been constrained to recant the creed of his predecessors; the whole line after Sergius had been involved in one anathema. The Emperor himself had adopted the creed of Rome. The one obstinate Patriarch, Macarius of Antioch, had been stripped of his pall, and driven, with every mark of personal insult and ignominy, from the assembly. Yet was it an humiliation, for it condemned a Bishop of Rome as an anathematized heretic. But, while the Pope made the most of

his triumph, he seemed utterly to disregard the humiliation. The impeccability of the Bishop of Rome was not as yet an article of the Roman creed. The successor of Agatho (who had died during the sitting of the Council) Pope Leo II., announced to the churches of the West the universal acceptance of the Roman doctrine; to the bishops and to the King of Spain he recapitulated the names of the anathematized heretics, among the rest of Honorius, who, instead of quenching the flame of heresy, as became the apostolic authority, had fanned it by his negligence; who had permitted the immaculate rule of faith, handed down by his predecessors, to suffer defilement.¹ The condemned Monothelites of the East were ban-

A.D. 682.
Sept., Oct.

ished to Rome, as the place in which they were most likely to be converted from their errors; and where some of them, weary of imprisonment in the monasteries to which they were consigned, abjured their former creed. Macarius of Antioch alone resisted alike all theological arguments, and all the more worldly temptations of reinstatement in the dignity and honors of his see.

The names of the Popes Benedict II., of John V., a Syrian by birth, of Conon, and of Sergius, fill up the rest of the seventh century. During this period an attempt was made to remedy the inconvenience of awaiting so long the imperial confirmation of the papal election. Nearly a year elapsed before the consecration of Benedict II. An edict of Constantine,

Popes.
Benedict II.,
A.D. 682-686.
John V.,
A.D. 686, 686.
Conon,
A.D. 686, 687
Sergius I.,
A.D. 687.
A.D. 684.
Jan. 26.

¹ "Qui flamam heretici dogmatis, non ut decuit apostolicam auctoritatem incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovit." — Ad Episcop. Hispan., Labbe, p. 1246. "Honorius Romanus qui immaculatam apostolicæ traditionis regulam quam a prædecessoribus suis accepit maculari consensit." — Epist. ad Ervig. Reg. Hispan., p. 1252.

who still cultivated a close alliance with the Popes, enacted that, on the unanimous suffrage of the clergy, the people, and the soldiery (the soldiery are now assuming in the election of the Pontiff the privilege of the Prætorian Guard in the election of the Emperor), the Pope might at once proceed to his consecration. This regulation, however, demanded that rare occurrence on the election of a Bishop of Rome, unanimity. On the election of Conon, and afterwards of Sergius, strife arose, and contending competitors divided the suffrages. The Exarch of Ravenna resumed his right of interference and of final sanction before the consecration of the Pope. On the death of Conon

Theodorus,
A.D. 687.
Paschalis
anti-Pope,
A.D. 687-682.

three candidates were proposed by their conflicting partisans. The Archdeacon Paschalis, the Archpresbyter Theodorus, were supported by two rival factions; a third proposed Sergius, of a Syrian family, which had settled at Palermo in Sicily. Each of the other candidates occupied a strong position in the city, when the third party set up Sergius, and carried him in triumph to the Lateran Palace. Theodorus was compelled to surrender his claims, but Paschalis had sent large offers of money to Ravenna, and depended on the support of the Exarch. The Exarch came to Rome, declared in favor of Sergius, but exacted from him a donative at least equal to that offered by the rejected Paschalis.¹ The churches were laid under contribution to satisfy the rapacious Exarch.

Sergius rejected certain canons of the Quinisextan Council,² which assembled at the summons of the Emperor Justinian II. This Council is

Quinisextan
Council.

¹ Anastas. in Vit. Sergii.

² Called also the Council in Trullo, from the chamber in the imperial palace in which it was held.

the great authority for the discipline of the Greek Church. Rigid in its enactments against marriage after entering into holy orders, and severe against those who had married two wives, or wives under any taint as of widowhood, actresses, or any unlawful occupation, it nevertheless deliberately repudiated the Roman canon¹ which forced such priests to give up all commerce with their wives: it asserted the permission of Scripture in favor of a married clergy, married, that is, to virgins and reputable wives previous to taking orders. Sergius disdainfully refused his adhesion to the authority of the Council, and annulled its decrees. Justinian, like his predecessor Constans, endeavored to treat the Pope as a refractory subject. He sent orders for his apprehension and transportation to Constantinople. But Sergius was strong, not only in the affections of the people, but of the army also. The protospatharius, the officer of the Emperor, was driven with insult from the city; the Pope was obliged to interfere in order to appease the tumult among the indignant soldiery. Ere the Emperor could revenge his insulted dignity he was himself deposed. Before his restoration Sergius had been dead several years. Even if the successors of Sergius pursued his contumacious policy, nearer objects of detestation first demanded the revenge of Justinian, who had no time to waste on a distant priest who had only resisted his religious supremacy. But on a later occasion Justinian asserted to the utmost the imperial authority.

The eighth century opened with the pontificate of John VI., in which the papal influence displayed it-

¹ Can. iii. xiii. apud Labbe, pp. 1141-1148.

John VI.
A.D. 702-706. self in the becoming character of protector of the peace of the city. The Pope saved the life of the Exarch Theophylact, against whom the soldiery had risen in insurrection: they were calmed by the persuasive eloquence of the Pontiff. Certain infamous persons had made charges against some of the more eminent citizens of Rome, to tempt the Exarch to plunder them of their property. By the Pope's influence they were themselves punished by a heavy fine. He compelled or persuaded the Lombard Duke of Benevento, who had made a predatory incursion into Campania, to withdraw into his own territories. The Pope redeemed all the captives which the Lombard had taken.

During the pontificate of John VII., a Greek, the Emperor Justinian II. resumed the throne of Constantinople. The timid Pope trembled at his commands to receive the decrees of the Quinisextan Council; he endeavored to temporize, but escaped John VII.
706-707. by death from the conflict. Sisinnius, a Syrian, was chosen his successor, but died twenty days after his election.

He was succeeded by Constantine, another Syrian. Constantine. At the commencement of this pontificate, Felix, the newly-elected Archbishop of Ravenna, came to Rome for his consecration. But Felix refused to sign the customary writing testifying his allegiance to the Roman see, and to renounce the independence of Ravenna. The imperial ministers at Rome took part against him, and, in fear of their power, he tendered an ambiguous act of submission in which he declared his repugnance to his own deed. It was said that this act, laid up in the Roman archives, was in a few days

found black and shrivelled as by fire. But Felix had a more dangerous enemy than Pope Constantine. The Emperor Justinian had now glutted his vengeance on his enemies in the East; he sought to punish those who had either assisted or at least rejoiced in his fall in the more distant provinces. The inhabitants of Ravenna had incurred his wrath. A fleet, with Theodorus the patrician at its head, appeared in A.D. 708 their haven; the city was occupied, the chief citizens seized, according to one account by treachery, transported to Constantinople, and there by the sentence of the Emperor put to death. The Archbishop was deprived of his eyes in the most cruel manner A.D. 709.

by the express orders of the Emperor. He was then banished to the Crimea.¹ The terrible Justinian still aimed at reducing the West to obedience to the Quinisextan Council. He summoned Constantine before his presence in Constantinople. The Pope had the courage and wisdom to obey. His obedience conciliated the Emperor. Everywhere he was well A.D. 710, 711. entertained, and he was permitted to delay till the tempestuous winter season was passed. In the spring he arrived in Constantinople, where he was received by Tiberius, son of the Emperor. Justinian was himself at Nicea; he advanced to Nicomedia to meet the Bishop of Rome. It is said by the Western writers that the Emperor knelt and kissed the feet of the Pope — an act neither consonant to Greek usage nor to the character of Justinian. But the Emperor's pride was gratified by the submission of Constantine. How far the Pope consented to the canons of the Quinisextan Council, by what arts he eluded those which were adverse

¹ *Anastas. in Vit.; Agnelli, Vitæ Pontif. Ravennat.*

to the Roman Discipline, history is silent. But Constantine returned to Italy in high favor with the Emperor, and bearing the imperial confirmation of all the privileges of the Church of Rome. The wisdom of Constantine's conduct became still more manifest. During his absence John Rizocopus, the new Exarch, entered Rome, seized and put to death many of the principal clergy. The Exarch proceeded to Ravenna, where he was slain in an insurrection of the citizens.¹ This insurrection grew to an open revolt. Ravenna and the Pentapolis threw off the imperial yoke, under the command of George, son of Giovannicius, the Emperor's secretary. On the death of Justinian and the change of the dynasty they renewed their allegiance; the blind Archbishop Felix returned from his banishment, and resumed the functions of his see.

Constantine was the last Pope who was the humble
A.D. 716. subject of the Eastern Emperor. With Gregory II. we enter on a new epoch in the history of Latin Christendom.

¹ Anastasius — Agnelli, *ut supra*.

CHAPTER VII.

ICONOCLASM.

THE eighth century gave birth to a religious contest, in its origin, in its nature, and in its important political consequences entirely different from all those which had hitherto distracted Christendom. Iconoclasm was an attempt of the Eastern Emperor to change by his own arbitrary command the religion of his subjects. No religious revolution has ever been successful which has commenced with the government. Such revolutions have ever begun in the middle or lower orders of society, struck on some responsive chord of sympathy in the general feeling, supplied some religious want, stirred some religious energy, and shaken the inert strength of the established faith by some stronger counter emotion. Whatever the motives of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian (and on this subject, as in all the religious controversies where the writings of the unsuccessful party were carefully suppressed or perished through neglect, authentic history is almost silent), whether he was actuated by a rude aversion to what perhaps can hardly yet be called the fine arts with which Christianity was associating itself, or by a spiritual disdain and impatience of the degrading superstition into which the religion of the Gospel had so long been degenerating, the attempt was as politi-

cally unwise and unseasonable as the means employed were despotic and altogether unequal to the end. The time was passed, if it had ever been, when an imperial edict could change, or even much affect, the actual prevailing religion of the empire. For this was no speculative article of belief, no question of high metaphysical theology, but a total change in the universal popular worship, in the spirit and in the essence, if not of the daily ritual, of countless observances and habitual practices of devotion. It swept away from almost all the churches of the Empire objects hallowed by devotion, and supposed to be endowed with miraculous agency; objects of hope and fear, of gratitude and immemorial veneration. It not merely invaded the public church, and left its naked walls without any of the old remembrancers of faith and piety; it reached the private sanctuary of prayer. No one could escape the proscription; learned or unlearned, priest or peasant, monk or soldier, clergyman or layman, man, woman, and even child, were involved in the strife. Something to which their religious attachments clung, to which their religious passions were wedded, might at any time be forcibly rent away, insulted, trampled under foot; that which had been their pride and delight could only now be furtively visited, and under the fear of detection.

Nor was it possible for this controversy to vent itself in polemic writings; to exhaust the mutual hatred which it engendered in fierce invectives, which, however they might provoke, were not necessarily followed by acts of conflict and bloodshed. Here actual, personal, furious collision of man and man, of faction and faction, of armed troops against armed troops, was inevitable. The contending parties

Nature of the
controversy.

did not assail each other with mutual anathemas, which they might despise, or excommunication and counter-excommunication, the validity of which might be questioned by either party. On one side it was a sacred obligation to destroy, to mutilate, to dash to pieces, to deface the objects on which the other had so long gazed with intense devotion, and which he might think it an equally sacred obligation to defend at the sacrifice of life. It was not a controversy, it was a feud; not a polemic strife, but actual war declared by one part of Christendom against the other. It was well perhaps for Christendom that the parties were not more equally balanced; that, right or wrong, one party in that division of the Christian world, where total change would have been almost extermination, obtained a slow but complete triumph.

In all the controversies, moreover, in which the Emperors had been involved, whether they had plunged into them of their own accord, or had been compelled to take a reluctant part, — whether they embraced the orthodox or the erroneous opinions, — they had found a large faction, both of the clergy and the people, already enlisted in the cause. In this case they had to create their own faction; and though so many of the clergy, from conviction, fear, or interest, became Iconoclasts, as to form a council respectable for its numbers; though, among some part of the people, an Iconoclastic fanaticism broke out, yet it was no spontaneous movement on their part. The impulse, to all appearance, emanated directly from the emperor. It was not called forth by any general expression of aversion to the existing superstition by any body of the clergy, or by any single bold reformer: it was announced. it

was enacted in that character of Supreme Head of the Empire, which was still supposed to be vested in the Cæsar, and had descended to him as part of his inheritance from his pagan predecessors. This sovereignty comprehended religious as well as temporal autocracy ; and of this the clergy, though they had often resisted it, and virtually, perhaps, held it to be abrogated, had never formally, publicly, or deliberately, declined the jurisdiction. It is a proof of the strong will and commanding abilities of the great Iconoclastic Emperors, that they could effect, and so long maintain, such a revolution, by their sole authority, throughout at least their eastern dominions.

And there was this irremediable weakness in the cause of Iconoclasm. It was a mere negative doctrine, a proscription of those sentiments which had full possession of the popular mind, without any strong counter-vailing religious excitement. There was none of that appeal to principles like those of the Reformation, to the Bible, to justification by faith, to the individual sense of responsibility. The senses were robbed of their habitual and cherished objects of devotion, but there was no awakening of an inner life of intense and passionate piety. The cold naked walls from whence the Scriptural histories had been effaced, the despoiled shrines, the mutilated images, could not compel the mind to a more pure and immaterial conception of God and the Saviour. It was a premature Rationalism, enforced upon an unreasoning age — an attempt to spiritualize by law and edict a generation which had been unspiritualized by centuries of materialistic devotion. Hatred of images, in the process of the strife, might become, as it did, a fanaticism — it could never become

a religion. Iconoclasm might proscribe idolatry, but it had no power of kindling a purer faith.

The consequences of this new religious dissension were of the utmost political importance, both in the East and in the West. In the East, ^{its conse-}
^{quences.} instead of consolidating the strength of Christendom in one great confederacy against invading Moham:danism, it distracted the thoughts of men from their more pressing dangers, weakened the military energy which, under the Isaurian race of emperors, seemed likely to revive; depopularized, with at least one half of their subjects, sovereigns of such great ability as Leo and Constantine Copronymus (whose high qualities for empire pierce through the clouds which are spread over their names by hostile annalists); and finally by adding a new element of animosity to the domestic intrigues within the palace, interrupted the regular succession, and darkened the annals of the empire with new crimes.

But its more important results were the total disruption of the bond between the East and the West — the severance of the Italian province from the Byzantine Empire; the great accession of Power to the Papacy, which took the lead in this revolution; the introduction of the Frankish king into the politics of Italy; and eventually the establishment of the Western Empire under Charlemagne.

Yet this question, thus prematurely agitated by the Iconoclastic emperors, and at this period of Christianity so fatally mistimed, is one of the most grave, and it should seem inevitable controversies, arising out of our religion. It must be judged by a more calm and profound philosophy than could be possible in times of

actual strife between two impassioned and adverse factions. It is a conflict of two great principles, which it is difficult to reconcile. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that with ignorant and superstitious minds, the use, the reverence, the worship of images, whether in pictures or statues, invariably degenerates into idolatry. The Church may draw fine and ærial distinctions between images as objects of reverence and as objects of adoration ; as incentives to the worship of more remote and immaterial beings, or as actual indwelling deities ; it may nicely define the feeling which images ought to awaken ; — but the intense and indiscriminating piety of the vulgar either understands not, or utterly disregards these subtleties : it may refuse to sanction, it cannot be said not to encourage, that devotion which cannot and will not weigh and measure either its emotions or its language. Image-worship in the mass of the people, of the whole monkhood at this time, was undeniably the worship of the actual, material, present image, rather than that of the remote, formless, or spiritual power, of which it was the emblem or representative. It has continued, and still continues, to be in many parts of Christendom this gross and unspiritual adoration ; it is a part of the general system of divine worship. The whole tendency of popular belief was to localize, to embody in the material thing the supernatural or divine power. The healing or miraculous influence dwelt in, and emanated from, the picture of the saint — the special, individual picture — it was contained within the relic, and flowed directly from it. These outward things were not mere occasional vehicles of the divine bounty, indifferent in themselves, they possessed an inherent, inalienable sanctity. Where

the image was, there was the saint. He heard the prayer, he was carried in procession to allay the pestilence, to arrest the conflagration, to repel the enemy. He sometimes resumed the functions of life, smiled, or stretched his hand from the wall. An image of the same saint, or of the Virgin, rivalled another image in its wonder-working power, or its mild benignity.

On the other hand, is pure and spiritual Christianity — the highest Christianity to which the human mind can attain — implacably and irreconcilably hostile to the Fine Arts? Is that influence of the majestic and the beautiful awakened through the senses by form, color, and expression, to be altogether abandoned? Can the exaltation, the purification of the human soul by Art in no way be allied with true Christian devotion? Is that aid to the realization of the historic truths of our religion, by representations, vivid, speaking, almost living, to be utterly proscribed? Is that idealism which grows out of and nourishes reverential feelings, to rest solely on the contemplation of pure spirit, without any intermediate human, yet superhumanized, form? Because the ignorant or fraudulent monk has ascribed miraculous power to his Madonna or the image of his patron saint, and the populace have knelt before it in awe which it is impossible to distinguish from adoration, is Christianity to cast off as alien to its highest development, the divine creations of Raffaele, or of Correggio. Are we inexorably to demand the same sublime spiritualism from the more or less imaginative races or classes of mankind?

This great question lies indeed at the bottom of the antagonism between those two descriptions of believers; to a certain extent, between the religion of southern

and that of northern Europe, between that of the races of Roman and some of those of Teutonic descent; between that of the inhabitants of towns or villages; and rude mountaineers; finally, between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism.

But since, in the progress of civilization, the fine arts will no doubt obtain, if not greater influence, more general admiration, religion must either break off entirely all association with these dangerous friends, and the fine arts abandon the most fertile and noblest field for their development; or their mutual relations must be amicably adjusted. A finer sense of their inherent harmony must arise; the blended feelings which they excite must poise themselves far above the vulgar superstition of idolatry while they retain the force and intensity of devotional reverence. The causes which may be expected to work this sacred reconciliation may be the growing intelligence of mankind, greater familiarity with the written Scriptures; and, paradoxical as it may sound, but as may hereafter appear, greater perfection in the arts themselves, or a finer apprehension of that perfection in ancient as in modern art.

Doubtless, the pure, unmingled, spiritual notion of the Deity was the elementary principle of Christianity. It had repudiated all the anthropomorphic images, which to the early Jews had impersonated and embodied, if it had not to grosser minds materialized, the Godhead, and reduced him to something like an earthly sovereign, only enthroned in heaven in more dazzling pomp and magnificence. Even the localization of the Deity in the temple or the tabernacle, a step towards materialization, had been abrogated by the Saviour

himself. Neither Samaria nor Jerusalem was to be any longer a peculiar dwelling-place of the Universal Father.

Throughout the early controversy on image-worship, there was a steadfast determination to keep the Parent and Primal Deity aloof from external form. No similitude of the unseen, incomprehensible Father, was permitted for many centuries;¹ even in a symbolic form, as in the vision of Ezekiel, which Raffaele and some of the later painters have ventured to represent. It should seem, that even if the artists had been equal to the execution, the subject would have been thought presumptuous or profane.²

But if Christianity was thus in its language and in its primal conception so far superior in its spirituality to the religion of the Old Testament, it had itself its peculiar anthropomorphism: it had its visible, material, corporeal revelation of the Deity. God himself, according to its universal theory, had condescended to the human form.³ Christ's whole agency, his birth, his infancy, his life, and his death, had been cognizable to the senses of his human brethren in the flesh. If, from the language of the Scriptures, descriptive of all those wonderful acts of power, of mercy, and of suffering, the imagination might realize to itself his actual form, motions, demeanor, the patient majesty in death,

¹ "Cur tandem patrem domini Jesu Christi non oculis subijcimus, et pingimus, quoniam quod sit non novimus, Deique natura spectanda proponi non potest ac pingi. Quod si eum intuiti essemus ac novissemus prout filium ejus, illum quoque spectandum proponere potuissemus, ac pingere, ut et illius imaginem idolum appellares." — Greg. II. Epist. i., ad Leon. Imper. p. 14.

² See the chapter in the History of Christianity on the Fine Arts, vol. iii. p. 436 *et seq.*, and Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*.

³ Οὐ τὴν ἀσάρετον εἰκονίζω θεότητα, ἀλλ' εἰκονίζω θεοῦ τὴν ὁραθείαν εἰς κα. — Joann. Damascen, *Orat. de Imag.* 1.

the dignity after the resurrection, the incipient glory in the ascension, and worship that mental image as the actual incarnate Godhead, why might not that which was thus first embodied in inspired language, and thence endowed with life by the creative faculty of the mind, be fixed in color and in stone, and so be preserved from evanescence, so arrayed in permanent ideal being? Form and color were but another language addressed to the eye, not to the ear. While the Saviour was on earth, the divinity within his human form demanded the intensest devotion, the highest worship which man could offer to God. The Saviour thus revived by the phantasy, even as he was in the flesh, might justly demand the same homage. When that image became again actual form, did the material accessories — the vehicle of stone or color — so far prevail over the ideal conception, as to harden into an idol that which, as a mental conception, might lawfully receive man's devotions? It seemed to awaken only the same emotions, which were not merely pardonable, but in the highest degree pious, in the former case: why, then, forbidden or idolatrous in the latter? ¹

The same argument which applied to the Saviour, applied with still greater force to those merely human beings, the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testa-

¹ This argument is urged by Gregory II. in his epistle to Germanus at great length: "Enarrent illa et per voces, et per literas, et per picturas." So Germanus: ἅπερ διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἀληθῆ πεπιστεύκαμεν ταῦτα καὶ διὰ γραφικῆς μμήσεως πρὸς βεβαιωτέραν ἡμῶν πληροφορίαν συνιστάνομεν. — Epist. ad Joann. Episc. Synad. They argued that this was an argument for Christ's real humanity against the Docetic sects. Their favorite authority was Basil: ἃ γὰρ ὁ λόγος τῆς ἱστορίας διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς παρίστησι, ταῦτα γραφῇ σικπῶσα διὰ μμήσεως δέικνυσι. So also Joann. Damasc.: ἅπερ τῇ ἀκοῇ ὁ λόγος, τοῦτο τῇ ὁράσει ἢ εἰκῶν.

ment, the apostles, the saints, the martyrs, even to the Virgin herself. Why should not their histories be related by forms and colors, as well as by words? It was but presenting the same truths to the mind through another sense. If they were unduly worshipped, the error was in the hagiolatry or adoration of saints, not in the adoration of the image. Pictures were but the books of the unlearned; preachers never silent of the glory of the saints, and instructing with soundless voice the beholders, and so sanctifying the vision. "I am too poor to possess books, I have no leisure for reading: I enter the church, choked with the cares of the world, the glowing colors attract my sight and delight my eyes, like a flowery meadow; and the glory of God steals imperceptibly into my soul. I gaze on the fortitude of the martyr and the crown with which he is rewarded, and the fire of holy emulation kindles within me, and I fall down and worship God through the martyr, and I receive salvation."¹ Thus argues the most eloquent defender of images, betraying in his ingenious argument the rudeness of the arts, and the uncultivated taste, not of the vulgar alone. It is the brilliancy of the colors, not the truth or majesty of the design, which enthralles the sight. And, so in general, the ruder the art the

¹ "Ὅτι βιβλοὶ τοῖς ἀγραμμάτοις εἰσὶν αἱ εἰκόνες, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων τιμῆς ἀσέλητοι κήρυκες, ἐν ᾗ φωνῇ τοὺς ὁρώντας διδάσκουσαι, καὶ τὴν ὁρασὶν ἀγιάζουναι. Ὅκ ἐν πορῷ βίβλων, οὐ σφόδρην ἄγω πρὸς τὴν ἀνέγνωσιν· εἰσεμὶ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ψυχῶν λατρεῖον, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὥσπερ ἀκάνθιας τοῖς λογισμοῖς συνπνιγόμενος, ἔλκει με πρὸς θεὸν τῆς γραφῆς τὸ ἄνθος, καὶ ὡς λεμῶν τέρπει τὴν ὁρασὶν, καὶ λεληθότως ἐναφίησι τῇ ψυχῇ δόξα θεοῦ. Τεθέσμαι τὴν καρτερίαν τοῦ μάρτυρος, τῶν στεφάνων τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν, καὶ ὡς πυρὶ πρὸς ζῆλον ἐξάπτομαι τῇ προθυμίᾳ, καὶ πίπτων προσκυνῶ θεὸν διὰ τοῦ εἰκονισμοῦ, καὶ λαμβάνω τὴν σωτηρίαν. — Joann. Damascen. de Imag. Orat. ii. v. 747.

more intense the superstition. The perfection of the fine arts leads rather to diminish than to promote such superstition. Not merely does the cultivation of mind required for their higher execution, as well as the admiration of them, imply an advanced state; but the idealism, which is their crowning excellence, in some degree unrealizes them, and creates a different and more exalted feeling. There is more direct idolatry paid to the rough and ill-shapen image, or the flat, unrelieved, and staring picture, — the former actually clothed in gaudy and tinsel ornaments, the latter with the crown of gold leaf on the head, and real or artificial flowers in the hand, — than to the noblest ideal statue, or the Holy Family with all the magic of light and shade. They are not the fine paintings which work miracles, but the coarse and smoke-darkened boards, on which the dim outline of form is hardly to be traced. Thus it may be said, that it was the superstition which required the images, rather than the images which formed the superstition. The Christian mind would have found some other fetich, to which it would have attributed miraculous powers. Relics would have been more fervently worshipped and endowed with more transcendent powers, without the adventitious good, the familiarizing the mind with the historic truths of Scripture or even the legends of Christian martyrs, which at least allayed the evil of the actual idolatry. Iconoclasm left the worship of relics, and other dubious memorials of the saints, in all their vigor; while it struck at that which, after all, was a higher kind of idolatry. It aspired not to elevate the general mind above superstition, but proscribed only one, and that not the most debasing, form.

Of the emperors Leo the Isaurian and his son Constantine, the great Iconoclasts, the only historians are their enemies. That the founder of this dynasty was of obscure birth, from a district, or rather the borders, of the wild province of Isauria, enhances rather than detracts from the dignity of his character. Among the adventurers who from time to time rose to the throne of Byzantium, none employed less unworthy means, or were less stained with crime, than Leo. Throughout his early career the inimical historians are overawed by involuntary respect for his great military and administrative qualities. He had been employed on various dangerous and important services, and the jealousy of the ruling emperor, on more than one occasion, shows that he was already designated by the public voice as one capable of empire. Justinian II. abandoned him with a few troops, in an expedition against the Alani; from this difficulty he extricated himself with consummate courage and dexterity. He appears equally distinguished in valor and in craft. In the most trying situations his incomparable address is as prompt as decisive; against treacherous enemies he does not scruple to employ treachery.

The elevation of an active and enterprising soldier to the throne was imperiously demanded by the times, and hailed with general applause. The first measures of Leo were to secure the tottering empire against her most formidable enemies the Mohammedans, who were encompassing Constantinople on every side. Never had the Byzantine Empire been exposed to such peril as during the siege of Constantinople by Moslemah. Nothing but the indefatigable courage, military skill,

and restless activity of Leo, aided by the new invention of the Greek fire, saved the eastern capital from falling five centuries before its time into the hands of the Mohammedans.¹ There can be no greater praise to Leo than that his superstitious subjects saw nothing less than the manifest interposition of the tutelary Virgin throughout their unexpected deliverance.

Leo had reigned for ten years, before he declared his hostility to image-worship. But his persecuting spirit had betrayed itself in the compulsory baptism of the Jews and the Montanists (probably some Manichean sect called by that ancient name) in Constantinople.² The effect of these persecutions was not encouraging. The Jews secretly washed off the contamination of baptism, and instead of fasting before the Holy Communion, polluted its sanctity, if they did not annul its blessings by eating common food. The Montanists burned themselves in their houses. In an orthodox emperor, however, these acts would have passed without reprobation, if not with praise.

At the close of these ten years in the reign of Leo, Christendom was astounded by the sudden proscription of its common religious usages. The edict came forth, interdicting all worship of images. Leo was immediately asserted and believed to be as hostile to the adoration of the Virgin, to the worship of saints and of relics, as to that of images.³

¹ Theophanes passim.

² *Ib.* p. 336.

³ Οὐ μόνον γὰρ περὶ τὴν σχετικὴν τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων ὁ δυσσεβὴς ἐσφάλετο προσκύνησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν πρεσβειῶν τῆς πανάγιοι θεοτόκου, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων· καὶ τὰ λείψανα αὐτῶν ὁ παμμίαρος, ὡς οἱ διδάσκαλοι αὐτοῦ Ἀραβῆς, ἐβδολύττετο. — Theoph. p. 625.

In the common ear the emperor's language was that of a Jew or a Mohammedan, and fables were soon current that the impulse came from those odious quarters. It was rumored that while Leo was yet an obscure Isaurian youth named Conon, two Jews met him and promised him the empire of the world if he would grant them one request: this was, to destroy the images throughout Christendom.¹ They bound him by an oath in a Christian church! After the young Conon had ascended the throne, he was called on to fulfil his solemn vow. The prototype of the Christian Emperor in Iconoclasm had been the Sultan Yezid of Damascus. Yezid had been promised by a magician a reign of forty years over the Mohammedan world on the single condition of the destruction of images. God had cut off the Mohammedan in the beginning of his impiety, but Leo only followed this sacrilegious and fatal example. His adviser was said to be a certain Besor, a Syrian renegade from Christianity, deeply imbued with Mohammedan antipathies. The real motives of Leo it is impossible to conjecture. Had the rude soldier been brought up in a simpler Christianity among the mountains of his native Isauria? Had the perpetual contrast between the sterner creed and plainer worship of Mohammedanism and the paganized Christianity of his day led him to inquire whether this was the genuine and primitive re-

¹ And this was the emperor whose first religious act was the persecution of the Jews. Neither Pope Gregory nor any of the Western writers, nor even Theophanes, the earliest Byzantine, knew anything of this story. The first version is in a very doubtful oration ascribed to John of Damascus, passes through Glycas and Constantine Manasses, till the fable attains its full growth in Zonaras and Cedrenus. Theophanes gives the story of the Sultan Yezid.

ligion of the Gospel? Had he felt that he could not deny the justice of the charges of idolatry so prodigally made against his religion by the Jews and Mohammedans, and so become anxious to relieve it from this imputation? Had he found his subjects, instead of trusting, in their imminent danger from the Mohammedan invasion, to their own arms, discipline, and courage, entirely reposing on the intercession of the Virgin and the saints and on the magic influence of crosses and pictures? Did he act as statesman, general, or zealot, he pursued his aim with inflexible resolution, though not in the first instance without some caution.

For the war which the emperor declared against the images did not at first command their destruction. A.D. 726. The first edict prohibited the worship, but only the worship, of all statues and pictures which represented the Saviour, the Virgin, and the saints. The statues and those pictures which hung upon the walls, and were not painted upon them, were to be raised to a greater height, so as not to receive pious kisses or other marks of adoration.¹

About this period an alarming volcanic eruption took place in the *Ægean*. The whole atmosphere was dark as midnight, the sea and the adjacent islands strewn with showers of ashes and of stones. A new island suddenly arose amid this awful convulsion. The emperor beheld in this terrific phenomenon the divine wrath, and attributed it to his patient acquiescence in the idolatry of his subjects. The monks, on the other

¹ Unfortunately, none of the earlier edicts of the Iconoclastic emperors are extant. It is doubtful, and of course obstinately disputed, whether Leo condescended to require the sanction of any council or synod, or of any number of bishops. — Walch, p. 229.

hand, the implacable adversaries of the emperor and the most ardent defenders of image-worship, beheld God's fearful rebuke against the sacrilegious imperial edicts.¹

The first edict was followed, at what interval it is difficult to determine, by a second of far greater severity. It commanded the total destruction of all images,² the whitewashing the walls of the churches. But if the first edict was everywhere received with the most determined aversion, the second maddened the image-worshippers, the mass of mankind, including most of the clergy and all the monks, to absolute fury. In the capital the presence of the emperor did not in the least overawe the populace. An imperial officer had orders to destroy a statue of the Saviour in a part of Constantinople called Chalcopratia. This image was renowned for its miracles. The thronging multitude, chiefly of women, saw with horror the officer mount the ladder. Thrice he struck with his impious axe the holy countenance, which had so benignly looked down upon them. Heaven interfered not, as no doubt they expected; but the women seized the ladder, threw down the officer, and beat him to death with clubs. The emperor sent

¹ The chronology of these events is in the highest degree obscure. Baronius, Maimbourg, the Pagis, Spanheim, Basnage, Walch, have endeavored to arrange them in natural and regular sequence. The commencement of the actual strife in the tenth year of Leo's reign gives one certain date, A.D. 726. The death of Pope Gregory II. another, A.D. 731. The great difficulty is the time at which the second more severe edict followed the first. Some place it as late as 731; but it had manifestly been issued before the first epistle of Gregory. It seems to me as clear that it preceded the tumult at Constantinople, which arose from an attempt to destroy an image; but destruction does not seem to have been commanded by the earlier and milder edict.

² Anastasius adds that they were to be burned in the most public place in the different cities. — Vit. Greg. II.

an armed guard to suppress the tumult; a frightful massacre took place. But the slain were looked upon, some were afterwards worshipped, as martyrs in the holy cause. In religious insurrections that which with one party is suppression of rebellion, with the other is persecution. Leo becomes, in the orthodox histories, little better than a Saracen; the pious were punished with mutilations, scourgings, exile, confiscation; the schools of learning were closed, a magnificent library burned to the ground. This last is no doubt a fable; and the cruelties of Leo were at least told with the darkest coloring. Even his successes in war were ingeniously turned to his condemnation. The failure of the Saracens in an attack on Nicea was, as usual, attributed to the intervention of the Virgin, not to the valiant resistance of the garrison. The Virgin was content with the death of a soldier who had dared to throw down and trample on her statue. She had appeared to him and foretold his death. The next day her prophecy was fulfilled, his brains were beat out by a stone from a mangonel. But the magnanimity of the Virgin did not therefore withdraw her tutelary protection from the city. Nicea escaped, though Leo, besides his disrespect for images, is likewise charged with doubting the intercession of the Mother of God.

Nor did this open resistance take place in Constantinople alone. A formidable insurrection broke out in Greece and in the *Ægean* islands. A fleet was armed, a new emperor, one Cosmas, proclaimed, and Constantinople menaced by the rebels. The fleet, however, was scattered and destroyed by ships which discharged the Greek fire: the insurrection was suppressed, the leaders either fell or were executed, along with the

usurper.¹ The monks here, and throughout the empire, the champions of this as of every other superstition, were the instigators to rebellion. Few monasteries were without some wonder-working image; the edict struck at once at their influence, their interest, their pride, their most profound religious feelings.

But the more eminent clergy were likewise at first almost unanimous in their condemnation of the emperor. Constantine, Bishop of Nacolia, indeed, is branded as his adviser. Another bishop, Theodosius, son of Apsimar, Metropolitan of Ephesus, is named as entering into the war against images. But almost for the first time the bishops of the two Romes, Germanus of Constantinople, and Pope Gregory II., were united in one common cause. Leo attempted to win Germanus to his views, but the aged patriarch (he was now 95 years old) calmly but resolutely resisted the arguments, the promises, the menaces of the emperor.

But the conduct of Gregory II., as leading to more important results, demands more rigid scrutiny. The Byzantine historians represent him as proceeding, at the first intimation of the hostility of the emperor to image worship, to an act of direct revolt, as prohibiting the payment of tribute by the Italian province.² This was beyond the power, probably beyond the courage, of Gregory. The great results of the final separation of the West from the inefficient and inglorious sovereignty of the East might excuse or palliate, if he had foreseen them, the disloyalty of Pope Gregory to Leo. But it would be to estimate his political and religious sagacity too highly to endow him with this gift

¹ Theoph. Chronograph. p. 629.

² Theophanes, followed by the later writers.

of ambitious prophecy, to suppose him anticipating the full development of Latin Christianity when it should become independent of the East. Like most ordinary minds, and, if we are to judge by his letters, Gregory's was a very ordinary mind, he was merely governed by the circumstances and passions of his time without the least foreknowledge of the result of his actions. The

Letter of
Gregory II.
A.D. 729.

letter of Pope Gregory to the emperor is arrogant without dignity, dogmatic without persuasiveness; in the stronger part of the argument far inferior, both in skill and ingenuity, to that of the aged Germanus, or the writer who guided his pen.¹ The strange mistakes in the history of the Old Testament, the still stranger interpretations of the New, the loose legends which are advanced as history, give a very low opinion of the knowledge of the times. As a great public document, addressed to the whole Christian world by him who aspired to be the first ecclesiastic, we might be disposed to question its authenticity, if it were not avouched by the full evidence in its favor and its agreement with all the events of the period. After some praise of the golden promise of orthodoxy, in the declaration of Leo on ascending the throne, and in his conduct up to a certain period, the Pope proceeds, "For ten years you have paid no attention to the images which you now denounce as idols, and whose total destruction and abolition you command. Not the faithful only but infidels are scandalized at your impiety. Christ has condemned those who offend one of his little ones, you fear not to offend the whole world. You say that God has forbidden the worship

¹ Compare the two letters of Germanus to John of Synnada, and to Thomas of Claudiopolis. — Conc. Nic. ii. sess. iv.

of things made with hands ; who worships them ? Why, as emperor and head of Christendom, have you not consulted the wise ? The Scriptures, the fathers, the six councils, you treat with equal contempt. These are the coarse and rude arguments suited to a coarse and rude mind like yours, but they contain the truth." Gregory then enters at length into the Mosaic interdiction of idolatry. "The idols of the Gentiles only were forbidden in the commandment, not such images as the Cherubim and Seraphim, or the ornaments made by Bezaleel to the glory of God." It is impossible without irreverence to translate the argument of the Pope, from the partial vision of God to Moses described in the book of Exodus.¹ What follows, if on less dangerous ground, is hardly less strange. "Where the body is, says our Lord, there will the eagles be gathered together. The body is Christ, the eagles the religious men who flew from all quarters to behold him. When they beheld him they made a picture of him. Not of him alone, they made pictures of James the brother of the Lord, of Stephen, and of all the martyrs ; and so having done, they disseminated them throughout the world to receive not worship but reverence." Was this ignorance in Gregory, or effrontery ? He then appeals to the likeness of Christ sent to Abgarus, king of Edessa. "God the Father cannot be painted, as his form is not known. Were it known and painted, would you call that an idol ?" The pope appeals to

¹ "Si videris me, morieris; sed ascende per foramen petre et videbis posteriora mea." Gregory no doubt understood this in an awfully mysterious sense, but not without a materializing tendency. The whole God-head was revealed in Christ, "nostrarum generationum ætate in novissimis temporibus manifestum seipsum, et posteriora simul et anteriora perfecte vobis ostendit."

the tears of devotion which he himself has shed while gazing on the statue of St. Peter. He denies that the Catholics worship wood and stone, these are memorials only intended to awaken pious feelings.¹ They adore them not as gods, for in them they have no hope, they only employ their intercession. "Go," he then breaks out in this contemptuous tone, "Go into a school where children are learning their letters and proclaim yourself a destroyer of images, they would all throw their tablets at your head, and you would thus be taught by these foolish ones what you refuse to learn from the wise." (It might be asked what well-instructed children now would say to a pope who mistook Hezekiah (called Uzziah) for a wicked king, his destroying the brazen serpent for an act of impiety, and asserted that David placed the brazen serpent in the *Temple*.) "You boast that as Hezekiah after 800 years cast out the brazen serpent from the temple, so after 800 years you have cast out the idols from the churches. Hezekiah truly was your brother, as self-willed, and, like thee, daring to offer violence to the priests of God." "With the power given me by St. Peter," proceeds Gregory, "I could inflict punishment upon thee, but since thou hast heaped a curse on thyself, I leave thee to endure it." The pope returns to his own edification while beholding the pictures and images in the churches. The passage is of interest, as showing the usual subjects of these paintings. "The miracles of the Lord; the Virgin Mother, with the infant Jesus on her breast, surrounded by choirs of angels; the Last Supper; the Raising of Lazarus; the miracles of giving sight to

¹ Οὐ λατρευτικῶς ἀλλὰ σχετικῶς, "non latrâ sed habitudine." This is the invariable distinction.

the blind; the curing the paralytic and the leper; the feeding the multitudes in the desert; the transfiguration; the crucifixion, burial, resurrection, ascension of Christ; the gift of the Holy Ghost; the sacrifice of Isaac, which seems to have been thought, doubtless as typifying the Redeemer's death, a most pathetic subject." The pope then reproaches Leo for not consulting the aged and venerable Germanus, and for listening rather to that Ephesian fool the son of Apsimar. The wise influence of Germanus had persuaded Constantine, the son of Constans, to summon the sixth council. There the emperor had declared that he would sit, a humble hearer, to execute the decrees of the prelates, and to banish those whom they condemned. "If his father had erred from the faith he would be the first to anathematize him." So met the sixth council. "The doctrines of the Church are in the province of the bishops not of the emperor: as the prelates should abstain from affairs of state, so princes from those of the Church."¹ "You demand a council:—revoke your edicts, cease to destroy images, a council will not be needed." Gregory then relates the insult to the image of the Saviour in Constantinople. "Not only those who were present at that sacrilegious scene, but even the barbarians had revenged themselves on the statues of the emperor, which had before been received in Italy with great honor. Hence the invasion of the Lombards, their occupation of Ravenna, their menaces that they would advance and

¹ "Scis sanctæ ecclesiæ dogmata non imperatorum esse, sed pontificum: deinde ecclesiis præpositi sunt pontifices a reipublicæ negotiis abstinentes, et Imperatores ergo similiter ab ecclesiasticis abstineant, et quæ sibi commissa sunt, capeant." This was new doctrine in the East.

seize Rome. It is your own folly which has disabled you from defending Rome; and you would terrify us and threaten to send to Rome and break in pieces the statue of St. Peter, and carry away Pope Gregory in chains, as Constans did his predecessor Martin. Knowest thou not that the popes have been the barrier-wall between the East and the West — the mediators of peace? I will not enter into a contest. I have but to retire four-and-twenty miles into Campania, and you may as well follow the winds. The officer who persecuted Pope Martin was cut off in his sins; Martin in exile was a saint, and miracles are performed at his tomb in the Chersonese. Would that I might share the fate of Martin. But, for the statue of St. Peter, which all the kingdoms of the West esteem as a *god on earth*, the whole West would take a terrible revenge.¹ I have but to retire and despise your threats; but I warn you that I shall be guiltless of the blood that will be shed; on your head it will fall. May God instil his fear into your heart! May I soon receive letters announcing your conversion! May the Saviour dwell in your heart, drive away those who urge you to these scandals, and restore peace to the world!"²

If Gregory expected this expostulatory and defiant epistle to work any change in Leo, he was doomed to

¹ "*Quam omnia Occidentis regna, velut Deum terrestrem habent.*" This looks something like idolatry.

² Gregory alludes with triumph to his conquest over the northern kings, who are submitting to baptism from the hands of his missionary, St. Boniface. "*Nos viam ingredimur in extremas occidentis regiones versus illos, qui sanctum baptismum efflagitant. Cum enim illuc episcopos misissem, et sanctæ ecclesiæ nostræ clericos, nondum adducti sunt ut capita sua inclinerent et baptizarentur eorum principes, quod exoptent, ut eorum sim susceptor.*"

disappointment. In a subsequent, but shorter letter, he attempted to appall the emperor by the *Second letter* great names of Gregory the Wonder-worker, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Theologian, of Basil, and of Chrysostom, to whose authority he appealed as sanctioning the worship of images. He held up the pious examples of those obedient sons of the Church, Constantine the Great, Theodosius the Great, Valentinian the Great, and Constantine who held the sixth council. "What are our churches but things made with hands, of stone, wood, straw, clay, lime? but they are adorned with paintings of the miracles wrought by the saints, the passion of the Lord, his glorious mother, his apostles. On these pictures men spend their whole fortunes; and men and women, with newly baptized children in their arms, and grown-up youths from all parts of the world come, and, pointing out these histories, lift up their minds and hearts to God." The pope renews his earnest admonitions to the emperor to obey the prelates of the Church in all spiritual things. "You persecute us and afflict us with a worldly and carnal arm. We, unarmed and defenceless, can but send a devil to humble you, to deliver you to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, and the salvation of the spirit. Why, you ask, have not the councils *commanded* image-worship? Why have they not commanded us to eat and drink?" (Images, Gregory seems to have considered as necessary to the spiritual as food to the corporeal life.) "Images have been borne by bishops to councils; no religious man goes on a pilgrimage without an image." "Write to all the world that Gregory, the Bishop of Rome, and Germanus, Bishop of Constantinople, are in error concerning

images; cast the blame on us, who have received from God the power to bind and to loose."

When Gregory addressed these letters to the Emperor Leo, the tumult in Constantinople, the first public act of rebellion against Iconoclasm, had taken place; but the aged Bishop Germanus was not yet degraded from his see. Germanus, with better temper and more skilful argument, had defended the images of the East.¹ Before his death he was deposed or compelled to retire from his see. He died most probably in peace, his extreme age may well account for his death. His personal ill-treatment by the emperor is the legend of a later age to exalt him into a martyr.²

But these two powerful prelates were not the only champions of their cause, whose writings made a strong impression on their age. It is singular that the most admired defender of images in the East, was a subject not of the emperor but of the Mohammedan Sultan.

John of Damascus was famed as the most learned man in the East, and it may show either the tolerance, the ignorance, or the contempt of the Mohammedans for these Christian controversies, that writings which became celebrated all over the East, should issue from one of their capital cities, Damascus.³

The ancestors of John, according to his biographer, when Damascus fell into the hands of the Arabs, had almost alone remained faithful to Christianity. They commanded the respect of the conquerors, and were employed in judicial offices of trust and dignity, to

¹ Compare his letters in Mansi, in the report of the Second Council at Nicea.

² Cedrenus, iv. 3.

³ Vit. Joann. Damasceni, prefixed to his works.

administer no doubt the Christian law to the Christian subjects of the sultan. His father, besides this honorable rank, had amassed great wealth; all this he devoted to the redemption of Christian slaves, on whom he bestowed their freedom. John was the reward of these pious actions. John was made a child of light immediately on his birth. This, as his biographer intimates, was an affair of some difficulty and required much courage. The father was anxious to keep his son aloof from the savage habits of war and piracy, to which the youth of Damascus were addicted, and to devote him to the pursuit of knowledge. The Saracen pirates of the sea-shore, neighboring to Damascus, swept the Mediterranean and brought in Christian captives from all quarters. A monk named Cosmas had the misfortune to fall into the hands of these freebooters. He was set apart for death, when his executioners, Christian slaves no doubt, fell at his feet, and entreated his intercession with the Redeemer. The Saracens inquired of Cosmas who he was. He replied that he had not the dignity of a priest, he was a simple monk, and burst into tears. The father of John was standing by, and asked, not without wonder, how one already dead to the world could weep so bitterly for the loss of life? The monk answered, that he did not weep for his life, but for the treasures of knowledge which would be buried with him in the grave. He then recounted all his attainments: he was a proficient in rhetoric, logic, in the moral Philosophy of Aristotle and of Plato, in natural philosophy, in arithmetic, geometry, and music, and in astronomy. From astronomy he had risen to the mysteries of theology, and was versed in all the divinity of the Greeks. He

could not but lament that he was to die without leaving an heir to his vast patrimony of science, to die an unprofitable servant who had wasted his talent. The father of John begged the life of the monk from the Saracen governor, gave him at once his freedom, placed him in his family, and confided to him the education of his son. The pupil in time exhausted all the acquirements of his teacher. The monk assured the father of John that his son surpassed himself in every branch of knowledge. Cosmas entreated to be dismissed, that he might henceforth dedicate himself to that higher philosophy, to which the youthful John had pointed his way. He retired to the desert, to the monastery of St. Saba, where he would have closed his days in peace, had he not been compelled to take on himself the Bishopric of Maiuma.

The attainments of the young John of Damascus commanded the veneration of the Saracens; he was compelled reluctantly to accept an office of still higher trust and dignity than that held by his father. As the Iconoclastic controversy became more violent, John of Damascus entered the field against the emperor. His three orations in favor of image-worship were disseminated with the utmost activity throughout Christendom.

The biographer of John brings a charge of base and treacherous revenge against the emperor. It is one of those legends of which the monkish East is so fertile, and cannot be traced, even in allusion, to any document earlier than the life of John. Leo having obtained, through his emissaries, one of John's circular epistles in his own handwriting, caused a letter to be forged, containing a proposal from John of Damascus

to betray his native city to the Christians. The emperor, with specious magnanimity, sent this letter to the sultan. The indignant Mohammedan ordered the guilty hand of John to be cut off, a mild punishment for such a treason! John entreated that the hand might be restored to him, knelt before the image of the Virgin, prayed, fell asleep, and woke with his hand as before. The miracle convinced the sultan of his innocence: he was reinstated in his place of honor. But John yearned for monastic retirement. He too withdrew to the monastery of St. Saba. There a severe abbot put his humility and his obedience to the sternest test. He was sent in the meanest and most beggarly attire to sell baskets in the market-place of Damascus, where he had been accustomed to appear in the dignity of office, and to vend this poor ware at exorbitant prices. As a penance for an act of kindness to a dying brother, he was set to clean the filth from all the cells of his brethren. An opportune vision rebuked the abbot for thus wasting the splendid talents of his inmate. John was allowed to devote himself to religious poetry, which was greatly admired, and to his theologic arguments in defence of images.

The fame of this wonder of his age rests chiefly on these writings, of which the extensive popularity attests their power over the minds of his readers. His courage in opposing the emperor, and in asserting the superior authority of the Church in all ecclesiastic affairs, considering that he was secure either in Damascus or in his monastery and a subject of the Saracenic kingdom, is by no means astonishing. The ^{Orations of John.} three famous orations repeat, with but slight variations, each after the other, the same arguments; some the

ordinary and better arguments for the practice, expressed with greater ingenuity and elegance than by the other writers of the day, occasionally with surpassing force and beauty, not without a liberal admixture of irrelevant and puerile matter; the same invectives against his opponents, as if by refusing to worship the images of Christ, his mother, and the saints, they refused to worship the venerable beings themselves. Pictures are great standing memorials of triumph over the devil; whoever destroys these memorials is a friend of the devil; to reprove material images is Manicheism, as betraying the hatred of matter, which is the first tenet of that odious heresy. It was a kind of Docetism, too, asserting the unreality of the body of the Saviour. At the close of each oration occurs almost the same citation of authorities, not omitting the memorable one of the Hermit, who was assailed by the demon of uncleanness. The demon offered to leave the holy man at rest if he would cease to worship an image of the Virgin. The hard-pressed hermit made the rash vow, but in his distress of mind communicated his secret to a famous abbot, his spiritual adviser. "Better," said the abbot, "that you should visit every brothel in the town, than abstain from the worship of the holy image."

The third oration concludes with a copious list of miracles wrought by certain images; an argument more favorable to an incredulous adversary, as showing the wretched superstition into which the worship of images had degenerated and as tending to fix the accusation of idolatry.

From the death of Leo the Isaurian the history of Iconoclasm belongs exclusively to the East, until the

Council of Frankfort interfered to regulate the worship of images in the Transalpine parts of Europe. Gregory III., the successor of Gregory II., whose pontificate filled up the remaining years of Leo's reign, inflexibly pursued the same policy as his predecessor. In the West, all power, almost all pretension to power, excepting over Sicily and Calabria, expired with Leo;¹ and this independence partly arose out of, and was immeasurably strengthened by, the faithful adherence of the West to image-worship; but the revolt or alienation of Italy from the Eastern empire will occupy a later chapter in Christian history.

Leo was succeeded by his son Constantine. The name by which this emperor was known is ^{Constantine} a perpetual testimony to the hatred of a large ^{Copronymus.} part of his subjects. Even in his infancy he was believed to have shown a natural aversion to holy things, and in his baptism to have defiled the font. Constantine Copronymus sounded to Greek ears as a constant taunt against his filthy and sacrilegious character.

The accession of Constantine, although he had already been acknowledged for twenty years, A.D. 741. with his father, as joint-emperor, met formidable resistance. The contest for the throne was a strife between the two religious parties which divided the empire. During the absence of Constantine, on an expedition against the Saracens, a sudden and dangerous insurrection placed his brother-in-law, Artavasdus, on the throne. Constantinople was gained to the party of the usurper by treachery. The city was induced to submit to Artavasdus only by a rumor, industriously prop-

¹ Leo died June, 741. Gregory III. in the same year.

agated and generally believed, of the death of Constantine. The emperor on one occasion had been in danger of surprise, and escaped by the swiftness of his horses. In the capital, as throughout Greece and the European part of the Empire, the triumph of Artavasdus was followed by the restoration of the images. Anastasius, the dastard Patriarch of Constantinople, as he had been the slave of Leo, now became the slave of the usurper, and worshipped images with the same zeal with which he had destroyed them. He had been the principal actor in the deception of the people by the forged letters which announced the death of Constantine. He plunged with more desperate recklessness into the party of Artavasdus. The monks, and all over whom they had influence, took up the cause of the usurper; but the mass of the people, from loyal respect for the memory of Leo, or from their confidence in the vigorous character of Constantine and attachment to the legitimate succession, from indifference or aversion to image-worship, still wavered, and submitted, rather than clamorously rejoiced in the coronation of Artavasdus. The Patriarch came forward, seized the crucifix from the altar, and swore by the Crucified that Constantine had assured him that it was but folly to worship Jesus as the Son of God; that he was a mere man, that the Virgin Mother had borne him, but as his own mother Mary had borne himself. The furious people at once proclaimed the deposition of Constantine, no doubt to the great triumph of the image worshippers. Besor, the renegade counsellor of Leo, to whom popular animosity attributed the chief part in the destruction of the images, fell in the first conflict.

But Constantine Copronymus with the religious

opinions inherited the courage, the military abilities, and the popularity with the army which had distinguished his father Leo. After some vicissitudes, a battle took place near Ancyra, fought with all the ferocity of civil and religious war. The historian expresses his horror that, among Christians, fathers should thus be engaged in the slaughter of their children, brothers of brothers.¹ Constantine followed up his victory by the siege of the capital. After an obstinate resistance, and after having suffered all the horrors of famine, Constantinople was taken. Artavasdus escaped for a short time, but was soon captured, and brought in chains before the conqueror. An unsuccessful usurper risks his life on the hazard of his enterprise. It is difficult to decide whether the practice of blinding, instead of putting to death in such cases, was a concession to Christian humanity. The other common alternative of shutting up the rival for the throne in a monastery and disqualifying him for empire by the tonsure, was not likely to occur to Constantine, nor would it have been safe, considering the general hatred of the monks to the emperor. Artavasdus was punished by the loss of his eyes; it was wanton cruelty afterwards to expose him, with his sons and principal adherents, during the races in the Hippodrome, to the contempt of the people.

Constantine was a soldier, doubtless of a fierce temper; the blinding and mutilation of many, the beheading a few of his enemies, the abandonment of the houses of the citizens to the plunder of his troops, was the natural course of Byzantine revolution; and these cruelties have no doubt lost nothing in the dark representations

¹ Theophanes *in loco*.

of the emperor's enemies, the only historians of the times. But they suffered as rebels in arms against their sovereign, not as image-worshippers. The fate of the Patriarch Anastasius was the most extraordinary. His eyes were put out, he was led upon an ass, with his face to the tail, through the city; and after all this mutilation and insult, for which, considering his tergiversation and impudent mendacity, it is difficult to feel much compassion; he was reinstated in the Patriarchal dignity. The clergy in the East had never been arrayed in the personal sanctity which, in ordinary occasions, they possessed in the West; but could Constantine have any other object in this act than the degradation of the whole order in public estimation?

For ten years Constantine refrained from any stronger measures against image-worship. The overthrow of Artavasdus no doubt threw that large party of time-servers, the worshippers of the will of the emperor, on his side. His known severity of character would impress even his more fanatical opponents with awe; many images would vanish again, as it were, of their own accord; even the monks might observe some prudence in their resistance. During these ten years Constantine had secured the frontiers of the Empire against the Saracens in the East, and the Bulgarians on the North. His throne had been strengthened by the birth of an heir. A dreadful pestilence, which, contrary to the usual course, travelled from west to east, spread from Calabria to Sicily, and throughout great part of the Empire. The popular mind, and even the government, must have been fully occupied by its ravages. The living, it is said, scarcely sufficed

to bury the dead ; the gardens within the city, and the vineyards without, were turned into a vast cemetery. The image-worshippers beheld in this visitation the vengeance of God against the Iconoclasts.¹

In the tenth year of Constantine rumors spread abroad of secret councils held for the total A.D. 746. destruction of images. Either the emperor must have prepared the public mind for this great change with consummate address, or reverence for images must have been less deeply rooted in the East than in the West, otherwise it can scarcely be supposed that so large a number of the clergy as appeared at the Third Council of Constantinople would have slavishly assented to the strong measures of the emperor.

Three hundred and forty-eight bishops formed this synod, which aspired to the dignity of the ^{Third Council} Seventh Ecumenic Council. Its adversa- ^{of Constanti-} nople. ries objected the absence of all the great Patriarchs, especially that of the Pope, who was present neither in person nor by his delegates. The Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were now cut off, as it were, from Christendom ; they were the subjects of an unbelieving sovereign, perhaps could not, if they had been so disposed, obey the summons of the emperor. The Bishop of Rome was, if not in actual revolt, in contumacious opposition to him, who still claimed to be his sovereign. The Patriarch of Constantinople had lost all weight. The Bishop of Ephesus, occasionally the Bishop of Perga, presided in the council.

Part of the proceedings of this assembly have been

¹ Διὰ τὴν ἀσεβῆς γεγενημένην εἰς τὰς λαοὺς εἰκονας ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων κατὰ νεξιν. — Theophanes sub ann. 738, p. 651.

preserved in the records of the rival council, the second held at Nicea. The passages are cited in the original words, followed by a confutation, sanctioned apparently by the Nicene bishops. The confutation is in the tone of men assured of the sympathy of their audience. It deals far less in grave argument than in contemptuous crimination. The ordinary name for the Iconoclasts is the arraigners of Christianity.¹ It assumes boldly that the worship of images was the ancient, immemorial, unquestionable usage of the Church, recognized and practised by all the fathers, and sanctioned by the six General Councils: that the refusal to worship images is a new and rebellious heresy. Every quotation from the fathers which makes against images is rejected as a palpable forgery, so proved, as it is asserted, by its discordance with the universal tradition and practice of the Church.

But the Council of Constantinople had manifestly set the example of this peremptory and unargumentative dictation: it may be reasonably doubted whether it attempted a dispassionate and satisfactory answer to the better reasonings of the image-worshippers. It proscribes the lawless and blasphemous art of painting.² The fathers of Constantinople assume, as boldly as the brethren of Nicea their sanctity, that all images are the invention of the devil; that they are idols in the same sense as those of the heathen.³ Nor do they hesitate to impute community of sentiment with the worst heretics to their opponents. They thought that

¹ *Χριστιανοκατήγοροι* is the term framed for the occasion.

² *Τὴν ἀθέμιτον τῶν ζωγράφων τέχνην βλασφημοῦσαν.*

³ Faith they asserted came by *hearing*, and hearing from the Word of God.
— P. 467.

they held the image-worshippers in an inextricable dilemma. If the painters represented only the humanity of Christ, they were Nestorians; if they attempted to mingle it with the Divinity, they were Eutychians, circumscribing the infinite, and confounding the two substances.¹ It was impiety to represent Christ without his divinity, Arianism to undeify him, despoil him of his godhead.

The Council of Nicea admits the perfect unanimity of the Council of Constantinople. These 348 bishops concurred in pronouncing their anathema against all who should represent the Incarnate Word by material form or colors, who should not restrict themselves to the pure spiritual conception of the Christ, as he is seated, superior in brightness to the sun, on the right hand of the Father; against all who should confound the two natures of Christ in one human image, or who should separate the manhood from the godhead in the Second Person of the indivisible Trinity; against all who should not implore the intercession of the Virgin in pure faith, as above all visible and invisible things;² against all who should set up the deaf and

¹ They made him *ἡθεωρὸν*. The fathers of Nicea were indignant at the barbarism of this word (p. 443). Their opponents might have retorted the use of the whimsical hybrid *φαλοσύραφος*. The most remarkable passage, as regards art, in this part of the controversy, is a description of a painting of the martyrdom of St. Eufemia, from the writings of Asterius, Bishop of Amasia. This picture, or rather series of pictures, must have been of many figures, grouped with skill, and in the judgment of the bishop with wonderful expression; the various passions were blended with great felicity. Asterius compares it with the famous picture of Medea killing her children, which his language, somewhat vague indeed, might lead to the supposition that he had actually seen. The taste of Asterius may be somewhat doubtful, since in one picture he describes the executioner drawing the teeth of the victim: the reality of the blood which flowed from her lips filled him with horror. — Labbe, p. 489.

² Ὑπερέβαν τε εἶναι πίστεως δράτης καὶ ἀσώτου κτίσεως.

lifeless images of the saints, and who do not rather paint the living likenesses of their virtues in their own hearts. All images, whether statues or paintings, were to be forcibly removed from the churches; every one who henceforth should set up an image, if a bishop or priest, was to be degraded; if a layman, excommunicated. The one only image of the Redeemer, which might be lawfully worshipped, was in the Holy Sacrament; at the same time, therefore, that all images were to be removed, all respect was to be paid to the consecrated vessels of the Church.

Was then all this host of bishops, the concordant cry of whose anathema rose to heaven (according to the fathers of Nicea, like that of the guilty cities of the Old Testament) only subservient to the Imperial Will?¹ Or had a wide-spread repugnance to images grown up in the East? Were the clergy and the monks in hostile antagonism on this vital question? It appears evident, that the old ineradicable aversion to matter, the constant dread of entangling the Deity in this debasing bondage, which has been traced throughout all the Oriental controversies, lay at the bottom of much of this tergiversation. "We all subscribe," they declared at the close of their sitting, "we are all of one mind, all of one orthodoxy, worshipping with the spirit the pure spiritual Godhead."² They concluded with their prayers for the pious emperor, who had given peace to the Church, who had extirpated idolatry, who had triumphed over those who taught that error, and settled forever the true doctrine.

¹ Ἡ κραυγὴ αὐτῶν τοῦ ἀναθέματος σοδομικῶς καὶ γομορρετικῶς πεπλήθυσται.

— Labbe, p. 526.

² Πάντες νοεῶς τῇ νοεῶι θεότητι λατρεύοντες προσκυνούμεν.

They proceed to curse by name the principal assertors of image-worship. "Anathema against the double-minded Germanus, the worshipper of wood! Anathema against George (of Cyprus), the falsifier of the traditions of the fathers! Anathema against Mansar (they called by this unchristian-sounding name the famous John of Damascus), the Saracen in heart, the traitor to the Empire; Mansar the teacher of impiety, the false interpreter of Holy Scripture!"

CHAPTER VIII.

COUNCIL OF NICEA. CLOSE OF ICONOCLASM.

THUS was image-worship proscribed by a council, in numbers at least of weight, in the severest and most comprehensive terms. The work of demolition was committed to the imperial officers; only with strict injunctions, not perhaps always obeyed, to respect the vessels, the priestly vestments, and other furniture of the churches, and the cross, the naked cross without any image.¹

But if the emperor had overawed, or bought, or compelled the seemingly willing assent of so large a body of the eastern clergy, the formidable monks were still in obstinate implacable opposition to his will. The wretched Anastasius had died just before the opening of the council; and the emperor himself, it is said, ascended the pulpit, and proclaimed Constantine Bishop of Sylæum, ecumenic Patriarch and Bishop of Constantinople. Constantine had been a monk, and this appointment might be intended to propitiate that powerful interest, but Constantine, unlike his brethren, was an ardent Iconoclast.

The emperor was a soldier, and fierce wars with the Saracens and Bulgarians were not likely to soften a

¹ The crucifix was of a later period. — See *Hist. of Christianity*, iii. p. 515.

temper naturally severe and remorseless. He had committed his imperial authority in a deadly strife for the unattainable object of compelling his subjects to be purer and more spiritual worshippers of God than they were disposed to be ; not suspecting that his own sanguinary persecutions were more unchristian than their superstitions. It was now fanaticism encountering fanaticism. Everywhere the monks preached resistance to the imperial decree, and enough has been seen of their turbulent and intractable conduct to make us conclude that their language at least would keep no bounds. Stephen, the great martyr of this controversy, had lived as a hermit in a cave near Sinope for thirty years. The monks in great numbers had taken refuge in the desert, where they might watch in secret over their tutelary images ; and not monks alone, but a vast multitude of the devout, crowded around the cell of Stephen to hear his denunciations against the breakers of images. The emperor ordered him to be carried away from his cell, the resort of so many dangerous pilgrims, and to be shut up in a cloister at Chrysopolis. The indignation of the monks was at its height. One named Andrew hastened from his dwelling in the desert, boldly confronted the emperor in the church of St. Mammias, and sternly addressed him — “ If thou art a Christian, why dost thou treat Christians with such indignity ? ” The emperor so far commanded his temper, as simply to order his commitment to prison, he afterwards summoned him again to his presence. The mildest term that the monk would use to address the emperor, was a second Valens, another Julian. Constantine’s anger got the mastery ; he commanded the monk to be scourged in the Hippo-

drome, and then to be strangled. The sisters of Andrew hardly saved his remains from being cast into the sea.¹

For several years either the occupation of the emperor by foreign wars, or the greater prudence of the monks, enforced by this terrible example, suspended at least their more violent collisions with the authorities.

The monk Stephen. Stephen still continued to preach in his cloister against the sin of the Iconoclasts.² The emperor sent the Patriarch to persuade him to subscribe the decrees of the Council of Constantinople. The Patriarch's eloquence was vain. The emperor either allowed or compelled the aged monk to retire to the wild rock of Proconnesus, where, to consummate his sanctity, he took his stand upon a pillar. His followers assembled in crowds about him, and built their cells around the pillar of the saint. But the zeal of Stephen would not be confined within that narrow sphere. He returned to the city, and in bold defiance of the imperial orders denounced the Iconoclasts. He was seized, cast into prison, and there treated with unusual harshness. But even there the zeal of his followers found access. Constantine exclaimed, in a paroxysm of careless anger, "Am I or this monk the emperor of the world?" The word of the emperor was enough for some of his obsequious courtiers; they rushed, broke open the prison, dragged out the old man along the streets, with every wanton cruelty, and cast his body at last into the common grave of the public malefactors.

The emperor took now a sterner and more desperate

¹ Theophanes *in loc.*

² Acta S. Stephani, in *Analectis Græcis*. p. 396.

resolution. He determined to root out monk-<sup>Persecution
of the monks.</sup>ery itself. An old grievance was revived. The emperor and the people were enraged, or pretended to be enraged, that the monks decoyed the best soldiers from the army, especially one George Syncretus, and persuaded them to turn recluses.¹ The emperor compelled the patriarch not only to mount the pulpit and swear by the holy cross that he would never worship images, but immediately to break his monastic vows, to join the imperial banquet, to wear a festal garland, to eat meat, and to listen to the profane music of the harpers.

Then came a general ordinance, that the test of signing the articles of Constantinople should be enforced on all the clergy, and all the more distinguished monks.² On their refusal the monks were driven from their cloisters, which were given up to profane and secular uses. Consecrated virgins were forced to marry; monks were compelled, each holding the hand of a woman, doubtless not of the purest character, to walk round the Hippodrome among the jeers and insults of the populace. Throughout the empire they were exposed to the lawless persecutions of the imperial officers. Their zeal or their obstinacy was chastised by scourgings, imprisonments, mutilations, and even death. The monasteries were plundered, and by no scrupulous or reverent hands; churches are said to have been despoiled of all their sacred treasures, the holy books

¹ This, according to the martyrologist of Stephen, was a trick of the Emperor, with whom George had a secret understanding, to bring odium on the monks.

² Τόμον συνοδικὸν αὐτὰ καλέσας ὁ ἀσεβέστατος, ἀπηγεῖ ἀρχιερεῖς τε πάντας, καὶ τῶν μοναζόντων τοὺς περιβοήτους ἐπ' ἀρετῇ, ταῦτα ἐποσημάνασθαι. — Compare Concil. Nic. ii. p. 510.

burned, feasts and revels profaned the most hallowed sanctuaries. Multitudes fled to the neighboring kingdoms of the less merciless Barbarians; many found refuge in the West, especially in Rome. The Prefect of Thrace was the most obsequious agent of his master's tyranny. Throughout that Theme the monks were forced to abandon their vows of solitude and celibacy under pain of being blinded and sent into exile. Monasteries, with all their estates and property, were confiscated. Relics as well as images, in some cases no doubt books,¹ and the whole property of the convents, was pillaged or burned by the ignorant soldiery. The personal cruelties against the monks will not bear description; the prefect is said not to have left one in the whole Theme who ventured to wear the monastic habit.

In Constantinople a real or suspected conspiracy against the emperor involved some of the noblest patricians, and some who filled the highest offices of state, in the same persecution. Eight or nine of the more distinguished were dragged, amid the shouts of the rabble, round the Hippodrome, and then put to death. The fate of two brothers, named Constantine, moved general commiseration. The prefect was scourged and deposed for not having suppressed these signs of public sympathy. Others were blinded, degraded of elly scourged, and sent into exile.² The patriarch himself was accused of having used disrespectful language toward the emperor. Already

Degradation of
the patriarch.
A.D. 769.

¹ Some books were burned as containing pictures. One is mentioned in a statement made to the Council of Nicea: *Ἀργυρῆς πτύχας ἔχει, καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ταῖς εἰκόσι πάντων τῶν ἀγίων κεκόσμηται*—Pictures illuminated on a silver ground!—*Conc. Nic.*, p. 373.

² Theophanes, compared with statement before the Nicene Council.

he had been required to acquit himself of imputing Nestorianism to his master; now his accusers swore on the cross that they had heard him hold conference with one of the conspirators. Constantine ordered the imperial seal to be affixed on the palace of the patriarch, and sent him into banishment.

But this miserable slave of the imperial will was not allowed to shroud himself in obscure retirement. He had consented to the consecration of Nicetas, an eunuch of Slavonian descent, in his place. For some new offence, real or supposed, the exiled patriarch was brought back to the capital, scourged so cruelly that he could not walk, and then carried in a ^{His death.} litter, and exposed in the great church before all the people assembled to hear the public recital of the charges made against him, and to behold his degradation. At each charge the secretary of his successor smote him on the face. He was then set up in the pulpit, and while Nicetas read the sentence of excommunication, another bishop stripped him of his metropolitan pall, and calling him by the opprobrious name Scotiopsis, face of darkness, led him backwards out of the church. The next day his head, beard, eyebrows, were shaved; in a short and sleeveless dress he was put upon an ass, and paraded through the circus (his own nephew, a hideous, deformed youth, leading the ass) while the populace jeered, shouted, spat upon him. He was then thrown down, trodden on, and in that state lay till the games were over. Some days after the emperor sent to demand a formal declaration of the orthodoxy of his own faith, and of the authority of the council. The poor wretch acknowledged both in the amplest manner; as a reward he was beheaded,

while still in a state of excommunication, and his remains treated with the utmost ignominy. The historian adds, as an aggravation of the emperor's ferocity, that the patriarch had baptized two of his children.¹

This odious scene, blackened it may be by the sectarian hatred of the later annalists, all of whom abhorred Iconoclasm, has been related at length, in order to contrast more fully the position of the Bishop of Rome. This was the second patriarch of Constantinople who had been thus barbarously treated, and seemingly without the sympathy of the people; and now, in violation of all canonical discipline, the imperial will had raised an eunuch to the patriarchate. What wonder that pontiffs like Gregory II. and Gregory III. should think themselves justified in throwing off the yoke of such a government, and look with hope to the sovereignty of the less barbarous Barbarians of the North — Barbarians who, at least, had more reverence for the dignity of the sacerdotal character!

If the Byzantine historians, all image-worshippers, have not greatly exaggerated the cruelties of their implacable enemy Constantine Copronymus, they have assuredly not done justice to his nobler qualities, his valor, incessant activity, military skill, and general administration of the sinking empire, which he maintained unviolated by any of its formidable enemies, and with imposing armies, during a reign of thirty-five years, not including the twenty preceding during which he ruled as the colleague of
Character and death of Constantine Copronymus.
 A.D. 775. his father Leo. Constantine died, during a campaign against the Bulgarians, of a fever which, in the charitable judgment of his adversaries, gave him a

¹ Theophanes, p. 681.

foretaste of the pains of hell. His dying lips ordered prayers and hymns to be offered to the Virgin, for whom he had always professed the most profound veneration, utterly inconsistent, his enemies supposed, with his hostility to her sacred images.

A female had been the principal mover in the great change of Christianity from a purely spiritual worship to that paganizing form of religion which grew up with such rapidity in the succeeding centuries; a female was the restorer of images in the East, which have since, with but slight interruption, maintained their sanctity. The first, Helena, the mother of ^{Helena and Irene.} Constantine the Great, was a blameless and devout woman, who used the legitimate influence of her station, munificence, and authority over her imperial son, to give that splendor, which to her piety appeared becoming, to the new religion; to communicate to the world all those excitements of symbols, relics, and sacred memorials which she found so powerful in kindling her own devotion. The second, the Empress Irene, wife to the son and heir of Constantine Copronymus, an ambitious, intriguing, haughty princess, never lost sight of political power in the height of her religious zeal, and was at length guilty of the most atrocious crime against God and womanhood.¹

Irene, during the reign of her husband Leo, surnamed the Chazar, did not openly betray her inclination to the image-worship which she had solemnly forsworn under her father-in-law Constantine. Leo was a man of feeble constitution and gentle mind, Leo IV.

¹ The Pope Hadrian anticipated a new Constantine and a new Helena in Irene and her son. — Hadrian, *Epist.* apud Labbe, p. 102.

controlled by the strongest influences of religion. He endeavored to allay the heat of the conflicting parties. His first acts gave some hopes to the image-worshippers that he was favorably disposed to the Mother of God and to the monks (these interests the monks represented as inseparable); he appointed some metropolitans from the abbots of monasteries.¹

This short reign of Leo IV. is remarkable for the A.D. 775-780. attempt of the emperor to reintroduce a more popular element into the public administration — a kind of representative assembly; — and the general voice, in gratitude to Leo, demanded the elevation of his infant son to the rank of Augustus. The prophetic heart of the parent foresaw the danger. He was conscious of his own feeble health; to leave an unprotected infant on the throne was (according to all late precedent in the Byzantine empire) to doom him to death. Leo assembled not the senate and nobles alone, the chief officers of the army and of the court, but likewise the people of Constantinople. He explained the cause of his hesitation, confessed his fears, and demanded and received a solemn oath upon the cross, that on his death they would acknowledge no other emperor but his son. The next day he proclaimed his son Augustus: the signatures of the whole people to their oath were received and deposited, amid loud acclamations that they would lay down their lives for the emperor, on the table of the Holy Communion.

A few months matured a conspiracy. Nicephorus, the emperor's brother, was designed for the throne.

¹ Ἐδόξεν εὐσεβείας εἶναι πρὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον, καὶ φίλος τῆς θεοτόκου καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν. — Theophan., p. 695.

But again the emperor, instead of putting forth the strong and revengeful arm of des-^{Conspiracy repressed.}potism, appealed to the people. In a full assembly he produced the proofs of the conspiracy, and left the cause to the popular judgment. The general voice declared the conspirators guilty of a capital crime, and renewed their vows of fidelity to the infant emperor. But the gentle Leo spared his brother; some few of the conspirators were put to death, others incapacitated for future mischief by the tonsure; — thus the greatest honor, that of the priesthood, had become a punishment for crime! The moderation of Leo induced him to appoint as Patriarch of Constantinople, Paul, a Cypriot by birth, as yet of no higher rank than a reader; a man willing to shrink and keep aloof from the controversy of the day. Leo was ill rewarded. The monkish party, watching no doubt his declining health, and knowing the secret sentiments of the empress, introduced some small images, in direct violation of the law, into the palace, and even into her private chamber. Some deeper real or suspected cause of apprehension must have existed in the mind of the emperor to make him depart from his wonted leniency. Many of the principal officers were seized and cast into prison, where one of them died, in the following reign held to be a martyr, the rest became distinguished monks. But from that time so strong was the hatred of the image-worshippers, that Leo was branded as a cruel persecutor; his death was attributed to an act of sacrilege. He was a great admirer of precious stones, and took away and wore a crown, the offering of the Emperor Heraclius to some church. The fatal circle burned into his head, which broke out

into carbuncles, of which he died. There
Death of Leo.
A.D. 780. was no need to invent this fable to account
 for the death of one so infirm as Leo ; still less to suggest
 suspicions, on the other side, that his death was
 caused by poison.

Irene at once seized the government in the name of
Irene
Empress. her son Constantine, who was but ten years
 old. An attempt was made on the part of
 Nicephorus, the rebel brother of Leo, to supplant the
 empress in the regency and in the tutelage of her son.
 It was suppressed ; the chiefs of the faction punished
 by the scourge and exile, the brothers of the late emperor
 compelled to undergo ordination and to administer the
 Eucharist as a public sign of their incapacitation for
 secular business.

The crafty Irene dissembled for a time her design
 for the restoration of images. Her ambitious mind (it
 is not uncommon in her sex) was deeply tinged by
 superstition ; no doubt she thought that she secured
 the divine blessing, or rather that of the Virgin and
 the saints, upon her schemes of power, by the honor
 which she was preparing for their images. Fanaticism
 and policy took counsel together within her heart.
 But the clergy of Constantinople were too absolutely
 committed, as yet, on the other side ; the army revered
 the memory, perhaps chiefly on that account the opinions,
 of Constantine Copronymus. The Patriarch, an
 aged and peaceful man, who had sincerely wished to
 escape the perilous charge of the episcopate, was
 neither disposed nor fitted to lend himself as an active
 instrument in such an enterprise. He was not absolutely
 indisposed to the image-worshippers ; and when the
 empress allowed the laws to fall into disuse, and

connived at the quiet restoration of some images, and encouraged the monks with signs of favor, it was bruited abroad that she acted in no discordance with the bishop's secret opinion. The public mind was duly prepared by prodigies in the remoter parts of the Empire for the coming revolution.

On a sudden the Patriarch Paul disappeared. It was proclaimed that he had renounced his A.D. 788. dignity, retreated into a cloister, and taken Tarasius the habit of a monk. Patriarch. It cannot be known whether he had any secret understanding with the empress, but he who had been so solemnly and publicly pledged to the former emperor against the images would hardly, an old and unambitious man, take a strong part in their restoration. The empress visited his cloister and inquired the cause of his sudden retirement. From the first, said the lowly patriarch, his mind had been ill at ease; that he had accepted a see rejected from the communion of great part of Christendom; should he die in this state of excommunication he would inevitably go to hell.¹ The empress sent the chief persons of the court to hear this confession from the lips of the repentant patriarch. Paul deplored with bitter sorrow that he had concurred in the decrees against images; his mind was now awakened to truth; and he suggested, no doubt the suggestions of others, that nothing could heal the wounds of the afflicted Church but a general council to decide on image-worship. Having made this humiliating declaration he expired in peace.

¹ The Empress states this in the imperial letter read at the opening of the Council of Nicea: — Τὸ ἀνάθεμα ἐξω ἀπὸ πασῆς τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὃ ἀπάγει εἰς τὸ σκοτὸς τὸ ἐξώτερον, τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑγγελοῖς αὐτοῦ. — P. 52.

On the succession to the see of Constantinople might
a.d. 784 depend the worship or the rejection of images throughout the East. Among all the clergy Irene could find no one of influence, ability, and resolution equal to cope with the approaching crisis. The appointment of a monk would probably have been the signal for the rallying of the adverse party. Among her privy counsellors¹ was a man who in the world bore the character of profound religion, and of whose ability and ambition Irene had formed a high, and, as events proved, a just estimate. The empress assembled the people; she declared her respect for the memory of Paul; she asserted that she would not have allowed him to abandon his higher duties for monastic seclusion, but God had now withdrawn him from the scene, and it was necessary to appoint a successor of known capacity and holiness. The affair had been well organized; a general acclamation demanded Tarasius; to the demand the empress assented with undisguised satisfaction. Tarasius gave a good omen of his future conduct by the address with which he seemed to decline the arduous honor, on account of the controversies which distracted the Church. In a well-acted scene the empress employed persuasion, influence, authority, to win the reluctant patriarch. Tarasius played admirably the part of humble refusal, of concession of capitulation on his own terms. The condition of his acceptance was the summoning a council to decide the great question of image-worship, which he declared to have been decreed by the sole authority of the emperor Leo, and to that authority the Council of Constantinople had only yielded its assent. Most of

¹ Ἀσκητικὸς — the Grecized Latinism.

the people gave, at least seemingly, their cordial concurrence in the election, though even the admirers of Tarasius admit that there was much secret murmuring, and some open clamor among the lower populace.

Tarasius immediately took measures to consolidate the whole strength of the party. Messengers were sent to Rome to obtain the presence of the Pope (Hadrian) in person or by his legates. Hadrian made some show of remonstrance against the sudden promotion of a layman to so important a see, but acquiesced in it, as demanded by the emergencies of the times. The patriarchs of Alexandria and of Antioch and of Jerusalem were summoned, and certain ecclesiastics appeared as representatives of those prelates.

The Council met in Constantinople; but with the army and a large part of the populace of Constantinople image-worship had lost its power. The A.D. 786. soldiery, attached to the memory and tenets of Constantine Copronymus, broke into the assembly, and dispersed the affrighted monks and bishops. The empress in vain exerted herself to maintain order. No one was hurt; but it was manifest that no council of image-worshippers was safe in the capital.

Nicea was chosen for the session of the council, no doubt on account of the reverence which attached to that city, hallowed by the sittings Second council of Nicea. of the first great council of Christendom. Decrees issued from Nicea would possess peculiar force and authority; this smaller city, too, could be occupied by troops, on whom the empress could depend, and in the mean time Irene managed to disband the more unruly soldiery. Thus, while the Bulgarians menaced one frontier and the Saracens another, she sacrificed the

safety of the Empire, by the dissolution of her best army, to the success of her religious designs.

The council met at Nicea. The number of ecclesiastics is variously stated from 380 to 387. Among these were at least 130 monks or abbots, besides many bishops, who had been expelled as monks from their sees, and were now restored. Tarasius took the lead as virtual, if not acknowledged, president of the assembly. The first act of the Council of Nicea showed the degree of dispassionate fairness with which the inquiry was about to be conducted. After the imperial letters of convocation had been read, three bishops appeared, Basilus of Ancyra, Theodosius of Myra in Lycia, Theodosius of Amorrium; they humbly entreated permission to recant their errors, to be reconciled to the Catholic Church. They recited a creed framed with great care, and no doubt of pre-arranged orthodoxy, in which they repudiated the so-called Council of Constantinople, as a synod of fools and madmen, who had dared to violate the established discipline of the Church, and impiously reviled the holy images. They showered their anathemas on all the acts, on all the words, on all the persons engaged in that unhallowed assembly.¹

The council received this humble confession of their sin and misery with undisguised joy; and Tarasius pronounced the solemn absolution. Certain other prelates were then admitted, among them the Bishops of Nicea and Rhodes. They were received after more strict examination, and citation of ecclesiastical prece-

¹ They denounced the prelates who presided in the assembly; among the rest Basil of Pisidia, on whom they inflicted an ecclesiastical nickname. He was fitly named (*κακεμάρως*) *τρικάνκαβος*, or *τρίκακος*.

dents, from which it appeared that bishops who recanted Arianism and Nestorianism, having been readmitted into the Church, even Iconoclasts should not be rejected from her bosom on the same terms.¹ The severer monks made vigorous resistance to these acts of lenity, but were overruled at length. It was debated to what class of heretics the Iconoclasts were to be ascribed. The patriarch proposed only to confound them with the most odious of all the Manicheans and the Montanists.² The inexorable leader of the monkish party asserted that it was worse than the worst heresy, being absolute renegation of Christ.³ This was among the preliminary acts of a council, assembled to deliberate, examine, discuss, and then decide this profound theological question.

The whole proceedings of the council, though conducted with orderly gravity, are marked with the same predeterminate character, the same haughty and condemnatory tone towards the adversaries of image-worship. The fathers of Nicea impaired a doubtful cause by the monstrous fables which they adduced, the preposterous arguments which they used, their unmeasured invectives against their antagonists. The Pope Hadrian, in his public letter, related a wild and recent legend of a vision of Constantine the Great,

¹ It is worthy of remark that they accuse the Council of Constantinople of asserting the sole authority of Scripture, the insufficiency of Tradition without it: 'Ὡς εἰ μὴ ἐκ τῆς παλαιῆς καὶ καινῆς θιασθήκης ὠφαλῶς διδασχθῶμεν, οὐ ἐπόμεθα ταῖς διδασκαλίαις τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων. They brand this doctrine as that of Arius, Nestorius, and other heretics.

² The usual difficulty arose as to ordinations conferred or received by such heterodox bishops.

³ 'Ἡ ἀρεσὶς αὐτῇ χεῖρον πάντων τῶν ἀρέσων κακόν οὐαὶ ταῖς εἰκονομάχοις, καὶ (κακὴν κακίστην) ὡς τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνατρέπονται. — P. 78.

in which St. Paul and St. Peter appeared to him, and whom he knew to be the apostles by their resemblance to pictures of them, exhibited to him by Pope Silvester.¹ It is the standing argument against the Iconoclasts: "the Jews and Samaritans reject images, therefore, all who reject them are as Jews and Samaritans."² The ordinary appellations of the Iconoclast comprehend every black shade of heresy, impiety, atheism.

The rapidity with which the council executed its work was facilitated by the unanimity of its decisions.³ The whole assembly of bishops and monks subscribed the creed, in which, after assenting to the decrees of the first six councils, and to the anathemas against the heretics denounced therein, they passed, acting, as they declared, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the following canon.

"With the venerable and life-giving cross shall be set up the venerable and holy images, whether in colors, in mosaic work, or any other material, within the consecrated churches of God, on the sacred vessels and vestments, on the walls and on tablets, on houses and in highways. The images, that is to say, of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ; of the immaculate mother of God; of the honored angels; of all saints and holy men. These images shall be treated as holy memorials, worshipped, kissed, only without that peculiar adoration⁴ which is reserved for the Invisible, Incomprehensible God." All who

Decree on
image-wor-
ship.

¹ Labbe, Concil., p. 111.

² Ib., p. 358.

³ There were eight sittings between the 24th Sept. and 23d Oct. — Walch, p. 560.

⁴ We have no word to distinguish between *προσκύνησις* and *λάτρεια*.

shall violate this, as is asserted, immemorial tradition of the Church, and endeavor, forcibly or by craft to remove any image, if ecclesiastics, are to be deposed and excommunicated, if monks or laymen, excommunicated.

The council was not content with this formal and solemn subscription. With one voice they broke out into a long acclamation, "We all believe, we all assent, we all subscribe. This is the faith of the apostles, this is the faith of the Church, this is the faith of the orthodox, this is the faith of all the world. We, who adore the Trinity, worship images. Whoever does not the like, anathema upon him! Anathema on all who call images idols! Anathema on all who communicate with them who do not worship images! Anathema upon Theodorus, falsely called Bishop of Ephesus; against Sisinnius of Perga, against Basilus with the ill-omened name! Anathema against the new Arius Nestorius and Dioscorus, Anastasius; against Constantine and Nicetas! (the Iconoclast Patriarchs of Constantinople). Everlasting glory to the orthodox Germanus, to John of Damascus! To Gregory of Rome everlasting glory! Everlasting glory to the preachers of truth!"

Our history pauses to inquire what incidental notices of the objects and the state of Christian art transpire during this controversy, more especially in the proceedings of the Council of Nicea. There seem to have been four kinds of images against which the hostility of their adversaries was directed, and which were defended by the resolute attachment of their worshippers. I. Images, properly so called, which were thrown from their pedestals, and broken in pieces. II. Mosaic paintings, which were picked out. III.

Paintings on waxen tablets on the walls, which were smoked and effaced. IV. Paintings on wood, which were burned. There were likewise carvings on the sacred vessels; and books were destroyed on account of the pictures with which they were embellished.¹

In all the images and paintings there was, as formerly observed, a reverential repugnance to attempt any representation of God the Father. The impiety of this was universally admitted; the image-worshippers protest against it in apparent sincerity, and not as exculpating themselves from any such charge by their adversaries.

The first and most sacred object of art was the Saviour, and next to the Saviour the "Mother of God." The propriety of substituting the actual human form of the Saviour for the symbolic Lamb,² or the Good Shepherd, was now publicly and authoritatively asserted. Among the images of various form and materials some are mentioned of silver and of gold. A certain Philastrius objected to the Holy Ghost being figured in the form of a dove.³

A question of the form under which angels and archangels should be represented could not but arise. The fitness of the human form was unhesitatingly asserted; and angels were declared to have a certain corporeity, more thin and impalpable than the grosser body of man, but still not absolute spirit. Severus objected to angels in purple robes: they should be white, no doubt as representing light.⁴

¹ Passim, especially address to the Emperor at the close of the Council — P. 580.

² P. 123. See curious extract from the Journeying of the Twelve Apostles; a Docetic book, and so ruled to be by the Council.

³ P. 370.

⁴ P. 373.

The whole of the New Testament is said to have been represented; meaning, no doubt, all the main facts of the history.¹ Among the subjects in the Old Testament, as early as Gregory of Nyssa, a picture is described of the sacrifice of Isaac, in which there must have been an attempt at least at strong expression.² Chrysostom is cited for a picture on the sublime but difficult subject of the angel destroying the army of Sennacherib. Images of Moses, of Elijah, of Isaiah, and of Zechariah, are named. Pope Hadrian asserts (but there has been already ground to question his assertion), that Constantine built a church in Rome, in which was painted on one side Adam expelled from paradise, on the other, the penitent thief ascending into it. In Alexandria there was an early painting of the Saviour between the Virgin and John the Baptist.

There is nothing, or hardly anything, to induce the supposition that any one image or painting was distinguished as a work of art; as impressing the minds of its worshippers with admiration of its peculiar grace, majesty, or resemblance to actual life. Art, as art, entered not into the controversy. It was the religious feeling which gave its power to the image or painting, not the happy design, or noble execution, which awakened or deepened the religious feeling. The only exception to this is the description of the picture representing the martyrdom of St. Euphemia, by Asterius Bishop of Amasia. This was painted on linen.³

Among the acclamations and the anathemas which closed the Second Council of Nicea, echoed loud salu-

¹ P. 358.² P. 208.³ 'Εν σίνδονι.

tations and prayers for the peace and blessedness of the new Constantine and the new Helena. A few years passed, and that Constantine was blinded, if not put to death, by his unnatural mother, whom religious faction had raised into a model of Christian virtue and devotion.

Irene and Constantine her son. A long struggle took place, when Constantine reached the age of manhood, between the mother, eager to retain her power, and the son, to assume his rightful authority. All the common arts of intrigue and party manœuvre were exhausted before they came to open hostilities. The principal courtiers, and part of the army, ranged themselves in opposite factions. Irene, anticipating, it was said, her adversaries, struck the first blow, seized, scourged, shaved into ecclesiastics, and imprisoned the chief of her son's adherents. A considerable part of the troops swore solemnly that the son should not reign during the lifetime of Irene; the son was given over to her absolute power, and chastised like a refractory school-boy. The next year a division of the army revolted, and proclaimed Constantine sole Emperor. The usual fate of the scourge and the tonsure befell the leaders of Irene's faction. The Empress was confined to her palace. But her inexhaustible fertility in intrigue soon restored her power. Constantine, having suffered a shameful defeat by the Bulgarians, through her advice wreaked his vengeance on his uncles, whom he accused of aspiring to the throne; they were blinded, or mutilated by the loss of their tongues. Five years afterwards, on the very same day of the month (a less superstitious age might have beheld in this coincidence the retributive hand of God), Constantine was blinded by his mother.

These five years were years of base intrigue, treachery, outward courtesy and even the familiar intercourse of close kindred, of inward hatred, jealousy, and attempts to mine and countermine each the interest of the other. It was attributed to his mother's advice, with the design of heightening his unpopularity, that Constantine divorced himself from his wife Maria, forced her to retire into a convent, and married a woman of her bedchamber, named Theodota. The rigid monks were furious at the weakness of the Patriarch Tarasius, who had sanctioned the reception of the divorced empress in a monastery. Plato, the most intolerant, and therefore most distinguished of them, withdrew from communion with the Patriarch. The indignant Emperor imprisoned some, and banished others of the more refractory monks to Thessalonica. This at once threw the whole powerful monastic faction into the interests of the Empress, who openly espoused their cause. The Armenian guards, who had now assumed something like the power, insolence, and versatility of the old Prætorian troops, were alienated by the severity of Constantine. Irene wound her toils with consummate skill around her ill-fated victim. There was treachery in his army, in his court, in his palace. He was bitterly afflicted by the loss of his eldest son. At length the plot was ripe; he knew it, and attempted in vain to make his escape to the East. Either fearing, or pretending to fear, lest he should regain his liberty, Irene sent to her secret emissaries around his person, and threatened to betray their treachery if they did not deliver up their master to her hands. Constantine was seized on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, conducted

Murder of
Constantine

to the porphyry chamber, in which Irene had borne him — her first-born son. In that very chamber the crime was perpetrated. His eyes were put out, so A.D. 797. cruelly and so incurably, as to threaten his death.¹ In the East, the conduct of the unnatural mother was seen with unmitigated horror. An eclipse of the sun, accompanied with such darkness, that ships wandered from their courses, was held to be a sign of the sympathy of the heavenly orbs with the suffering Emperor — an expression of divine disapprobation. Among the few instances in the annals of mankind, in which ambition and the love of sway have quenched the maternal feeling — that strongest and purest impulse of human nature — is the crime committed against her son by the Empress Irene. But it is even more awful and humiliating that (so inextinguishable are religious passions!) a churchman of profound learning, of unimpeachable character, should, many centuries after, be so bewildered by zeal for the *orthodox* Empress, as to palliate, extenuate, as far as possible apologize for this appalling deed, in which the sounder moral sense of the old Grecian tragedy would have imagined a divine Nemesis for the accumulated guilt of generations of impious ancestors.²

¹ Δεινῶς καὶ ἀνίστεως πρὸς τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν. — Theophan., p. 732.

² The passage must be quoted: — "Scelus planè execrandum, nisi quod multi excusant, justitiæ eam zelus ad id faciendum excitasset, quo nomine eadem post hæc meruit commendari. At non fuit matris jussio, ut ista peteretur, sed ut teneretur," (this is directly contrary to Theophanes and the best authorities,) "nec amplius imperaret, tanquam si e manu furiosi gladium auferret. Docuit Christus verbis suis summæ pietatis genus esse in hoc adversus filium esse crudelem, ipso dicente." (The Cardinal here cites our Lord's words, Matt. x. 37, "He that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me.") "Quum jam olim, Dei præcepto, justæ sint armatæ manus parentum in filios, abeuntes post Deos alienos, illisque necatis, qui hoc fecerint, Moysis ore laudati, ita dicantis, Exod. xxxii. 29.

So completely indeed might the Iconoclastic faction appear to be crushed, that neither during the strife between the mother and the son, though it might have some latent influence, did it give any manifest or threatening sign of its existence; and Irene reigned in peace for five years, and was overthrown by A.D. 797-802. a revolution, in which religion had no apparent concern.

The controversy slept during the reign of Nicephorus, and that of Michael, surnamed Rhangabes. The monks throughout this period Nicephorus emperor. A.D. 802-811. seem to form an independent power (a power Michael. A.D. 811-813. no doubt arising out of, and maintained by, their championship of image-worship), and to dictate to the Emperor, and even to the Church. On the other hand, among the soldiery are heard some deep but suppressed murmurs of attachment to the memory of Constantine Copronymus.

Leo the Armenian ascended the throne, for which Michael Rhangabes felt and acknowledged his incapacity. The weak Michael had courted Leo the Armenian. the friendship of the monks; on his invitation, or with his acquiescence, they settled in increasing swarms within the city. The Armenian was another of those rude soldiers, born in a less civilized part of Christendom, in which image-worship had not taken profound root. But he did not betray his repugnance to the

Plurimum interest quo quis aliquid animo agat. Si enim regnandi cupidine Irene in filium molita esset insidias, detestabilior Agrippina matre Neronis fuisset . . . Contra vero quod ista, religionis causâ, amore justitiæ in filium perpetrata credantur, ab Orientalibus nonnullis, qui facto aderant, viris sanctissimis! eadem posthæc præconio meruit celebrari." As if any motive could be assigned but the most unscrupulous ambition; though doubtless she was throughout supported by the image-worshippers. — Baron. Ann. sub ann. DCCXCVI.

popular religious feeling until, like his predecessor the Isaurian Leo, he had secured the north-western and eastern frontiers of the empire. Against the Bulgarians, who were actually besieging Constantinople, he began the war by a base act of treachery, an attempt to assassinate Cromnus, their victorious king, during a peaceful interview; he terminated it by a splendid victory, which for a time crushed the power of these Barbarians. He was equally successful against the Saracens. The firm and prosperous administration of Leo extorted from the exiled Patriarch of Constantinople, Nicephorus, an ample if unwilling acknowledgment. "Impious as he was, he was a wise guardian of the public interests. Firm in civil as in military affairs, superior to wealth, he chose his ministers for their worth, not their riches, and aimed at least at the rigid execution of justice."¹

But all these virtues were obscured, in the sight of the image-worshippers, by his attempt to suppress that worship. Even on his accession there was some mistrust of his opinions; the name Chameleon can scarcely apply to anything but his suspected religious versatility. The Patriarch at that time tendered him a profession of faith, which he adroitly put by till he should have despatched the more pressing duties of his station. He seemed, however, as he passed the brazen gate, to do homage to an image of the Saviour placed above it.

The enemies of Leo attribute his change to the artifices of a monk, by some strange contradiction a hater of images. The superstitious Leo was addicted to the consultation of self-asserted diviners; he had been designated by this monk, endowed as was supposed

¹ Theophan. Contin., p. 30.

with the prophetic gift, for the throne. As the witch of Endor Saul, so the monk had recognized the future monarch, though shrouded in disguise. At the same time, he was threatened with immediate death if he did not follow the course of Leo the Isaurian; if he did, the empire was to remain in his family for generations.

The emperor summoned the Patriarch Nicephorus to his presence before the senate, and proposed ^{Against} the insidious question, whether there were ^{image-wor-}ship. ^{ship.} not those who denied the lawfulness of worship to images? The Patriarch was not scrupulous in his reply.

He appealed to the holy Veronica, the napkin with the impression of the Saviour's face, the first sacred image not made with hands. He declared that there were images made by the apostles themselves, of the Saviour and the Mother of God; that there was actually in Rome a picture of the transfiguration, painted by the order of St. Peter; he did not forget the statue at Pameas, in Palestine.¹ Another bishop boldly admonished the emperor to attend to his proper business, the army, and not to venture to meddle with the affairs of the Church, in which he had no concern. The indignant emperor banished the two intractable prelates. Euthymus, of Sardis, who had used still more opprobrious language, was corporally punished with blows and stripes. As Irene had promoted Tarasius, so Leo raised an officer of his household, Theodotus Cassiteras, to the patriarchal throne. Image-worship was again proscribed by an imperial edict. The worshippers are said to have been ruthlessly persecuted; and Leo, according to the phraseology of the day, is accused of showing all the bloodthirstiness, without the gener

¹ Symeon Magister in Theoph. Contin., p. 607.

osity, of the lion. Yet no violent popular tumult took place; nor does the conspiracy which afterwards cut short the days of Leo the Armenian appear to have been connected with the strife of religious factions. He might have escaped his fate but for his scrupulous reverence for the institutions of the Church. Michael the Stammerer had risen, like Leo, to military distinction. He was guilty, or at least suspected, of traitorous designs against the emperor, thrown into prison, and condemned to immediate death. But the next day (the day appointed for his execution) was the feast of the nativity of Christ. The wife of Leo urged him not to profane that sacred season, that season of peace and good-will, by a public execution. Leo, with a sad prophetic spirit, answered that she and her children would bitterly rue the delay; but he could not withstand her scruples and his own. Yet his mind misgave him: at midnight the emperor stole into the dungeon, to assure himself that all was safe. The prisoner was sleeping quietly; but a slave who had hid himself under the bed, recognized the purple sandals of the emperor. Michael instantly sent word to the other conspirators, that unless they struck the blow he would denounce them as his accomplices. The chamberlain of Leo was Michael's kinsman; and on the dawn of the holy day, which Leo had feared to violate, the conspirators mingled with the clergy, who assembled as usual, at the third watch, to hail the birth of Christ. The emperor was famed for the finest voice in the city: he had joined in the beautiful hymn of peace, when the conspirators rushed to the attack. At first, in the fog of the morning, they mistook the leader of the clergy for the emperor, but fortunately he took off his cap and

showed his tonsure. Leo, in the mean time, ^{Murder of} had taken refuge at the altar, seized the ^{Leo.} great cross, and with this unseemly weapon, grasped in his despair, kept his enemies at bay, till at length a gigantic soldier lifted his sword to strike.* Leo reminded him of his oath of allegiance: "'Tis no time to speak of oaths," replied the soldier, "but of death;" and swearing by the divine grace,¹ smote off the arm of his sovereign, which fell with the heavy cross; another struck off his head. Michael was crowned with the fetters of his captivity still on his legs.

Whatever hopes the clergy, at least the image-worshippers, or the monks, might have conceived ^{Michael the} at the murder of Leo, which they scrupled ^{Stammerer.} ^{A.D. 821.} not to allege as a sign of the divine disfavor towards the Iconoclasts, were disappointed on the accession of Michael the Stammerer. The new emperor was a soldier more rude than the last; he could scarcely read. His birth was ascribed to a Phrygian village, chiefly inhabited by Jews; and he was said to have been educated in a strange creed, which was neither Judaism nor Christianity. He affected a coarse humor; he did not spare the archbishop, who returned without authority, but without rebuke, from his exile, and forced an interview with the emperor. Michael received and dismissed him with civil scorn. Rumors were circulated, that even on more sacred subjects he did not repress his impious sarcasms. His whole conduct seemed tinged with a kind of Sadducizing Judaism. He favored the Jews in the exaction of tribute (perhaps he was

¹ Ἐτι τε κατὰ τῆς θείας ὁμώσεως χύπετος. This, as a fact, or an embellishment of the historian, is equally characteristic. — Theoph. Contin., p 89.

guilty of the sin of treating them with justice), he fasted on the Jewish Sabbath, he doubted the resurrection of the dead, and the personality of the devil, as unauthorized by the religion of Moses.¹ Image-worship he treated with contemptuous impartiality. He declared that he knew nothing of these ecclesiastical quarrels; that he would maintain the laws and enforce an equal toleration. To the petitions of the patriarch for the formal restoration to his see, he offered his consent if the patriarch would bury the whole question, alike the decrees of Constantinople and Nicea, in oblivion; and in a great public assembly (assembled for the purpose), he proclaimed the worship of images a matter altogether indifferent. Yet Michael is charged with departing from his own lofty rule of toleration. The calamities of his reign, the danger of the capital and the whole empire from the invasion of the apostate Thomas, the loss of Crete and of other islands to the Saracens, were ascribed to the just vengeance of God for the persecutions of his reign.

But the worst crime of which Michael was guilty, in the sight of the image-worshippers, was the parentage and education of him whom the monkish writers call the new Belshazzar, Theophilus. Michael, in his aversion to the monastic faction, intrusted the education of his son to a man of high character, John the Grammarian, whom Theophilus in after life, having employed
A.D. 829. as his chief counsellor in civil affairs, as ambassador in the most difficult negotiations, advanced at length to the see of Constantinople. Theophilus was an Oriental, his enemies no doubt said, a Mohammedan Sultan on the throne of the Roman Empire. Even his

¹ Theophan. Contin., p. 49.

marriage, though to one wife, had something of the supercilious condescension of the lord of a harem. The most beautiful maidens of the empire were assembled, in order that Theophilus might behold and choose his bride. Of these, Eucasia was the loveliest. Theophilus paused, and as he gazed on her beauty, in a strange moralizing fit he said, with an obvious allusion to the fall, "Of how much evil hath woman been the cause?" The too ready or too devout Eucasia replied, with as evident reference to the Mother of God, "And of how much good?" Startled by her quickness and her theology, Theophilus passed on to the more gentle and modest Theodora. Eucasia retired to shroud her disappointment in a convent. The justice of Theophilus, somewhat ostentatiously displayed, was of that severe, capricious, but equitable character, which prevails where the law being part of the religion, the sovereign the hereditary head of the religion, his word is law. He was accessible to the complaints of his meanest subjects; as he passed on certain days to the church in the Blachernae, any one might personally present a petition, or demand redress. As he rode abroad, he would familiarly inquire the price of the cheapest commodities, and express his strong displeasure at what he thought exorbitant charges. One instance may show, as no doubt it did show to his subjects, the impartiality and capricious rigor of his judgments.¹ Petronas, the brother of the empress, had darkened by a lofty building the dwelling of a poor widow. Once she appealed

¹ One edict, attributed to Theophilus, may remind us of the Emperor Paul of Russia. Himself being inclined to baldness, he ordained that all his subjects should cut their hair short: to let it flow over the shoulders incurred a heavy penalty.

to the emperor, but Petronas, secure as he supposed in his interest, disregarded the imperial command to redress the grievance. On her second complaint, this man, who had filled offices of dignity, was ignominiously, publicly, and cruelly scourged in the marketplace. The haughty, rather Roman, contempt of Theophilus for commerce, appears in his commanding a vessel full of precious Syrian merchandise to be burned, though it belonged to the Empress Theodora, reproaching her with degrading the imperial dignity to the paltry gains of commerce.¹ The revenues, which he had in some degree restored by economy or by better administration and increased perhaps by the despised commerce to Constantinople, he expended with Eastern magnificence. He sent a stately embassy to the caliph at Bagdad. John the Grammarian represented his sovereign, and was furnished with instructions and with presents intended to dazzle the Barbarian. Of two vessels of enormous cost, which he was to exhibit at a great feast, one was intentionally lost, that the ambassador might astonish the Saracen with his utter indifference, and produce with greater effect the second and far more splendid vase of silver, full of gold coins. A scene of gorgeous emulation took place. The caliph poured out his gold, which John affected to treat as so much dust; the caliph brought forth a hundred Christian captives, splendidly attired, and offered them to the ambassadors, who refused them till they could repay an equal

¹ Gibbon (as Schlosser has observed) has exaggerated the cruel punishments of Theophilus. With Schlosser, I find no authority for, "The principal ministers, for some venial offences, for some defect of equity or vigilance, a præfect, a quæstor, a captain of the guard, were banished or mutilated, or scalded with burning pitch, or burned in the Hippodrome."

number of Saracen captives. Yet all this rivalry with the Hagarene, as he is contemptuously called by contemporary history, though it soon gave place to implacable hostility and uninterrupted war, would confirm with the image-worshippers the close alliance between Iconoclasm and Mohammedanism. Even in the other branch of expenditure in which Theophilus displayed his magnificence, the sumptuous buildings with which he adorned Constantinople (a palace built on the model of a Saracenic one, belonging to the caliph, in the same style, and same variety of structure and material), would display a sympathy in tastes, offensive to devout feeling.¹ Though among his splendid edifices churches were not wanting, one especially, dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel, called Triclinatus, from its triple apse.

A character like that of Theophilus, stern and arbitrary even in his virtues, determined in his resolutions, and void of compassion against those who offended against his justice, that is his will, was not likely, when he declared himself an Iconoclast, to conduct a religious persecution without extreme rigor. He was a man of far higher education than the former image-breaking emperors, and saw no doubt more clearly the real grounds of the controversy. Theophilus wrote poetry, if the miserable iambics with which

¹ John the Grammarian, on his return from Syria, persuaded the Emperor τὰ τοῦ Βρύου ἀνάκτορα πρὸς τὴν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κατασκευασθῆναι ὁμοίωσιν. ἐν τε σχήμασι καὶ ποικίλῃ μηδὲν ἐκείνων τὸ σύνολον παραλλάττοντα. — Theophan. Contin., p. 98. Symeon Magister assigns a different period to this palace, which he embellishes with the Eastern luxury of παρὰδεις, and tanks of water. This, however, shows that already there was a peculiar Saracenic style of building, new to the Romans, and introduced into Constantinople. The fact is not unworthy of notice in the history of architecture.

he wished to brand the faces of some of his victims may be so called. He composed church music; some of his hymns were admitted into the church service, in which the emperor himself led the choir.¹

Theophilus could not but perceive the failure, and disdain to imitate his father's temporizing policy, who endeavored to tolerate the monks, while he discouraged image-worship.² He avowed his determination to extirpate both at once. Leo the Armenian and Michael the Stammerer had attempted to restrict the honors paid to images; Theophilus prohibited the making Persecutes image-worshippers. new ones, and ordered that in every church they should be effaced, and the walls covered with pictures of birds and beasts. The sacred vessels, adorned with figures, were profaned by unhallowed hands, sold in the public markets, and melted for their metal. The prisons were full of painters, of monks and ecclesiastics of all orders. The monks, driven from their convents, fled to desert places; some perished of cold and hunger, some threw off the proscribed dress, yet retained the sacred character and habits; others seized the opportunity of returning to the pleasures as to the dress of the world.

Yet in the mass of the monastic faction the fanaticism of the emperor was encountered by a fanaticism of resistance, sometimes silent, sullen and stubborn, sometimes glorying in provoking the wrath of the

¹ Οὐ παρητήσατο τὸ χειρονομεῖν, leading them it should seem by the motion of his hand. The clergy appear to have made the emperor pay for the privilege of indulging his tastes. Δοῦς τῷ κλήρῳ αὐτῆς λίτρας ὑπὲρ τοῦτου χρυσοῦ ἑκατὸν. — Theophan. Contin., p. 107.

² Theophilus caused to be constructed two organs, entirely of gold, set with precious stones; and a tree of gold, on which sat birds which sang by a mechanical contrivance, the air being conveyed by hidden pipes. — Symeon Magister, p. 627.

persecutor. One whole brotherhood, that of the Abrahamites, presented themselves before the emperor. They asserted on the evidence, as they said, of the most ancient fathers,¹ that image-worship dated from the times of the apostles; they appealed to the pictures of the Saviour by St. Luke, and to the holy Veronica. Irritated by their obstinacy, and not likely to be convinced by such arguments, the emperor drove them with insults and severe chastisements from the city. They took refuge in a church, on an island in the Euxine, dedicated to John the Baptist *the awful*.² There they are said to have suffered martyrdom. Another stubborn monk, the emperor, in a more merciful mood, sent to his learned minister, John the Grammarian. The monk, according to the historian, reduced the minister to silence: if discomfited, the Grammarian bore his defeat with equanimity, the successful controversialist was allowed to retire and wait for better times in a monastery.

There was another monk, however, named Lazarus, a distinguished painter, whom the emperor could induce by no persuasion to abandon his idolatrous art. As milder measures failed, Lazarus was cruelly scourged and imprisoned. He still persisted in exercising his forbidden skill, and hot iron plates were placed on his guilty hands. The illness of the empress saved his life; he too took refuge in the church of the Baptist, where, having recovered the use of his hands, he painted "that fearful harbinger of the Lord," and on the restoration of images, a celebrated picture of the Saviour over the gate Chalce.

¹ Dionysius (the pseudo Dionysius) Hierotheus, and Irenæus.

² Τοῦ φοβεροῦ.

Two others, Theophilus, and his brother Theodorus, for presuming to overpower the emperor in argument, and to adduce a passage in the Prophet Isaiah, not, as the emperor declared, in his copy, suffered a more cruel punishment. Their faces were branded with some wretched iambic verses, composed by the emperor; they were then banished; one died, the other survived to see the triumph of image-worship.¹

This religious war seems to have been waged by the emperor on one side, and the monks on the other, with no disturbance of the general peace of the Empire. No popular tumults demanded the interference of the government. The people, weary or indifferent, submitted in apathy to the alternate destruction and restoration of images. But for the fatal passion of Theophilus for war against the Saracens, in which, with great personal valor, but no less military incapacity, he was in general unsuccessful, he might have maintained the Empire during all the later years of his reign in wealth and prosperity.

The history of Iconoclasm has a remarkable uniformity. Another female in power, another Theodora empress. restoration of images. After the death of Theophilus his widow Theodora administered the empire, in the name of her youthful son Michael, called afterwards, the Drunkard. Theodora, like her own mother Theoctista, had always worshipped images in private. Twice the dangerous secret had been betrayed to the emperor that the females of his own family practised this forbidden idolatry. On one occa-

¹ All the historians (monks) relate this strange story, but the passage in Isaiah favorable to image-worship, and forged by the monks, is rather suspicious; as well as twelve iambic verses tattooed on their faces.

sion the children prattled about the pretty toys which their grandmother kept in a chest and took out, kissing them herself and offering them to the children's respectful kisses. Another time a dwarf, kept as a buffoon in the palace, surprised the empress taking the images, which he called by the same undignified name, from under her pillow, and paying them every kind of homage. The empress received a severe rebuke; the dwarf was well flogged for his impertinent curiosity. Theodora learned caution, but brooded in secret over her tutelar images.

No sooner was Theophilus dead than the monks, no doubt in the secret of Theodora's concealed attachment to images, poured into Constantinople from all quarters. At this juncture the brave Manuel, the general who had more than once retrieved the defeats of Theophilus, once had actually rescued him from the hands of the Saracens, and who had been appointed under the will of the emperor one of the guardians of the empire, fell dangerously ill. The monks beset his bedside, working at once on his hopes of recovery and his fears of death. Manuel yielded, and threw the weight of his authority into the party of the image-worshippers. Theodora had before feared to cope with the strength of the opposite faction, so long dominant and in possession of many of the more important civil and military dignities. She now ventured to send an officer of the palace to command the patriarch, John the Grammarian, either to recant his Iconoclastic opinions, or to withdraw from Constantinople. The patriarch is accused of a paltry artifice. He opened a vein in the region of his stomach, and showed himself wounded and bleeding to the people. The rumor

spread that the empress had attempted to assassinate the patriarch. But the fraud was detected, exposed, acknowledged. The abashed patriarch withdrew, un-
A.D. 542. pitied and despised, into the suburbs. Methodius was raised to the dignity of the patriarchate. The worshippers of images were in triumph.

But Theodora, still tenderly attached to the memory of her husband, demanded as the price of her inestimable services in the restoration of images, absolution for the sin of his Iconoclasm and his persecution of the image-worshippers. Methodius gravely replied, that the power of the clergy to grant absolution to the living was unbounded, but of those who had died in obstinate sin, they had no authority to cancel or to mitigate the damnation. Even her own friends suspected the empress of a pious lie when she asserted, and even swore, that her husband, in the agony of death, had expressed his bitter repentance, had ascribed all the calamities of his reign to his stubborn heresy, had actually entreated her to bring him the images, had passionately kissed them, and so rendered up his spirit to the ministering angels. The clergy, out of respect to the empress and zeal for their own object, did not question too closely the death-bed penitence of Theophilus; with one consent they pronounced his pardon before God, and gave a written sentence of his absolution to the empress.

All was now easy; the fanaticism of Iconoclasm was exhausted or rebuked. A solemn festival was appointed for the restoration of images. The whole clergy of Constantinople, and all who could flock in from the neighborhood, met in and before the palace of the archbishop, and marched in procession with crosses,

torches, and incense, to the church of St. Sophia. There they were met by the empress and her infant son Michael. They made the circuit of the ^{Feb. 19, 842.} church, with their burning torches, paying homage to every image and picture, which had been carefully restored, never again to be effaced till the days of later, more terrible Iconoclasts, the Ottoman Turks.

The Greek Church from that time has celebrated the anniversary of this festival with loyal fidelity.¹ The successors of Methodius, particularly the learned Photius, were only zealous to consummate the work of his predecessors, and images have formed part of the recognized religious worship of the Eastern world.

¹ Methodius was Patriarch only four years.

CHAPTER IX.

SEVERANCE OF GREEK AND LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

UP to the eighth century Rome had not been absolutely dissevered from the ancient and decrepit civilization of the old Empire. After a short ^{Eighth century.} period of subjection to the Ostrogothic kingdom, by the conquest of Justinian she had sunk into a provincial city of the Eastern realm. In the eighth century she suddenly, as it were, burst the bonds of her connection with the older state of things, disjoined herself forever from the effete and hopeless East, and placed herself at the head of the rude as yet, and dimly descried and remote, but more promising and vigorous civilization of the West. The Byzantine Empire became a separate world, Greek Christianity a separate religion. The West, after some struggle, created its own empire: its natives formed an independent system, either of warring or of confederate nations. Latin Christianity was the life, the principle of union, of all the West; its centre, papal Rome.

Mohammedanism — which was gradually encircling and isolating the Byzantine Empire from its outlying provinces, obtaining the naval superiority in the Mediterranean, and subjecting the islands to her sway; which, with the yet unconverted Bulgarians, fully occupied all the Eastern armies, and left the Emperor

without power to protect or even keep in subjection the Exarchate and the Italian dependencies — was the remoter cause of the emancipation of the West. The Korán thus in some degree, by breaking off all correspondence with the East, contributed to deliver the Pope from a distant and arbitrary master, and to relieve him from that harassing rivalry with which the patriarch of Constantinople constantly renewed his pretensions to equality or to superiority; and so placed him alone in undisputed dignity at the head of Western Christendom. But the immediate cause of this disruption and final severance between the East and West was the Iconoclasm of the Eastern emperors. Other signs of estrangement might seem to forebode this inevitable revolution. The line of Justinian, the conqueror of Italy, after it had been deposed and had reassumed the Empire in the person of the younger emperor of that name, was now extinct. Adventurer after adventurer had risen to power, and this continual revolution could not but weaken the attachment, especially of foreign subjects, who might think, or choose to think, succession and hereditary descent the only strong titles to their obedience. Rome and Italy must thus ignominiously acknowledge every rude or low-born soldier whom the rabble of Constantinople, the court, or more powerful army, might elevate to the throne.

The exarchal government from the first had only been powerful to tyrannize and feeble to protect. The Exarch was like the satrap of an Exarch of Ravenna. old Eastern monarchy; and this was more and more sensibly felt throughout Italy. Without abandoning any of its inferior demands on the obedience, this

rule was becoming less and less able to resist the growing power and enterprise of the Lombards, or even to preserve the peace of the Italian dependencies. The exarchate had still strength to levy tribute, and to enforce heavy taxation, the produce of which was sent to Constantinople. It repaid these burdens but scantily by any of the defensive or conservative offices of government. During the pontificate of John VI., the Exarch Theophylact had only been protected from the resentment of his own soldiery by the interference of the pope. The most unambitious pontiff might wish to detach his country and his people from the falling fortunes of the Byzantine Empire. If he looked to Rome, its allegiance to the East was but of recent date, the conquest of Justinian; if to his own position, he could not but know that the successor of St. Peter held a much higher place, both as to respect and authority, before he had sunk into a subject of Constantinople. Never till this period in the papal annals had a pope been summoned, like a meaner subject, to give an account of his spiritual proceedings in a foreign city; nor had he been seized and hurried away, with insult and cruel ill usage, to Constantinople, and, like the unhappy Martin, left to perish in exile.

Whatever lingering loyalty, under these trying circumstances, might prevail in Italy, or in the mind of the pontiff, to the old Roman government—whatever repugnance to the yoke of Barbarians, which might seem the only alternative when they should cease to be the subjects of the Empire—these bonds of attachment were at once rudely broken when the emperor became an heresiarch; not a speculative heresi-

arch on some abstract and mysterious doctrine, but the head of a heresy which struck at the root of the popular religion — of the daily worship of the people. In general estimation, an Iconoclastic Emperor almost ceased to be a Christian: his tenets were those of a Jew or a Mohammedan. In the East the emperor, from fear, from persuasion, or from conviction, obtained, at one time at least, a formidable party in his favor, even among the clergy. But for the monks, images might have disappeared from the East. In the West, iconoclasm was met with universal aversion and hostility. The Italian mind had rivalled the Greek in the fertility with which it had fostered the growth of image-worship: it adhered to it with stronger pertinacity. The expressive symbol of the fourth century, and the suggestive picture, which was, in the time of Gregory the Great, to be the book of Scripture to the unlearned, had expanded into the fondest attachment to the images of saints and martyrs, the Virgin, and the Saviour. In this as in all the other great controversies, from good fortune, from sagacity, from sympathy with the popular feeling, its adherents would say from a higher guidance, the papacy took the popular and eventually successful side. The pope was again not the dictator, he was the representative of the religious mind of the age. One of the more recent popes, the timid John VII., a Greek by birth, might seem almost prophetically to have committed the papal see to the support of image-worship, and resistance to an iconoclastic emperor. In a chapel which he dedicated in honor of the Virgin, in the church of St. Peter, the walls were inlaid with pictures of the holy fathers; and throughout

Rome he lavishly adorned the churches with pictures and statues. Gregory II. had no doubt often worshipped in public before these works of his holy predecessor.

The character of Gregory II. does not warrant the belief that he had formed any deliberate plan of policy for the alienation of Italy from the Eastern Empire. He was actuated not by worldly but by religious passions — by zeal for images, not by any splendid vision of the independence of Italy. For where indeed could be found the protecting, the organizing, the administrative and ruling power which could replace the abrogated authority of the Empire? The papacy had not yet aspired to the attributes and functions of temporal sovereignty.

In Italy the Lombard kingdom in the north, with its kindred dukedoms of Benevento and Spoleto in the south, alone possessed the strength and vigor of settled government.¹ Under the long and comparatively peaceful reign of Rotharis, it had enjoyed what appears almost fabulous prosperity: it had its code of laws. Liutprand now filled the throne, a prince of great ambition and enterprise. If the papacy had entered into a confederacy of interests with the Lombard kings, and contenting itself with spiritual power, by which it might have ruled almost uncontrolled over Barbarian monarchs, and with large ecclesiastical possessions without sovereign rights, Italy might again perhaps have been consolidated into a great kingdom. But this policy, which the papacy was too Roman to pursue with the Gothic kings, or which was repudiated

¹ From 635 to 651. During all this period Catholic and Arian bishops presided over their separate congregations in most of the cities of Italy — Le Beau, Bas Empire, lviii. 4.

as bringing a powerful temporal monarch in too close collision with the supreme pontiff, was even less likely to be adopted with the Lombards.¹ Between the papal see and the Lombard sovereigns—indeed between the Lombards and the Italian clergy—there seems almost from first to last to have prevailed an implacable and inexplicable antipathy. Of all the conquerors of Italy, these (according to more favorable historians) orderly and peaceful people are represented as the most irreclaimably savage. The taint of their original Arianism was indelible. No terms are too strong with the popes to express their detestation of the Lombards.

According to the course of events, as far as it can be traced in chronological order, Gregory remained wavering and confounded by these simultaneous but conflicting passions: his determination to resist an iconoclastic emperor, and his dread of the Lombard supremacy in Italy. Up to the tenth year of his pontificate he had been occupied by the more peaceful duties of his station. He had averted the aggressions of the Lombard dukes on the patrimony of St. Peter; he had commissioned Boniface to preach the A.D. 719. Gospel in Germany; he had extended his paternal care over the churches in England. No doubt, even if his more formal epistles had not yet been delivered, he had expostulated with the emperor on the first appearances of his hostility to images² repeatedly, fre-

¹ Yet the Lombards had more than once defended the Pope against the Exarch. — *Epist. Otradi. Episcop. Mediol. ad Carol. M. de Translat. S. Augustin.* Otradi says of Liutprand, that he was "protector et defensor fidelis Ecclesiarum Dei Christianissimus fuit ac religionis amator."

² On the first intelligence of the Emperor's open iconoclasm, the Pope sent everywhere letters, "cavere se Christianos, quod orta fuisset impietas." — *Vit. Greg. II.*

quently, if not by private letters, probably by other missives.

But the fatal edict came to Italy as to one of the provinces subject to the Emperor Leo. The Iconoclastic edict. A.D. 728. Exarch Scholasticus commanded it to be published in the city of Ravenna. The people broke out in instant insurrection, declared their determination to renounce their allegiance rather than permit their churches to be despoiled of their holiest ornaments, A.D. 727. attacked the soldiery, and maintained a desperate conflict for the mastery of the city. Liutprand, the Lombard king, had been watching in eager expectation of this strife to expel the exarch, and to add the whole Roman territory to his dominions. With Lombards take Ravenna. a large force he sat down before Ravenna. Though the garrison made a vigorous defence, Liutprand, by declaring himself a devout worshipper of images, won the populace to his party, Ravenna surrendered; the troops of Liutprand spread without resistance over the whole Pentapolis.

Gregory was alarmed, for if he hated the heretical emperor, he had no less dread and dislike of the conquering Lombard.¹ The establishment of this odious sovereignty throughout Italy, which had been so long making its silent aggressions in the South, with a king of the unmeasured ambition and ability of Liutprand, was even more formidable to the pope than the effete tyranny of Constantinople.²

Gregory first discerned, among her islands and

¹ "Quia, peccato favente, Ravennatum civitas, quæ caput extat omnium, a non dicendâ gente Longobardorum capta est." — Greg. Epist. x.

² The chronology is so uncertain, that I have been constrained to follow sometimes one authority, sometimes another — Baronius, Pagi, Muratori — and so have endeavored to trace the historical sequence of events

marshes, the rising power of Venice, equal-^{Venice.}
ly jealous with himself of the extension of ^{A.D. 727.}
the Lombard power. There the exarch had taken
refuge. At the instigation of Gregory a league was
formed of the maritime forces of Venice, already of
some importance, nominally with the exarch, really
with the pope, and the whole Roman or By-^{Ravenna}
zantine troops. Ravenna was retaken while ^{retaken.}
Liutprand was at Pavia, and before he could collect
his army to relieve it.

Gregory was still outwardly a loyal subject of the emperor, but the breach was inevitable. Iconoclasm had now become fanaticism with Leo; and Gregory, whether his celebrated letters had yet been dispatched or were only in preparation, was as resolute in his assertion of image-worship. Rumors spread, and were generally believed, that the Iconoclast had sent orders to seize or to murder the pope. Each successive officer who was sent to retrieve the imperial affairs was supposed to be charged with this impious mission. Leo, no doubt, would have scrupled as little as his predecessors to order the apprehension of the refractory prelate, and his transportation to Constantinople; nor if blood had been shed in resistance to his commands, would he have considered it an inexpressible crime.¹ But the pope believed himself, or declared his belief, that he was menaced with secret assassination. Three persons are named — the Duke Basil, Jordan the Chartulary, and John surnamed Lurion — as meditating this crime, under the sanction first of Marinus, Duke of the city of Rome, afterwards of Paul, who was sent as Exarch to restore the imperial ascendancy. Two of these

¹ Comp. Muratori sub ann. DCCXXVII.

murderers were killed by the people ; the third, Basil, turned monk to save his life.¹ Paul the Exarch occupied Ravenna, which, with the Pentapolis, with Rome and Naples, were the only parts of Italy still in possession of the emperor, though Venice owned a doubtful allegiance. It was announced that the Exarch intended to march to Rome to depose the Pope, and at the same time measures were to be taken to destroy the images in the churches throughout Italy. The whole territory — Venice, the Pentapolis, Rome — at once rose up in defence of the Pope. They declared that they would not recognize the commission of Paul ; his generals began to contemplate their separate independence. They were only prevented by the prudence of Gregory from proclaiming a new emperor, and sending him against Constantinople. The crafty Lombards again joined the popular cause. Exhilaratus, Duke of Naples, said to have plotted against the pope's life, was slain with his son. Ravenna was divided between the papal and imperial factions. The Exarch fell in the tumult. The Lombards were the gainers in all these commotions : they occupied all the strong places in the Exarchate and in the Pentapolis.

A new Exarch, the last Exarch of Ravenna, Eutychius, landed at Naples. He is likewise accused of designing to send a band of assassins to Rome, to murder, not only the Pope, but also the chief nobles of the city. But for the intervention of the Pope, they would have retaliated by sending assassins to kill the Exarch. A fearful state of Christian society when such acts, if

¹ Gregory is silent in his letters about these attempts at assassination. But the letters may have been written, even if not delivered, before this date.

not designed, were believed to be designed by both parties !

All Rome pledged itself by a solemn oath to live and die in defence of their Pontiff¹—the protector of the images in their churches. The Lombards were equally loud in their protestations of reverence for his person. The ban of excommunication was issued against the Exarch, the odious mutilator and destroyer of those holy memorials. Eutychius at first attempted to alienate the Lombards from the papal interest, but it now suited the politic Liutprand to adhere in the closest league to the rebellious Romans. Eutychius had not offered a tempting price for his alliance. Some time after, coveting the independent dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento, Liutprand entered into secret negotiations with the Exarch. The dukedoms by this treaty were to be the share of the Lombard king, Rome to be restored to its allegiance to the emperor. Liutprand having made himself master of Spoleto, and A.D. 729.

thus partly gained his own ends, advanced to Rome, and encamped in the field of Nero.² The Pope, like his predecessors, went forth to overawe by his commanding sanctity this new Barbarian conqueror, who threatened the Holy City. It pleased Liutprand to be overawed ; he was not too sincere in his design to restore the imperial authority in Rome. He played admirably the part of a pious son of the Church ; his conduct, as doubtless he intended, contrasted no little to his advantage with that of the sacrilegious Iconoclast Leo. He cast himself at the feet of the Pope, he

¹ " Qui ex scriptis nefandam viri (Exarchi) dolositatem despicientes una se quasi fratres Romani atque Longobardi catenâ fidei constrinxerunt cuncti mortem pro defensione Pontificis sustinere gloriosam." — Otradi, Epist.

² Anastasius, Vit.

put off his armor and all his splendid dress, his girdle, his sword, his gauntlets, his royal mantel, his crown of gold, and a cross of silver, and offered them at the tomb of the Apostle. He entreated the Pope (his arguments were not likely to be ineffectual) to make peace with the Exarch. So completely did harmony appear to be restored, that the Pope and the Exarch united in suppressing an insurrection raised by a certain Petasius, who proclaimed himself emperor under the title of Tiberius III. The Exarch, with the aid of the Romans, seized the usurper, and sent his head to Constantinople. After this the Exarch probably retired to Ravenna, and must at least have suspended all active measures for the suppression of image-worship.

Throughout these transactions the Pope appears actually if not openly an independent power, leaguings with the allies or the enemies of the Empire, as might suit the exigencies of the time; yet the share of Gregory II. in the revolt of Italy has been exaggerated by those who boast of this glorious precedent and example for the assertion of the ecclesiastical power, by depriving an heretical subject of his authority over part of his realm, and striking the Imperial Head with the impartial thunders of excommunication; so also by those who charge him with the sin of rebellion against heaven-constituted monarchy. If, as is said, he proceeded to the hostile measure of forbidding the Italian subjects of Leo to pay their tribute; if by a direct excommunication he either virtually or avowedly released the subjects of the Emperor from their allegiance¹ (his

¹ Theophanes, iv. c. 5 (p. 621); after him by Glycas, Zonaras, Cedrenus. See likewise Anastasius.

own language in his letters by no means takes this haughty or unsubmitive tone), his object was not the emancipation of Italy, but the preservation of images, in which Gregory was as fanatically sincere as the humblest monk in his diocese.

No doubt a council was summoned and held at Rome by Gregory II., in which anathemas were launched against the destroyers of images. Nov. 730.
Council at Rome. If, however, the emperor was by name excommunicated by the pope, this was not and could not be, as in later times with the kings and emperors of Western Europe, an absolute and total exclusion from Christian privileges and Christian rites. It was a disruption of all communion with the Bishop of Rome, and his orthodox Italian subjects.¹ No doubt there was a latent assertion that the Roman church was the one true church, and that beyond that church there was no salvation; but the Patriarch of Constantinople recognized no such power in the Roman pontiff, unless himself joined in the anathema; and Anastasius, the present Patriarch, was now an ardent destroyer of images.²

Leo revenged himself by severing the Transadriatic provinces, the Illyrica, from the Roman patriarchate, and by confiscating the large estates of the see of Rome in Calabria and Sicily. He appears too to have chosen this unfortunate time for an increase in the taxation of

¹ Walch makes two sensible observations; first, that the revolt of Italy and the extinction of the Exarchate was not complete till after the death of both Gregorys; secondly, that the excommunication of the Emperor by the Pope was not an exclusion from all spiritual privileges, but merely a refusal to communicate with him.

² In the reference to the council in the letter of Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne, p. 1460, he does not mention, though he does not exclude the notion of the excommunication of the Emperor. The council was held in Nov. 730; Gregory died Feb. 731.

those provinces. A new census was ordered with a view to a more productive capitation tax. The discontent at these exactions would no doubt strengthen the general resistance to the measures of Leo; and perhaps Gregory's prohibition of the payment to the imperial revenue may have been but resistance to these unprecedented burdens.

Such was the relation between the see of Rome and the Eastern Empire at the death of Gregory Buried Feb. 11, 781. II. His successor, Gregory III., was of Syrian birth. At the funeral of the deceased pope, the clergy and the whole people broke out into a sudden acclamation, and declared Gregory III. his successor. But he was not consecrated till the ensuing month. So far was this election from a deliberate renunciation of allegiance to the Empire, or an assertion of independence on the part of the Pope or the Roman people, that the confirmation of the election by the Exarch at Ravenna was dutifully awaited before the Pope assumed his authority. Nor did Gregory III. break off or suspend his direct intercourse with the seat of government. His first act was a mission to Constantinople to announce his adherence to the doctrines of his predecessor on image-worship; and though his inflexible language was not likely to conciliate the Emperor, this mission and much of the subsequent conduct of Gregory show the separation of Italy from the Empire was, at least, even if remotely contemplated, no avowed object of the papal policy. The first message was intrusted to George the Presbyter, but its language was so sternly and haughtily condemnatory of the emperor's religious proceedings, that the trembling ambassador had hardly begun his journey when he fled back

to Rome and acknowledged that he had not courage for this dangerous mission. The Pope was so indignant at this want of sacerdotal daring, that he threatened to degrade the Presbyter, and was hardly persuaded to impose a lighter penance. Once more George A.D. 732. was ordered to set out for the court of Leo; he was arrested in Sicily, and not allowed to proceed. Gregory, finding his remonstrances vain or unheard, assumed a bolder attitude.

The council held by Gregory III. was formed with great care and solemnity. It was intended Nov. 1, 732. to be the declaration of defiance on the subject of images from all Italy. The archbishops of Grado and Ravenna, with ninety-three other prelates or presbyters of the apostolic see, with the deacons and the rest of the clergy, the consuls and the people of Rome, pronounced their decree that, whoever should overthrow, mutilate, profane, blaspheme the venerable images of Christ our God and Lord, of the immaculate and glorious Virgin, of the blessed apostles and saints, was banished from all communion in the body and blood of Christ, and from the unity of the Church.

This solemn edict was sent to Constantinople by Constantine, the defender of the city. Constantine also was arrested in Sicily, his letters taken away, and after an imprisonment of a year, he was allowed to return to Rome to report the bad success of his mission. Another address was sent in the name of the people of Italy, urging their attachment to the images, and imploring the emperor to annul his fatal statute. This, with two expostulatory letters from the pope, got not beyond Sicily. The messengers were seized by Sergius, the commander of the imperial troops, confined

for eight months, sent back with every indignity to Rome, and menaced with the punishment of traitors and rebels if they should venture to land again in Sicily.

In Rome Gregory III. set the example of image-worship on the most splendid scale. He had obtained six pillars of precious marble from the Exarch at Ravenna, and arranged them in order with six others of equal value. These he overlaid with the purest silver, on which, on one side, were represented the Saviour and the apostles, on the other the Mother of God with the holy virgins. In an oratory of the same church he enshrined, in honor of the Saviour and the Virgin, relics of the apostles, the martyrs, and saints of all the world. Among his other costly offerings was an image of the Holy Mother of God, having a diadem of gold and jewels, a golden collar with pendent gems, and earrings with six jacinths. In the Church of the Virgin was another image of the Mother, with the Divine Infant in her arms, adorned with pearls of great weight and size. Many other of the churches in Rome and in the neighborhood were decorated with images of proportionate splendor.

The Emperor, about this time, made his last desperate effort to retrieve his fortunes in Italy, to relieve the Exarch Eutychius, who was shut up in powerless inactivity in Ravenna, and to reduce the refractory pope and Italy to obedience. A formidable armament was embarked on board a great fleet, under the command of Manes, one of his bravest and most experienced generals. The fleet encountered a terrible storm in the Adriatic; great part of the ships was lost; and the image-worshippers on the coast of Calabria beheld their shores strewn with the wrecks of the Iconoclastic navy. Henceforth the Eastern Empire

Loss of Emperor's fleet.

almost acquiesced in the loss of the exarchate. Eutychius maintained for a long time his perilous position in Ravenna, temporizing between the pope, the Lombards, and the Franks. Nearly twenty years later he abandoned the seat of government, and took refuge in Naples.

Now, however, that the real power of the empire in Italy was extinguished, it might seem that nothing could resist the Lombards. Though King Liutprand and Gregory III., at least for the first eight years of Gregory's pontificate, maintained their outward amity, the Lombards, though not now Arian, were almost equally objects of secret abhorrence to the Catholic and the Roman. Italy must again become a Barbarian kingdom, the Pope the subject of a sovereign at his gates or within his city.

At this juncture the attention of Europe, of all Christendom, is centred upon the Franks. The great victory of Tours had raised Charles Martel to the rank of the protector of the liberties of the religion of the Western world, from the all-conquering Mohammedans. It was almost the first,¹ unquestionably the greatest defeat which that power had suffered, from the time that it advanced beyond the borders of Arabia, and having yet found no limits to its conquests in the East, had swept westward over Africa, Spain, and Southern Gaul, and seemed destined to envelop the whole world.

The Pope was thus compelled, invited, encouraged by every circumstance to look for protection, unless he submitted to the abhorred Lombard, beyond the Alps.²

¹ The bloody defeat of Toulouse by Count Eudes led to no result.

² Liutprand marched across the Alps but the year before in aid of Charles

The Franks alone of Barbarian nations had from the first been converted to orthodoxy, and adhered to it with unshaken fidelity. The Franks had dutifully listened to the papal recommendation of Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, had countenanced and assisted his holy designs for the conversion of the Teutonic tribes beyond the Rhine. Already had Gregory II. opened a communication with the Franks; already, before the dissolution of the Byzantine power, had secret negotiations begun to secure their aid against the Lombards.¹ Eight or nine years of doubtful peace, at least of respectful mutual understanding, had intervened; when, almost on a sudden, the Lombards and the Pope are involved in open war, and Gregory III. throws himself boldly on the faith and loyalty of the mighty Frank. He sends the mystic keys of the Sepulchre of St. Peter and filings of his chains as

A.D. 789.

Gregory appeals to Charles Martel.

gifts, which no Christian could resist; he offers the significant yet undefined title of Roman Consul. The letter of Gregory in the following year appeals in the most piteous tone to the commiseration and piety of the Barbarian. "His tears are falling day and night for the destitute state of the Church. The Lombard king and his son are ravaging by fire and sword the last remains of the property

Martel against the Saracens, who had again appeared in formidable force in the South of France.

¹ The authority for this important fact is Anastasius in his Life of Stephen III., who, in his dispute with King Astolph, "cernens præsertim, ab imperiali potentiâ nullum esse subveniendi auxilium, tunc quemadmodum prædecessores ejus beatæ memoriæ dominus Gregorius et Gregorius alter, et dominus Zacharias, beatissimi pontifices Carolo excellentissimæ memoriæ, Regi Francorum direxerunt, petentes sibi subveniri, propter impressiones ac invasiones quas et ipsi in hac Romanorum provinciâ a nefanda Longobardorum gente perpassi sunt." Charles Martel was not king.

of the Church, which no longer suffices for the sustenance of the poor, or to provide lights for the A.D. 740. daily service. They had invaded the territory of Rome and seized all his farms;¹ his only hope was in the timely succor of the Frankish king." Gregory knew that the Lombards were negotiating with the Frank, and dexterously appeals to his pride. "The Lombards are perpetually speaking of him with contempt, — 'Let him come, this Charles, with his army of Franks; if he can, let him rescue you out of our hands.' O unspeakable grief, that such sons so insulted should make no effort to defend their holy mother the Church!² Not that St. Peter is unable to protect his successors, and to exact vengeance upon their oppressors; but the apostle is putting the faith of his followers to trial. Believe not the Lombard kings, that their only object is to punish their refractory subjects, the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, whose only crime is that they will not join in the invasion and the plunder of the Roman see. Send, O my most Christian son! some faithful officer, who may report to you truly the condition of affairs here; who may behold with his own eyes the persecutions we are enduring, the humiliation of the Church, the desolation of our property, the sorrow of the pilgrims who frequent our shrines. Close not your ears against our supplications, lest St. Peter close against you the gates of heaven. I conjure you by the living and true God, and by the keys of St. Peter, not to prefer the alliance of the Lombards to the love of the great apostle, but hasten, hasten to our succor, that we may say with the prophet, 'The Lord hath heard us in

¹ In partibus Ravennatum.

² Fredegar. Contin. apud Bouquet, ii. 457.

the day of tribulation, the God of Jacob hath protected us.”

The letter of Gregory III. seems rather like the cry of sudden distress than part of a deliberate scheme of policy. He is in an agony of terror at the formidable invasion of the Lombards, which threatens to absorb Rome in the kingdom of Liutprand. Succor from the East is hopeless; he turns to any quarter where he may find a powerful protector, and that one protector is Charles Martel. From the Lombard king he had not much right to expect forbearance, for it is clear that he had encouraged the duke of Spoleto, the vassal, as the ambitious Liutprand asserted, of the Lombard kingdom, in rebellion against his master. Duke Thrasimund had fled for refuge to Rome; and from Rome he had gone forth, not unaided, to reconquer his dukedom. The troops of Liutprand had overrun the Roman territory; they were wasting the estates of the Church. Liutprand had severed four cities, Amelia, Orta, Polymartia, and Blera, from the Roman territory.¹ Some expressions in Gregory's second letter to Charles almost A.D. 741. imply that he had entered Rome and plundered the Church of St. Peter.² So nearly did Rome become a Lombard city.

¹ Ab eodem rege ablatae sunt e Ducatu Romano quatuor civitates. — Anastasius.

² Baronius drew this inference from the words of Gregory. Muratori contests the point, which is not very probable, and is not mentioned by Anastasius. Muratori explains the words “omnia enim lumina in honorem ipsius principis Apostolorum. . . . ipsi abstulerunt. Unde et Ecclesia Sancti Petri demudata est, et in nimiam desolationem redacta,” as relating to the devastation of the Church estates; “che servivano alla Luminaria d' essa Chiesa, ed al sovvenimento de' Poveri.” But he has omitted the intermediate words, “et quae a vestris parentibus, et a vobis oblata sunt.” The lights or chandeliers, the oblations of former Frankish kings or of Charles, can scarcely be explained but of the actual ornaments of the

These acts of Gregory III. mark the period of transition from the old to the new political system of Europe. They proclaimed the severance of all connection with the East. The Pope, as an independent potentate, is forming an alliance with a Transalpine sovereign for the liberation of Italy, and thus taking the lead in that total revolution in the great social system of Europe, the influence of which still survives in the relations between the Transalpine nations and Italy. The step to papal aggrandizement, though yet unpremeditated, is immense. Latin Chris- The Pope a temporal power. tendom is forming into a separate realm, of which the Pope is the head. Henceforth the Pope, if not yet a temporal sovereign, is a temporal potentate.

Speculation may lead to no satisfactory result, but it is difficult not to speculate on the extent to which the popes may have had more or less distinct conceptions as to the results of their own measures. Was their alliance with the Franks beyond the Alps, even if at first the impulse of immediate necessity, and only to gain the protection of the nearest powerful rival to the hated Lombards, confined to that narrow aim? How soon began to dawn the vision of a spiritual kingdom over the whole West — the revival of a Western Empire beyond the Alps, now that the East had abandoned or lost its authority — or at least of some form of Roman government under which the title of consul or patrician should be borne by a Trans-

Church. St. Peter's may have been plundered without the fall of the whole of Rome. The siege of Rome is mentioned among the military exploits of Liutprand in his epitaph. Compare Gregor. Epist. ii. ad Carol. Martel. Baronius and Muratori, sub ann. DCCXLI. Gretzer published the two letters in his volume of the *Epistolæ Pontificum*.

alpine sovereign thus bound to protect Rome, while the real authority should rest with the pope? Some ambiguous expressions in Gregory's epistle sound like an offer of sovereignty to Charles Martel. He sends him the keys of the tomb of St. Peter as a symbol of allegiance, and appears to acknowledge his royal supremacy.¹ The account of the solemn embassy which conveyed these supplicatory letters asserts that the Pope offered to the Frankish ruler the titles of Patriarch and Consul of Rome, thus transferring, if not the sovereignty, the duty and honor of guarding the imperial city, the metropolis of Christendom, to a foreign

Charles
Martel.

ruler. According to another statement, he spoke not in his own name alone, but in that of the Roman people, who, having thrown off the dominion of the Eastern empire, placed themselves under the protection of his clemency.²

Charles Martel had received the first mission of Gregory III. with magnificence, yet not without hesitation. The Lombards used every effort to avert his interference in the affairs of Italy; and some gratitude was due to Liutprand, who had rendered him powerful service (according to the Lombard's epitaph, he had fought in person for the cause of Christendom against the Saracens in Aquitaine.³) But Charles returned a courteous answer, sent presents to Rome,

¹ "Per ipseas sacratissimas Claves Confessionis Beati Petri, quas vobis ad regnum direximus." — Greg. Epist. ii.

² *Annales Metenses.*

³ The lines relating to the siege of Rome (which the poet places first), and to this fact, run thus:—

"Roma suas vires jampridem milite multo
Obsessa expavit, deinde tremuere feroces
Usque Saraceni, quos dispulit impiger, ipse
Cum premerent Gallos, Karolo poscente iuvare."

Note to Paul. Diacon. apud Muratori, c. lviil.

and directed Grimon, abbot of Corbey, and Sigebert, a monk of St. Denys, to proceed with the ambassadors to the imperial city.

Not the least extraordinary part of this memorable transaction is the strangely discrepant character in which Charles Martel appeared to the Pope and to the clergy of his own country. While the Pope is offering him the sovereignty of Rome, and appealing to his piety, as the champion of the church of St. Peter, he is condemned by the ecclesiastics beyond the Alps as the sacrilegious spoiler of the property of the Church ; as a wicked tyrant who bestowed bishoprics on his counts and dukes, expelled his own relative, the rightful Archbishop of Rheims, and replaced him by a prelate who had only received the tonsure. A saint of undoubted authority beheld in a vision the ally of the popes, the designated Consul of Rome, the sovereign at whose feet were laid the keys of St. Peter's sepulchre, tormented in the lowest pit of hell. So completely had this view worked into the Christian mind, that Dante, the faithful recorder of popular Catholic tradition, adopts the condemnatory legend, and confirms the authority of the saint's vision.

CHAPTER X.

HIERARCHY OF FRANCE.

THE origin of this hostility between Charles Martel and the hierarchy of France throws us back nearly a century, to the rise of the mayors of the palace, who had now long ruled over the pageant Merovingian kings, the do-nothing kings of that race; and to the enormous accumulation of wealth, territory, and power acquired by the bishops and monasteries of France. The state of this great Church, the first partly Teutonic Church, and its influence on the coming revolution in Latin Christianity and on the papal power, must A.D. 687. justify the digression. The kingly power of the race of Clovis expired with Dagobert I. In each of the kingdoms, when the realm was divided — above the throne, when it was one kingdom — rose the Mayor of the Palace, in whom was vested the whole kingly power. But the Franks now at least shared with the Romans the great hierarchical dignities: they were bishops, abbots. If they brought into the order secular ambition, ferocity, violence, feudal animosity, they brought also a vigor and energy of devotion, a rigor of asceticism, a sternness of monastic virtue. It was an age of saints: every city, every great monastery boasts, about this time, the tutelar patron of its church; legend is the only history: while at the same time fierce

bishops surpass the fierce counts and barons in crime and bloodshed, and the holiest, most devout, most self-denying saints are mingling in the furious contest or the most subtle intrigue. This Teutonizing of the hierarchy was at once the consequence and the cause of the vast territorial possessions of the Church, and of the subsequent degradation and inevitable plunder of the Church. This was a new aristocracy, not as the Roman hierarchy had been, of influence and superior civilization, but of birth, ability, ambition, mingled with ecclesiastical authority,¹ and transcendent display of all which was esteemed in those times perfect and consummate Christianity. Nor were the bishops strong in their own strength alone. The peaceful passion for monachism had become a madness which seized on the most vigorous, sometimes the fiercest souls. Monasteries arose in all quarters, and gathered their tribute of wealth from all hands. The translation of the remains of St. Benedict to Fleury on the Loire was a national ovation. All ages, ranks, classes, races crowded to the holy ceremony. Of the sons of Dagobert, Sigebert, who ruled in Austrasia, passed his life in peaceful works of piety. The only royal acts which he was permitted to perform were lavish donations to bishops and to monasteries.² On the death of his brother, Clovis II. of Neustria,³ the widow Bathildis was raised to the regency in the name of her infant son, Clotaire III. Bathildis succeeded to some part of the authority,

¹ It is not easy to trace this slow and gradual Teutonizing of the higher clergy. The names are not sure indications of birth: Romans sometimes barbarized their names. — Guizot, *Essai* V. iii. 2; Hallam, *Supplemental note*, p. 75.

² Vita S. Sigeberti, apud Bouquet, ii. He founded twelve monasteries.

³ Sigebert and Clovis died about the same time, 654, 655

to none of the crimes or ambition of Brunehaut or Fredegonde. She was a Saxon captive of exquisite beauty. Erthinwold, the Neustrian mayor of the palace, sacrificing his own honorable passion to his ambition, married her to the king, Clovis II. Queen Bathildis was the holiest and most devout of women; her pious munificence knew no bounds; remembering her own bondage, she set apart vast sums for the redemption of captives. Not a cathedral, not a monastery, but records the splendid donations of Queen Bathildis: not farms or manses, but forests, districts, almost provinces.¹ The high-born Frankish bishop, Leodegar (the St. Leger of later worship), had been raised by the sole power of Bathildis to the great Burgundian bishopric of Autun. Legend dwells with fond pertinacity on the holiness of the saint; sterner but more veracious history cannot but detect the ambitious and turbulent head of a great faction. There was a fierce and obstinate strife for the mayoralty;

¹ "La trace de ses bienfaits se retrouve dans les archives de toutes les grandes abbayes de son temps. Luxeuil et d'autres monastères de Bourgogne en reçurent de grandes sommes et des terres. Dans le voisinage de Troyes, S. Frodoard obtint un vaste terrain marécageux nommé l'Isle Germanique, d'où il fit sortir la florissante abbaye de Moustier-la-belle. Curbion ou Moutier S. Lomer reçut la grande ville de Nogaret, plusieurs talents d'or et d'argent . . . elle accorde beaucoup de présents, une grande forêt, et des pâturages du domaine royal au fondateur de Jumièges, S. Filibert . . . Clotaire, sur les conseils de Bathilde, augmente les vastes domaines de Fontenelle . . . cité modèle où quinze cent travailleurs étaient enroulés avec neuf cent moines. Bathilde eut encore . . . sa part dans la munificence de Clovis II. et de Clotaire III. envers les monastères de Saint Denys en France, de Saint Vincent de Paris, de Fleury sur Loire, et de St. Maur de Fosses." St. Maur had the honor of possessing the bodies of St. Benedict and of St. Maur. — D. Pitra, *Vie de St. Léger*, p. 141. "Ainsi combla-t-elle de largesses les églises de S. Denys, et de S. Germain de Paris, de S. Médard de Soissons, de S. Pierre de Chartres, de S. Anian d'Orléans, de S. Martin de Tours." — P. 145. See, too, the donations of Dagobert II., p. 256.

France must become a theocracy; the Bishop of Autun, if not in name, in power would alone possess that dignity. His rival Ebroin, the actual mayor, entered into internecine strife with the aspiring hierarchy: none but that hierarchy has handed down the short dark annals of the time, and Ebroin has been chronicled as the most monstrously wicked of men. Under the rule of Ebroin, it was said by his authority, the Bishop of Paris was murdered for his pride; but Ebroin fell before the fiercer aggression of Leodegar, the Burgundian bishop, who was supported by all the forces of Burgundy. It was held to be a splendid effort of Christian virtue that the saint spared the life of Ebroin. He was banished to the monastery of Luxeuil (the foundation of St. Columban), compelled to give up his wife, to submit to the tonsure, and to take the irrevocable vows. Leodegar ruled supreme, and in the highest episcopal splendor, in his cathedral city of Autun. If his poetical biographer is right, he assumed even the title of mayor of the palace.¹ But the haughty Neustrian nobility became weary of the rule of a woman and of bishops; Bathildis surrendered her power, and retired to her convent of Chelles.

By a sudden revolution the Bishop of Autun found himself an exile in the same monastery with his fallen rival, that of Luxeuil.² The bishop had sternly condemned the marriage of the King Childeric (Austrasia and Neustria had become again one kingdom) with his cousin-german, Bilihildis. He was accused of a

¹ "Quippe domus major penitus, rectorque creatus
Antistes meritis suscepit jura regenda
Aulæ post regem."

MS. printed by M. Pitra, 472.

² See the pleasing description of Luxeuil — *Lucens ovile, apud Pitra.*

conspiracy against the life of the king. Affairs again wheeled round; Childeric was murdered; Ebroin and Leodegar, reconciled by their common misfortune, if not by their common religion, set forth together from their convent, ere long to strive with still fiercer animosity for the prize of power. Ebroin, the apostate, another Julian, cast off his religion, that is his monastic vows; his free locks again flowed; he returned to the embraces of his wife.¹ By common consent, Thierry III., the youngest of the sons of Clovis II., brother of Clotaire and of Chilperic, who had been imprisoned in the abbey of St. Denys, if not tonsured, to incapacitate him from the throne, was brought forth to act the part of king. Ebroin aspired to and succeeded in wresting the mayoralty from Leudes, the rival set up by the Bishop of Autun.

No long time elapsed; the bishop is besieged in his cathedral city, and Autun boldly defies, under the command of her bishop, the kingly power, Ebroin ruling in the name of King Thierry III. Leodegar found it necessary to capitulate: he made his capitulation wear the appearance of lofty religious sacrifice; but he escaped not the revenge of Ebroin, who scrupled not to abuse his victory with the most atrocious barbarities against the holy person of the bishop. His eyes were pierced, his lips cloven, his tongue cut out. Two years after (he had taken refuge or had been

¹ The poet naturally describes this enforced monachism as the unforgiven crime, which caused the insatiable vindictiveness of Ebroin:—

*"Illum propter, compulsus sum perdere crinem,
Depulsus regno, monachalem sumere formam,
Conjugis amplexus dulces et basia liqui,
Oscula nec proles collo suspensa tenebam."*

Piers, v. 477.

consigned a prisoner to the abbey of Fecamp) he was cruelly put to death. He became a martyr as well as a saint in the annals of the Church — a martyr in the calm and majestic patience with which he submitted to his sufferings: — but a martyr to what Christian truth? To what but the power of the clergy, or to his own power, it is difficult to say.¹ Ere long he became the most potent and popular saint of his prolific age; his relics were disputed by cities, submitted to the ordeal of the divine judgment; distant churches boasted some limb of the holy martyr, his miracles were numberless, and even in the nineteenth century petitions are made for some of the wonder-working bones of St. Leger.²

The policy by which Ebroin, the mayor of the palace, retained his power — the depression of the higher nobles, the elevation of the lower — belongs to the history of France, not to that of Christianity. What the higher nobility and some of the bishops

¹ Compare (it is neither unamusing nor uninteresting) the *Vie de S. Leger*, par le R. P. Dom. J. B. Pitra, Paris, 1846. The author has ingeniously interwoven into one all the legends of the period, with much of the patient industry and copious erudition, and with the devout feelings, the prejudices (we must pardon some little of the bitterness of later times) of his spiritual ancestors of St. Maur. M. Pitra looks back with fond reverence to the times when bishops ruled sole and supreme in their cities; when grants of counties were lavished on monasteries: when monastic admiration for monastic virtues created saints by hundreds; when miracle was almost the law, not the exception, in nature. M. Pitra believes that he believes all the supernatural stories of those times, and that with a kind of earnestness differing much from the bravado of belief avouched by some other kindred writers. The life of St. Leger is in truth an excellent religious romance; but, even in these days, will not pass for history in the literature which still boasts the living names of Guizot, the Thierry, C. Remusat, Ampère, and their rising scholars.

² See in Pitra, p. 439, the letter from the curé of Evreuil (dated Oct. 4, 1833) to the Bishop of Autun. Conceive such a letter addressed to the Bishop of Autun of the days of the republic!

called rebellious tyranny, his partisans held to be high and rigid justice; yet Ebroin had in his party some of the most holy bishops: saint balanced saint.¹ St. Genesius of Lyons, St. Leger, were his enemies; one his victim. In his party were St. Præjectus (St. Prie) of Auvergne, St. Reol of Rheims, St. Agilbert of Paris, St. Ouen of Rouen.² A council of bishops sat in judgment on St. Leger, at Marli, near Paris: it is difficult to believe that they were not consenting to his death.³

But Ebroin bore no charmed life: less than a charmed life in those times could not hope duration, not even to attain to good old age. Once he baffled a formidable insurrection; and with the aid of two prelates (Reol, metropolitan of Rheims, and Agilbert of Paris) cut off Martin, one of the grandsons of Pepin the Great, of Landon, who with his brother Pepin aspired to the mayoralty at least of Austrasia. The bishops swore upon certain relics that Martin's life should be secure, but they had withdrawn the holy witnesses, and swore on the empty case.⁴ These bishops, afterwards saints, at least did not protest against the death of the deluded youth. Ebroin himself per-

¹ "Mulciber in Trojam, pro Trojâ stabat Apollo,
Æqua Venus Teucris, Pallas iniqua fuit."

² On one occasion, it is said, Ebroin consulted St. Ouen. "Remember Fredegonde," replied the bishop. Ebroin was wise, and understood at once. Fredegonde the example urged by a saint! — *Gesta Francorum*.

³ "Et cum diu flagitantes," the Synod with Ebroin, "non valuisse elicere — ejus tunicam considerunt a capite," — a degradation, previous to death, performed by ecclesiastics. — *Apud Bouquet*.

⁴ "Nuntios dirigit, Agilbertum et Reolum Remensis urbis Episcopum, ut fide promissâ in incertum super vacuas capseas sacramenta falsa dederint. Quia in re ille credens eos ac Lugduno-Clavato cum sodalibus ac sociis ad Erchrecum veniens, illic cum suis omnibus interfectus est." — *Fredegar Contin.*, apud Bouquet, ii. p. 451.

ished by the blow of an assassin — perished not in this world only. A monk on the shores of the Saône, who had been blinded by Ebrouin, heard a boat rowed furiously down the stream. A terrible voice thundered out, "It is Ebrouin, whom we are bearing to the caldron of hell."¹

Pepin the Short, the heir of Pepin the Great of Landon, (whose daughter had married the son of the famous Arnulf of Metz), rose to the mayoralty, first in one kingdom, at length in the whole of France. Under his vigorous administration France resumed her unity: it ceased to be a theocracy. The bishops retired, it is feared not to their holier offices. Councils, which had been as frequent as diets or malls, ceased. As it ever has been, the enormous wealth and power accumulated by saints, or reputed saints, worked their inevitable consequences. They corrupted their masters, and tempted violent and unworthy men to usurp the high places of the Church. Those who boast the saints, the splendid monasteries, the noble foundations, the virtues, the continence, the wonders of the former generation, as bitterly lament the degradation, the worldliness, the vices, the drunkenness, licentiousness, marriage or concubinage of the succeeding race. It was this state of the clergy which moved the indignation and contempt of St. Boniface, and which the Pope himself hoped to constrain by the holy influence of the German missionary prelate and by the power of Charles Martel.²

¹ Adonis Chron. apud Bouquet, ii. p. 670.

² "Quidem affirmant (quod plurimum populo nocet) homicidas vel adulteros in ipsis accleribus perseverantes, fieri tamen posse sacerdotes." So writes Boniface at the court of Charles Martel. — Epist. xii., Giles, i. p. 36.

Such then was the clergy of France, when Charles Martel, after a furious conflict, won the inheritance of his father, Pepin the Short — the mayoralty of France. Even from his birth the clergy had been adverse to Charles. He was the son of Pepin, by Alpaide, whom, in the freedom of royal polygamy, Pepin had married during the lifetime of his former wife, Plectruda. The clergy, not without ground, denied the legitimacy of Charles. Already his patrimony, the royal revenues, being exhausted by his strife for the Mayoralty, Charles had not scrupled to lay his hands on the vast, tempting, misused wealth of the hierarchy.

Erelong, on this kingdom — of which more than one-half of the nobility were bishops or abbots, of which a very large proportion, no doubt the best cultivated and richest land, was in the hands of the monks and clergy — burst the invasion of the unbelieving Saracens. The crescent waved over Narbonne and the cities of the south; churches and monasteries were effaced from the soil. How terrible, how perilous was that invasion, one fact may witness. Autun, in the centre of Burgundy, the city of St. Leger, with all its Gaulish, Roman, Burgundian, hierarchical, monastic splendor, was captured and utterly laid waste. The hierarchy fought not themselves, though the Bishop of Sens did gallantly, and in arms, defend his city. Charles would not be content with the barren aid of their prayers: his exactions, his seizure of their possessions, which they held only through his valor, they still branded as impious and sacrilegious robberies.¹ Hence the extraor-

Compare letter to Pope Zacharias, especially on the lives of certain deacons (Epist. xlv.), and the answer of Zacharias.

¹ Compare M. Guizot's (*Essais*, xiv.) suggestions as to the mode in which Charles Martel seized and redistributed church property to his warriors.

dinary contradiction : — while the Pope sees in Charles Martel only the conqueror of the Saracens at Poitiers, only the great transalpine power which may control the hated Lombards, the hero of Christendom, the orthodox sovereign ; with the hierarchy of France Charles is a Belshazzar who has laid his unhallowed hands on the treasures of the Church, a sacrilegious tyrant doomed to everlasting perdition.

CHAPTER XI.

PEPIN, KING OF FRANCE.

BUT whatever might have been the result of the negotiations between the pope and Charles Martel, they were interrupted by the death of the two contracting parties. Charles Martel and Gregory III. died within a month of each other.¹

Zacharias, a Greek, succeeded to Gregory III. At his election even the form of obtaining the consent of the Exarch, as representative of the Eastern emperor, was discarded forever. The death of Charles Martel, which weakened his power by dividing it between his sons Carloman and Pepin, left the Pope at the mercy of Liutprand. The exarchate, the Roman territory, Rome itself, was utterly defenceless against the Lombard, exasperated, as he might justly be, at this attempt to mingle up a Transalpine power in the affairs of Italy. At the time of Gregory's death there seems to have been a suspension of hostilities, attributed, though with no historical authority, to the remonstrances or menaces of Charles Martel. But now the terror even of the name of Charles was withdrawn, and the Pope had no protection but in the

¹ Baronius inclines to the damnation of Charles; at least, ascribes his death to his tardiness in not marching to the Pope's succor. How came the Pope also to die at this critical time? Charles Martel died A.D. 741, Oct. 21; Gregory III., Nov. 27.

sanctity of his office. He sent an embassy to Liutprand, who received it with courtesy and respect, granted advantageous terms of peace to the dukedom or territory of Rome, and promised to restore Ameria and the other cities which he had seized, to the Roman territory. Liutprand inexorably demanded that the Pope should abandon the cause of the rebellious Duke of Spoleto. Thrasimund was compelled to submit: he was deposed, and retired into a monastery. Liutprand appointed a more obedient vassal, his own nephew, a dangerous neighbor to Rome, to the dukedom. But Liutprand delayed the restoration of the four cities: his armies still occupied the midland regions of Italy.

The independence of Rome was on the hazard: Italy was again on the verge of becoming a Lombard kingdom. The future destinies of Europe were trembling in the balance. Had the whole of Italy, at least to the borders of Naples (Naples, and even Sicily, could easily have been wrested from the Greek empire), been consolidated under one hereditary rule, and had the Pope sunk back to his spiritual functions, Pepin and his more powerful successor, Charlemagne, might not have been invited into Italy as protectors of the liberties and religion of Rome.

The course of Lombard conquest was arrested by the personal weight and sacerdotal awe which environed the Pope. Since the time of Leo the Great, no pontiff placed such bold reliance on his priestly character and on himself as Zacharias. Other Popes had not mingled in the active life of man with man. They had officiated in the churches, presided in councils of ecclesiastics, issued decrees, administered their temporal affairs through their officers or legates. Zacharias

seemed to delight in encountering his most dangerous enemies face to face: he was his own ambassador. Zacharias no doubt knew the character of the Lombard king. With all his ambition and warlike activity, Liutprand, if we are to believe the Lombard historian, blended the love of peace and profound piety. He was renowned for his chastity, his fervency in prayer, his liberality in alms-giving. He was illiterate, yet to be equalled with the sagest philosophers.¹ The strength and the weakness of such a character were equally open to impressions from the apostolic majesty, perhaps the apostolic gentleness, of the head of Christendom.

The spiritual potentate set forth in his peaceful array, surrounded by his court of bishops, to the camp of Liutprand near Terni. He was met at Cortona by Grimoald, an officer of Liutprand's court, conducted first to Narni, afterwards with great pomp, accompanied by part of the army and by the Lombard nobility, to Terni.² The scene of the interview was a church—that of St. Valentine; the Pope thus availing himself of the awfulness by which a religious mind like that of Liutprand would in such a place be already half prostrated before his holy antagonist. There he would listen with deeper emotion to the appalling admonitions of the pontiff on the vanity of earthly grandeur. The Lombard was reminded of the strict, it might be speedy, account which he was to give to God in whose presence he stood, of all the blood which he had shed in war. He was threatened with

Interview
with Liut-
prand at
Terni.
A.D. 742.

¹ "Castus, pudicus, orator pervigil, eleemosynis largus, literarum quidam ignarus, sed philosophis sequendus." — Paul. Diac.

² Anastas. in Vit. Zachariss.

eternal damnation if he delayed to surrender the four cities, according to his stipulations.

The issue of such a contest could not be doubtful. The appalled Barbarian yielded at once. He declared that he restored the four cities to St. ^{Treaty of} Peter. ^{peace.} His generous piety knew no bounds. He gave back all the estates of the Church in the Sabine country, which the Lombards had held for thirty years — Narni, Osimo, Ancona, and towns in the district of Sutri — released unransomed all the Roman prisoners taken in the war, and concluded a peace for twenty years with the dukedom of Rome. The treaty was ratified by a solemn service, at which the Pope (the bishopric of Terni being vacant) officiated; the pious king, the officers of his court and army, attended in submissive reverence. The Pope then entertained him with a great banquet,¹ and returned to Rome. The deliverer of the city from a foreign yoke was received with a religious ovation, as well deserved as one of the Triumphs of older days. The procession passed from the ancient Pantheon, now the church of St. Mary ad Martyres, to St. Peter's.

Yet beyond the immediate circle of the pontiff's magic influence, Luitprand could not resist the temptation offered by the wreck of the defenceless exarchate. Though, according to his treaty with the Pope, he respected the territory of Rome, he suddenly surprised Cesena, and announced his determination to subdue the rest of the exarchate. Ravenna already beheld the formidable conqueror before her walls.

¹ "Ubi cum tantâ suavitate esum sumpsit, et cum tantâ hilaritate cordia, ut diceret rex tantum se nunquam meminisse comessatum." — Vit. Zachar.

The only refuge was in the unarmed Pope. Eutychius the Exarch, the archbishop, the people of the city and of the province joined in an earnest petition for the intervention of the pontiff. Zacharias espoused their cause; he sent an embassy to Pavia to dissuade Liutprand from further aggression, and to request the restoration of Cesena. The Lombard refused to receive the ambassadors. The unbaffled Pope determined once more to try the effect of his personal presence: he set forth in state towards Pavia. The importance attached to this journey is attested by the miracles with which it was invested. A cloud, by the special interposition of St. Peter, hovered constantly over the sacred band, to shield them from the violent heats, till they pitched their tents in the evening. At some distance from Ravenna he was met by the Exarch; and, still overshadowed by the faithful cloud, which poised itself at length over one of the churches, he entered the city. He left it followed by the whole population, men and women, in tears, praying for the good pastor who had left his own flock for their protection. A new sign, like a fiery army in the heavens, marshalled him on his way towards Pavia. But he derived greater advantage from other guidance. He had sent forward some of his attendants to Imola, on the Lombard border, from whom he received intelligence of orders issued to stop him on his march. The Pope made a rapid journey and reached the Po. On the banks he was met by some of the Lombard nobles, whom the king, having in vain attempted to elude the reception of the embassy, sent to receive him with due honors. After the arrival at Pavia, a few days were passed in relig-

Second interview at Pavia.
A.D. 743.

ious ceremonies, at which the king attended with his wonted devotion. It was St. Peter's day; a day happily chosen for the august ceremony. At length Liutprand consented to admit the pontiff to an interview in his palace. After long and resolute re- June 29.
sistance on the king's part, Zacharias extorted the abandonment of his ambitious designs on the exarchate, the restoration of two-thirds of the territory of Cesena.

Thus for a short time longer the wreck of the imperial dominion in Italy was preserved by the sole influence, the religious eloquence and authority, of the unarmed Bishop of Rome. But such was the power of religion in those times, that not merely did it enable the clergy to dictate their policy to armed and powerful sovereigns, to arrest Barbarian invasion, and to snatch, as it were, conquests already in their rapacious hands; in every quarter of Western Europe ^{Kings} kings were seen abdicating their thrones, ^{become} monks, placing themselves at the feet of the Pope as humble penitents, casting off their pomp, and submitting to the privations and the discipline of monks.

It has been related that when Columban, some years before, endeavored to persuade the Merovingian Theodebert to abandon his throne and become an ecclesiastic, the whole assembly burst out into scornful laughter.¹ "Was it ever heard that a Merovingian king had degraded himself into a priest?" The saint had replied, "He who disdains to become an ecclesiastic will become so against his will." The

¹ "Dicebant enim nunquam se audivisse Merovingum in regno sublimem, voluntarium clericum fuisse. *Detestantibus ergo omnibus.*" — Vit. Columbani.

times had rapidly changed. From all parts of Western Christendom kings were coming, lowly penitents, to Rome, to lay aside the vain pomp of royalty, to assume the coarse attire, the total seclusion, and, as they hoped, the undisturbed and heaven-winning peace of the cloister. Ceolwulf is said to have been the eighth Anglo-Saxon prince who became a monk. Now, within a few years, from the thrones of France and of Lombardy, the kings descended of their own accord, laid their temporal government down before the head of Christendom, and entreated permission to devote the rest of their lives to the spiritual state.

Carloman, the elder son of Charles Martel, had commenced his reign with vigor, ability, and success. On a sudden he cast off at once the duties and the dignity of his station,¹ and surrendered to Pepin, his brother, the power and all the ambitious hopes of his family. Carloman left his country, appeared in Italy, humbly requested to be admitted into the monastic state, built a monastery on Mount Soracte, but finding that too near to Rome, retired to the more profound seclusion of Mont^e Casino. In that solitude the heir of Charles Martel hoped to pass the rest of his earthly days.²

But Pope Zacharias beheld even a greater triumph of the faith. A Lombard king suddenly paused on

¹ Carloman had been preceded in this course by Hunald, Duke of Aquitaine, who having treacherously lured his brother Atto from the strong city of Poitiers, blinded him, and a few days after shut himself up in a monastery in the isle of Rhé. — H. Martin, *Histoire de France*, ii. p. 301. Hunald, however, on the death of his son, twenty-five years afterwards, scandalized Christendom by returning to the world, and resuming not only his dominions, but his wife also. — Muratori, *ann. d' Italia*, sub ann. 747.

² Vit. Zacharie. *Chronic. Moissiac. apud Pertz*, i. 292.

the full tide of ambition and success, and from a deadly and formidable enemy of the Pope and of the Roman interest, became a peaceful monk.¹

During the year of his last interview with Pope Zacharias had died Liutprand, the ablest and mightiest of the Lombard kings. Notwith-^{Death of Liutprand. A.D. 744}standing his pious deference for the Pope, his munificent ecclesiastical foundations in all parts of his dominions, the papal biographer attributes his death to the prayers of the Pope and the direct intervention of St. Peter.² The burden of ingratitude need not be laid on the Pope on account of the mature death of a sovereign who had reigned for thirty years.

During a dangerous illness of Liutprand,^{A.D. 743} nine years before, his nephew Hildebrand had been associated with him in the kingdom. After seven months of his sole dominion Hildebrand was deposed by the unanimous suffrage of the nation, and Rachis, Duke of Friuli, was raised to the throne. The first act of Rachis was to confirm the peace of twenty years with the Pope. The truce with the exarchate expired in the fifth year of his reign. But suddenly, incensed by some unknown cause of offence, or in a fit of ambition, Rachis appeared in arms,^{A.D. 749. Rachis.} broke into the exarchate, and invested Perugia. The indefatigable Pope delayed not his interference. Again he was his own ambassador, and appeared in the camp of the Lombard king.³ But he was not content with compelling King Rachis to

¹ Pauli t. Epist. ad Pepin. Regem; Muratori, R. I. Scrip. iii. 11. 116.

² Anastasius in Zacharia.

³ Chronic. Salernit. i. 1; apud Muratori, i. 2. "Impensis sidem regi plurimis muneribus, atque . . . deprecans." See also account of conversion of King Rachis.

break up the siege; he pressed him so strongly with his saintly arguments, perhaps with the holy example of Carloman, that in a few days the king stood before the gates of Rome with his wife and daughter, having abdicated his throne, an humble suppliant for admission into the cloister. He too retired to Monte Casino, which thus boasted of two royal recluses. His wife and daughter entered the neighboring convent of Piombaruola. Carloman will appear again, somewhat unexpectedly, on the scene of political life.

The last act in the eventful pontificate of Zacharias Rachis a monk. A.D. 749. was the most pregnant with important results to Latin Christendom, the transference of the crown of France from the Merovingian line to the father of Charlemagne, with the sanction, it has been asserted, under the direct authority, of the Pope. To the Church and to Western Europe it is difficult to estimate all the consequences of the elevation of the Carlovingian dynasty.

The Pope has been accused of assuming an unwarranted power in virtually, as it were, by his sanction of Pepin's coronation, absolving the subjects of Chilperic from their allegiance; of want of stern principle in countenancing the violation of the great law of hereditary succession, and the rebellious ambition of the Mayor of the Palace, who thus degraded his lawful sovereign and usurped his throne. This is to confound the laws and usages of different ages. Hereditary succession among the Teutonic races had not yet attained that sanctity in which, in later times, it has been invested by supposed religious authority, and by the rational persuasion of its inestimable advantage. In theory it

was admitted in the Roman empire ; but the perpetual change of dynasty at Constantinople was not calculated to confirm the general reverence for its inviolability. Among the Lombards, as in most of the Gothic kingdoms, the nobles claimed and constantly exercised the privilege of throwing off the yoke of an unworthy prince, and advancing a more warlike or able chieftain, usually of the royal race, to the throne. The degradation of the successor to Liutprand, the accession of Rachiis, were yet fresh in the memory of man. The Teutonic sovereign was still in theory the leader of an army ; when he ceased to exercise his primary functions he had almost abdicated his state. It is difficult to conceive how such a shadow of a monarch had been so long permitted to rule over an enterprising and turbulent nation like the Franks. He was more like the Lama of an old, decrepit, Asiatic theocracy than the head of a young and conquering people. He sat on a throne with long hair and a flowing beard (these were the signs of royalty, worn indiscriminately whether he was young or old), he received ambassadors, and gave the answers put into his mouth : he had no domain but one small city, whose revenues hardly maintained his scanty retinue. In the spring alone, at the opening of the Champ de Mars, the idol was drawn forth from his sanctuary and offered to the sight of the people. He was slowly conveyed in a car drawn by oxen through the ranks of his wondering subjects, and was then consigned again to his secluded state.¹ For two or three

¹ "Crine profuso, barbâ submissâ . . . quocunque eundum erat, carpento ibat, bubulis rustico more agente trahebatur." Eginhard, c. 1. Compare Michelet, Hist. de France. Eginhard may perhaps have exaggerated the absolute and ostentatious insignificance of the dethroned Merovingian.

generations the effete Merovingian race had acquiesced in this despicable inactivity, and made no effort to break forth from the ignominious pomp in which they slumbered away their lives.

There are no details of this signal revolution.¹ Pepin sent two ecclesiastics, Burchard, Bishop of Wurtzburg, and Fulrad his chaplain, to consult the Pope, but it appears not whether to relieve his conscience or as to a judge of recognized authority. A less decided pontiff than Zacharias might think the nation justified in its weariness of that hypocrisy which assigned to a secluded, imbecile pageant the name and ensigns of royalty, while its power was possessed by his Mayor of the Palace. It was time to put an end to this poor comedy of monarchy. Even if he took a higher view of his own power, there was full precedent in that which had long been the code of hierarchical privilege, the Old Testament, for the interference of the Priest, of God's representative on earth, in the deposition of unworthy kings, in the elevation of new dynasties.² It was indeed to usurp authority over a foreign kingdom, but what kingdom was foreign to the

¹ Eginhard, Ann. sub ann. 750, 751.

² "Et Zacharias Papa mandavit Pepino, ut melius esset illum regem vocari, qui potestatem haberet, quam illum, qui sine regali potestate manebat, ut non conturbaretur ordo." — Annal. Franc. apud Duchesne. Compare the *Gesta Francorum*, where it is more fully stated (Bouquet. p. 38). This passage is quoted in Lehuieron (*Histoire des Institutions Carolingiens*, p. 99): "*Gens Merovingorum, de quâ Franci reges sibi creare soliti erant, usque in Hildericum regem, qui jussu Stephani, Romani Pontificis, depositus ac detonsus atque in monasterium trusus est, durasse putatur. Quis licet in illo finita possit videri, tamen jamdudum nullius vigoris erat, nec quicquam in se clarum præter inane regis vocabulum præferebat, nam et opes et potentia regni penes palatii præfectos, qui majores domus dicebantur et ad quos summa imperii pertinebat, tenebantur. . . . Qui honor non aliis a populo dari consueverat, quam qui his et claritate generis et opum amplitudine cæteris eminebant.*" — Eginhard, *Vit. Kar.*, ii. 1.

head of Christendom? The retirement of the deposed Chilperic into a monastery made but little change in his life; he was spared the fatigue and mockery of a public exhibition. The election of Pepin at Soissons was conducted according to the old usage ^{March, A.D. 752.}

of the Franks, the acclamation and clash of arms of the nobles and of the people, the elevation on the buckler; but it had now a new religious character, which marked the growing power of the clergy. The bishops stood around the throne, as of equal rank with the armed nobles. The Jewish ceremony of anointing was first introduced to sanctify a king perhaps of still somewhat doubtful title. The holy oil was poured on his head by the saintly archbishop of Mentz.¹ Two years after, on the visit of Pope Stephen, this ceremony was renewed by the august head of Christendom. King Chilperic was shaven and dismissed into a monastery, the retreat or the prison of all weary or troublesome princes.²

Little foresaw Pepin, little foresaw Zacharias, or his successor Stephen, the effects of the precedent which they were furnishing in the contemptuous dismissal of the poor foolish Chilperic from the throne of his ancestors, and the sanction of the Pope to this it might

¹ Clovis had also been *anointed* by St. Remi: "*Elegi baptizari . . . et per ejusdem sacri chrismatism unctionem ordinato in regem . . . statuo.*" If he fails in his engagements "*stant dies ejus pauci, et principatum ejus accipiat alter.*" — Testament. S. Remig. ap. Flodoard. On the sacred character conferred by the holy unction, see *Adlocutio duorum Episcoporum in eccles. S. Medard, A.D. 806.* — Bouquet. According to the bishops, it gave the same right as that divinely bestowed on the kings of Israel. "*Ainsi, par une réciprocité ordinaire dans les affaires humaines, le sacre, en donnant un titre, a imposé une sujétion; et de cette équivoque naîtra un jour le plus grand problème du moyen âge, la guerre du sacerdoce et de l'empire.*" — Lehuerou, p. 330.

² Eginhard, *loc. cit.*

seem almost insignificant act : that successors of Zacharias would assert that the kings of France, or rather the emperors, the successors of Charlemagne, held their crown only by the authority of the Pope ; that the Pope might transfer that allegiance, to which the only title was the papal sanction, to a more loyal son of the Church.

In every respect, whether he contemplated the remote or the immediate interests of the Church or of Christianity, the Pope might hail with unmitigated satisfaction and hope the accession of Pepin. The whole race, since the alliance with Charles Martel, had been devoted to the Church and to the see of Rome. The prescient sagacity of Zacharias might discern in Astolph, the new king of the Lombards, that he inherited all the ambition without the strong religious feeling of his predecessors. Rome might speedily need a powerful Transalpine protector.

Nor could the Pope be blind to the pride, the ambition, the duty of establishing his own jurisdiction on a firmer basis beyond the Alps. In the German part of the Frankish kingdom, and in Germany itself, had now arisen a new clergy ; if more devoted to the Pope, unquestionably of far higher Christian character than the degenerate hierarchy of France. They began as the humblest yet most enterprising missionaries, daily perilling their lives for the faith, and bringing gradually tribes of Barbarians within the pale of Christendom ; they had become prelates of large sees, abbots of flourishing monasteries. But all this aggression on paganism, all these conquests of Christianity and civilization in the forests and morasses of Germany, had been made by men commissioned by Rome, and in strict sub-

serviency to her discipline. Not even the jarring discrepancy between what Boniface and his followers saw and heard of the lives of Christian prelates in Rome, the venality of the public proceedings, and all which was strange to his lofty ideal of the faith, could in the least shake their conscientious devotion to the See of St. Peter.

To judge from the reports of these holy men, the monarchy itself was not more utterly effete and depraved than the old established clergy of France, which had boasted, in the century before, a hierarchy of saints. With due allowance for the rigidly monastic and celibate notions of Boniface and his disciples, which would induce them to condemn the marriage of the clergy as sternly as the loosest concubinage, there can be no doubt that the Frankish clergy were in general sunk low in character as in estimation.¹ Boniface, well informed, doubtless, of what he might expect to find, demands authority of the Pope to punish by summary degradation the incredible profligacy, especially of the lower ecclesiastics; as well as to interdict the unchristian occupations of the soldier-bishops, who indulged all the license of the camp — drunkenness, gambling, and quarrelling; and all the ferocity of the field of battle, even bloodshed, whether that of Pagans or Christians.²

¹ Archbishop Boniface, it is said, Archbishop of Mentz, by papal authority (miesus S. Petri), was set by Charles Martel over a synod, of which the object was to restore the law of God and the religion of the Church, which had gone to ruin under former kings, "quæ in diebus præteritorum principum corruit." — *Epist. Boniface. Ellendorf, die Karolinger*, i. p. 83. Carloman and his brother Pepin had followed the example of their father Charles Martel in supporting with all their power these better Christian ecclesiastics; they not only befriended them in their conversion of the Pagans, but in the correction of their own clergy.

² Bonifac. *Epist.*, with the permission to hold the Synod, and the reply

All the energy at least, the high principle, the pure morality, all the christianity of the time, might seem centred in these missionaries and in their followers; and this clergy at once so much more papal, and of so much higher character, was that of the new Carovingian kingdom, a kingdom of Germany¹ rather than of Gaul. This clergy, the ancestors of Pepin, and Pepin himself, had always treated with the utmost respect and deference.² Boniface, in truth, as Papal Legate, or under the authority of Pepin, had early assumed the power of a primate of Gaul, consecrated three archbishops, of Rouen, and Sens, and Rheims. The last see was occupied by a soldier-prelate, named Milo, archbishop at once of Rheims and of Treves, who resisted for ten years all attempts to dispossess him; at the end of that time he was killed by a wild boar.

King Pepin was himself an Austrasian, the vast estates of his family lay on the Rhine. The accession of his house Teutonized more completely, till the division among the sons of Charlemagne, the whole Frankish monarchy.

Pope Zacharias did not live to behold the fulfilment of his great designs. He died in the same year on

of Pope Zacharias. — Labbe, Concil., p. 1495. He speaks of those who "in diaconatu concubinas quatuor vel quinque vel plures noctu in lectulo habentes," nevertheless dared to perform their sacred offices, and were promoted to the priesthood, even to episcopacy. He proceeds: "Et inveniantur quidam inter eos episcopi, qui licet dicant se fornicarios vel adulteros non esse, sunt tamen ebriosi, et injuriosi, vel pugnatores; et qui pugnant in exercitu armati, et effundunt propriâ manu sanguinem hominum sive infidelium, sive Christianorum."

¹ Compare Guizot, Essai iii.

² Pope Zacharias writes to Boniface: "Quod (Carlomanus et Pepinus) tue predicationis socii et adjutores esse niterentur ex divina inspiratura." — Epist. Bonifac. 144.

which Pepin became king of France. The election fell on a certain presbyter, named Stephen; but the third day after, before his consecration, he was seized with a fit, and died the following day. He is not reckoned in the line of popes. Another Stephen, chosen immediately on his death, is usually called the second of that name.

A.D. 752.
March 14.

March 26.
Stephen II.
or III.

The first act of Stephen's pontificate was to guard against the threatened aggressions of the Lombards. Already had Astolph, a prince as daring but less religious than Liutprand, entered the Exarchate, and seized Ravenna. The ambassadors of the June Pope were received with courtesy, his gifts with avidity; a hollow truce for forty years was agreed on; but in four months (the terms of the treaty, and the pretext alleged by Astolph for its violation, are equally unknown) the Lombard was again in arms. In terms of contumely and menace he demanded the instant submission of Rome, and the payment of a heavy personal tribute, a poll-tax on each citizen. Astolph now treated the ambassadors of the Pope with scorn.¹ A representative of the empire, which still clung to its barren rights in Italy, John the Silentiary, appeared at Rome. He was sent to Ravenna, to protest against the Lombard invasion, and to demand the restoration of the Roman territory to the republic. Astolph dismissed him with a civil but evasive answer, that he would send an ambassador

¹ According to Anastasius, he was required to surrender to their rightful lord all that he had usurped by his *diabolic* ambition. This is a flower of ecclesiastical rhetoric, yet showing the papal abhorrence of the Lombards.

October. to the Emperor. Stephen wrote to Constantinople, that without an army to back the imperial demands, all was lost.

Astolph, exasperated, perhaps, at the demand of an army from the East, which might reach his ears, inflexibly pursued his advantages. He approached the Roman frontier; he approached Rome. Not all the litanies, not all the solemn processions to the most revered altars of the city, in which the Pope himself, with naked feet, bore the cross, and the whole people followed with ashes on their heads, and with a wild howl of agony implored the protection of God against the blaspheming Lombards, arrested for an instant his progress. The Pope appealed to heaven, by tying a copy of the treaty, violated by Astolph, to the holy cross.¹ Yet, during the siege of Rome, Astolph was digging up the bodies of saints, not for insult, but as the most precious trophies, and carried them off as tutelar deities to Lombardy.²

The only succor was beyond the Alps, from Pepin, the king, by papal sanction, of the Catholic Franks. Already the Pope had written to beseech the interference of the transalpine; and now, as the danger became more imminent, he determined to leave his beloved flock, though in a feeble state of health, to encounter the perils of a journey over the Alps, and so to visit the Barbarian monarch in person. He set forth among the tears and lamentations of the people. He was accompanied by some

Stephen

leaves Rome.

¹ "Alligans connectensque adorandæ cruci Dei nostri, pactum illud, quod nefandus Rex Longobardorum disruptit." — Anastas., in Vit. Steph. II.

² "Ablata multa sanctorum corpora ex Romanis finibus, in Papiam . . . construxit eorum oracula." He founded a nunnery, in which he placed his own daughters. — Chronic. Salernit.

ecclesiastics, by the Frankish bishop Radi- Oct. 14.
gond, and the Duke Anscharis, already sent by Pepin
to invite him to the court of France. Miracles, now
the ordinary signs of a papal progress, were said to
mark his course.¹ Instead of endeavoring to pass
without observation through the Lombard dominions,
he boldly presented himself at the gate of Pavia. He
was disappointed if he expected Astolph to be over-
awed by his presence, as Liutprand and Rachis had
been by that of his saintly predecessor; but November.
he was safe under the protection of the ambassador
of Pepin. Astolph received him not without courtesy,
accepted his gifts, but paid no regard to his earnest
tears and supplications; coldly rejected his exorbitant
demands,—the immediate restoration of all the Lom-
bard conquests—but respected his person, and tried
only, by repeated persuasion, to divert him from his
journey into France. Stephen, on leaving Pavia,
anticipated any stronger measures to detain him by
a rapid march to the foot of the Alps. In November
he passed the French frontier, and reached Nov. 15.
the convent of St. Maurice. There he was met by
another ecclesiastic, and another noble of the highest
rank, with orders to conduct him to the court. At a
distance of a hundred miles from the court appeared
the Prince Charles, with some chosen nobles. Jan. 6, 754.
Charles was thus to be early impressed with reverence

¹ Compare, on the other hand, the curious story in Agnelli. Stephen wished to plunder on his way the treasures of the church of Ravenna. The Ravennese priests (among them Leo, afterwards archbishop) designed to murder him. He escaped, taking only part of the treasures. Those who had plotted the death of the Pope were sent to Rome, and remained till most of them died. Among them, says the writer, "avus patris mei fuit." —Apud Muratori.

for the Papal dignity. Three miles from the palace of Pontyon,¹ Pepin came forth with his wife, his family, and the rest of his feudatories. As the Pope approached, the king dismounted from his horse, and prostrated himself on the ground before him. He then walked by the side of the Pope's palfrey. The Pope and the ecclesiastics broke out at once into hymns of thanksgiving, and so chanting as they went, reached the royal residence. Stephen lost no time in adverting to the object of his visit. He implored the immediate interposition of Pepin to enforce the restoration of the domain of St. Peter. So relate the Italians. According to the French chroniclers, the Pope and his clergy, with ashes on their heads, and sackcloth on their bodies, prostrated themselves as suppliants at the feet of Pepin, and would not rise till he had promised his aid against the perfidious Lombard. Pepin swore at once to fulfil all the requests of the Pope; but as the winter rendered military operations impracticable, invited him to Paris, where he took up his residence in the abbey of St. Denys. Pepin and his two sons were again anointed by the Pope himself, their sovereignty thus more profoundly sanctified in the minds of their subjects. Stephen would secure the perpetuity of the dynasty under pain of interdict and excommunication. The nation was never to presume to choose a king in future ages, but of the race of Charles Martel.² From fatigue and the severity of the climate, Stephen became dangerously ill in the July. monastery of St. Denys, but, after a har-

¹ Pontyon on the Perche, near Vitry-le brule.

² "Tali omnes interdicto et excommunicationis lege constrinxit, ut nunquam de alterius lumbis regem in ævo præsumerent eligere." — *Clausulæ de Pippini Elect.*

struggle, recovered his health. His restoration was esteemed a miracle, wrought through the prayers of St. Denys, St. Peter, and St. Paul.

Astolph, in the mean time, did not disdain the storm which was brooding beyond the Alps. He took an extraordinary measure to avert the danger. He persuaded Carloman, the brother of Pepin, who had abdicated his throne, and turned monk, to leave his monastery, to cross the Alps, and endeavor to break this close alliance between Pepin and the Pope. No wonder that the clergy should attribute the influence of Astolph over the mind of Carloman to diabolic arts, for Carloman appeared at least, whether seized by an access of reviving ambition, or incensed at Pepin's harsh treatment of his family, to enter with the utmost zeal into the cause of the Lombard. The humble slave of the Pope Zacharias presented himself in France as the resolute antagonist of Pope Stephen and of the Papal cause.¹ But the throne of Pepin was too firmly fixed; he ^{Carloman in France.} turned a deaf and contemptuous ear to his brother's arguments. The Pope asserted his authority over the renegade monk, who had broken his vows; and Carloman was imprisoned for life in a cloister at Vienne; that life however, lasted but a few days.

Pope Stephen was anxious to avert the shedding of blood in the impending war.² Thrice before he col-

¹ According to Anastasius, "*vehementius decertabat, sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ causam subvertere.*" It is impossible to conceive how Astolph could persuade him to engage in this strange and perilous mission, and the arguments urged by Carloman on his brother are still more strange. Eginhard asserts that he came "*jussu abbatis sui quia nec ille ablati sui jussa contempnere, nec abbas ille præceptis Regis Longobardorum, qui ei et hoc imperavit, audebat resistere.*" Sub ann. 753.

² "*Obtestatur per omnia divina mysteria et futuri examinis diem ut*

lected his forces, once on his march to Italy, Pepin sent ambassadors to the Lombard king, who were to exhort him to surrender peaceably the possessions of the Church and of the Roman Republic. Pope Stephen tried the persuasiveness of religious awe. Astolph rejected the menacing and more quiet overtures with scorn, and fell on an advanced post of the Franks,

which occupied one of the passes of the Alps, about to be entered by the army. He was routed by those few troops, and took refuge in Pavia. The King of the Franks and Pope Stephen advanced to the walls of the city; and Astolph was glad to purchase an ignominious peace, by pledging himself, on oath, to restore the territory of Rome.¹

Pepin had no sooner retired beyond the Alps with his hostages, than Astolph began to find causes to delay the covenanted surrender. After a certain time he marched with his whole forces upon Rome, to which Pope Stephen had then returned, wasted the surrounding country, encamped before the Salarian Gate, and demanded the surrender of the Pope.² The plunder, if the Papal historian is to be believed, which he chiefly coveted, was the dead bodies of the saints.

These he dug up and carried away. He demanded that the Romans should give up the Pope into his hands, and on these terms only would he

pacifice sine ullâ sanguinis effusione propria sanctæ dei ecclesiæ et reipublicæ Romanorum reddat jura." — Vit. Steph.

¹ The Pope attributed the easy victory of the Franks, not to their valor but to St. Peter. "*Per manum beati Petri Dominus omnipotens victoriam vobis largiri dignatus est.*" — Steph. Epist. ad Pepin. p. 1632.

² Stephan. Epist. Gretser, 261. — "*Aperite mihi portam Salariam ut ingrediar civitatem, et tradite mihi pontificem vestrum.*"

spare the city. Astolph declared he would not leave the Pope a foot of land.¹

Stephen sent messengers in all haste by sea, for every way by land was closed to his faithful ally. His first letter reminded King Pepin how Pope Stephen's first letter. stern an exactor of promises was St. Peter; "that the king hazarded eternal condemnation if he did not complete the donation which he had vowed to St. Peter, and St. Peter had promised to him eternal life. If the king was not faithful to his word, the apostle had his handwriting to the grant, which he would produce against him in the day of judgment."

A second letter followed, more pathetic, more persuasive. "Astolph was at the gates of Rome; Second letter. he threatened, if they did not yield up the Pope, to put the whole city to the sword. He had burned all the villas and the suburbs;² he had not spared the churches; the very altars were Dec. 754—Feb. 755. plundered and defiled; nuns violated; infants torn from their mothers' breasts; the mothers polluted, — all the horrors of war were ready to break on the devoted city, which had endured a siege of fifty-five days. He conjured him, by God and his holy mother, by the angels of heaven, by the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and by the last day." This second letter was sent by the hands of the Abbot Warnerius, who had put on his breast-plate, and night and day kept watch for the city. (This is the first example of a warlike abbot.) With him were George, a bishop, and Count

¹ "Nec unius palmi terræ spatium B. Petro . . . vel reipublicæ Romanorum reddere." — Steph. Epist. In the utmost distress, the very stones, the Pope says, might have wept at his grief and peril. — Epist. ad Pepin. Reg.

² Epist. ii. ad Pepin. Reg.

Tomaric. Stephen summed up the certain reward which Pepin might expect if he hastened to the rescue — “Victory over all the Barbarian nations, and eternal life.”

But the Franks were distant, or were tardy ; the danger of the Pope and the Roman people more and more imminent. Stephen was wrought to an agony of fear, and in this state took the daring — to our calmer religious sentiment, impious step — of writing a letter, as from St. Peter himself, to hasten the lingering succor : — “ I, Peter the Apostle, protest, admonish, and conjure you, the Most Christian Kings, Pepin, Charles, and Carloman, with all the hierarchy, bishops, abbots, priests, and all monks ; all judges, dukes, counts, and the whole people of the Franks. The Mother of God likewise adjures you, and admonishes and commands you, she as well as the thrones and dominions, and all the host of heaven, to save the beloved city of Rome from the detested Lombards. If ye hasten, I, Peter the Apostle, promise you my protection in this life and in the next, will prepare for you the most glorious mansions in heaven, and will bestow on you the everlasting joys of paradise. Make common cause with my people of Rome, and I will grant whatever ye may pray for. I conjure you not to yield up this city to be lacerated and tormented by the Lombards, lest your own souls be lacerated and tormented in hell, with the devil and his pestilential angels. Of all nations under heaven, the Franks are highest in the esteem of St. Peter ; to me you owe all your victories. Obey, and obey speedily, and, by my suffrage, our Lord Jesus Christ will give you in this life length of days, security, victory ; in the life to come, will mul-

Third from
St. Peter
himself.

tively his blessings upon you, among his saints and angels." ¹

A vain but natural curiosity would imagine the effect of this letter at the court of Pepin. Were there among his clergy or among his warrior nobles those who really thought they heard the voice of the apostle, and felt that their eternal doom depended on their instant obedience to this appeal? How far was Pepin himself governed by policy or by religious awe? How much was art, how much implicit faith wrought up to its highest pitch by terror, in the mind of the Pope, when the Pope ventured on this awful assumption of the person of the apostle? That he should hazard such a step, having had personal intercourse with Pepin, his clergy, and his nobles, shows the measure which he had taken of the power with which religion possessed their souls. He had fathomed the depths of their Christianity; and whether he himself partook in the same, to us extravagant, notions, or used them as lawful instruments to terrify the Barbarians into the protection of the holy see and the advancement of her dominion, he might consider all means justified for such high purposes. If it had been likely to startle men, by this overwrought demand on their credulity, into reasoning on such subjects, it would have hindered rather than promoted his great end.

¹ Gretser, p. 17-23. Mansi, sub ann. A. D. 755. Fleury observes of this letter: "Au reste, elle est pleine d'équivoques, comme les précédentes. L'Eglise y signifie non l'assemblée des fidèles, mais les biens temporels consacrés à Dieu: le troupeau de Jésus Christ sont les corps et non pas les âmes: les promesses temporelles de l'ancienne loi sont mêlées avec les spirituelles de l'Evangile, et les motifs plus saints de la religion employés pour une affaire d'état." — Liv. xlvii. c. 17. After all, the ground of quarrel was for the exarchate, not for the estates of the Church. If the Pope had allowed the Lombards to occupy the exarchate, they would have been loyal allies of the Pope.

Not the least remarkable point of all is, that Christianity has now assumed the complete power, not only of the life to come, but of the present life, with all its temporal advantages. It now leagues itself with Barbarians, not to soften, to civilize, to imbue with devotion, to lead to Christian worship; but to give victory in all their ruthless wars, to confer the blessings of heaven on their schemes of ambition and conquest. The one title to eternal life is obedience to the Church — the Church no longer the community of pious and holy Christians, but the see, almost the city, of Rome. The supreme obligation of man is the protection and enlargement of her domain. By zeal in this cause, without any other moral or religious qualification, the most brutal and bloody soldier is a saint in heaven. St. Peter is become almost God, the giver of victory, the dispenser of eternal life. The time is approaching when war against infidels or enemies of the Pope will be among the most meritorious acts of a Christian.

The Franks had alarmed the Pope by the tardiness of their succor; but their host once assembled and on its march, their rapid movements surprised Astolph. Scarcely could he return to Pavia, when he found himself besieged in his capital. The Lombard forces seem to have been altogether unequal to resist the Franks. Astolph yielded at once to the demands of Pepin, and actually abandoned the whole contested territory. Ambassadors from the East were present at the conclusion of the treaty, and demanded the restitution of Ravenna and its territory to the Byzantine Empire. Pepin declared that his sole object in the war was to show his veneration for St.

Pepin in
Italy.
Lombards
yield.

Peter; and he bestowed, as it seems, by the right of conquest, the whole upon the Pope.

The representatives of the Pope, who however always speak of the republic of Rome, passed through the land, receiving the homage of the authorities and the keys of the cities. The district comprehended Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Sinigaglia, Iesi, Forlimpopoli, Forli with the Castle Sussibio, Montefeltro, Acerra, Monte di Lucano, Serra, San Marino, Bobbio, Urbino, Cagli, Luciole, Gubbio, Comachio, and Narni which was severed from the dukedom of Spoleto.¹

Thus the successor, as he was declared, of the fisherman of the Galilean lake, the apostle of Him whose kingdom was not of this world, became a temporal sovereign. By the gift of a foreign potentate, this large part of Italy became the kingdom of the Bishop of Rome.

King Astolph did not long survive this humiliation: he was accidentally killed when hunting. A.D. 756.

The adherents of the Pope beheld the hand of God in his death; they heap on him every appellation of scorn and hatred; the Pope has no doubt of his damnation.² The Lombards of Tuscany Desiderius King of Lombardy. A.D. 756. favored the pretensions of their Duke Des-

¹ It is not quite clear how Stephen himself eluded the claims of the Greek Emperor — probably by the Emperor's heresy. In Stephen's letter of thanks for his deliverance to the King of the Franks, he desires to know what answer had been given to the Silentiary, commissioned to assert the rights of his master. He reminds Pepin that he must protect the Catholic Church against pestilent wickedness (*malitia*), (no doubt the iconoclastic opinions of the Emperor), and keep her *property* secure (*omnia proprietatis sue*).

² "Divino ictu percussus est et in inferni voraginem demersus." — Epist ad Pepin. vi.; Gretser, 60; Mansi, sub ann.

iderius to the throne. In the north of Italy, Rachis, the brother of Astolph, who had retired to a monastery, appeared at the head of a powerful faction, and reclaimed the throne. Desiderius endeavored to secure the influence of the pope. Stephen extorted, as the price of his interference, Faenza, Imola, with some other castles, and the whole duchy of Ferrara.¹ Stephen no doubt felt a holy horror of the return of a monk to worldly cares, even those of a crown. This would be rank apostasy with him who was thus secularizing the papacy itself.

During the later years of Stephen's pontificate, a strong faction had designated his brother Paul as successor to the see. Another party, opposed perhaps to this family transmission of the papacy, which was thus assimilating itself more and more to a temporal sovereignty, set up the claims of the Archdeacon Theophylact. On the vacancy the Paul I. Pope. partisans of Paul prevailed. The brother of Stephen was raised to the throne of St. Peter. Paul has the fame of a mild and peace-loving prelate. He loved to wander at night among the hovels of the poor, and to visit the prisons, relieving misery and occasionally releasing the captives from their bondage. Yet is Paul not less involved in the ambitious designs of the advancing papacy. His first act is to announce his election to the King of the Franks, who had now the title, probably bestowed by Stephen, of Patrician of Rome. His letter does not allude to any further ratification of his election, made by the free choice of the clergy and people of Rome; there is no recognition whatever of supremacy.

¹ Perhaps also Osimo, Ancona, Humana, and he even demanded Bologna

Desiderius, till he had secured his throne in Lombardy, remained on terms of amity with the Pope; but the old irreconcilable hostility broke out again soon after the accession of Paul.

Among the causes of the weakness of the Lombard kingdom, and the easy triumph of the Franks, was the disunion of the nation. The Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento renounced their allegiance to the King of Pavia, and declared their fealty to the King of the Franks. The chastisement of their revolt gave Desiderius a pretext for war. He marched, ravaging as he went with fire and sword, through the cities of the exarchate, surprised and imprisoned the Duke of Spoleto, forced the Duke of Benevento to take refuge in Otranto, and set up another duke in his place. He then proceeded to Naples, still occupied by the Greeks, and endeavored to negotiate a dangerous alliance with the Eastern emperor.¹ On his return he passed through Rome; and when the Pope demanded the surrender of the stipulated cities — Imola, Osimo, Ancona, and Bologna — Desiderius eluded the demand by requiring the previous restitution of the Lombard hostages carried by Pepin into France; but dreading perhaps a new Frankish invasion, Desiderius gradually submitted to the fulfilment of his treaty. Disputes arose concerning certain patrimony of the Church in some of the Lombard cities, but even these were amicably adjusted. The adulation of Paul to the King of the Franks passes bounds. He is another Moses; as Moses rescued Israel from the bondage of Egypt, so Pepin the Catholic Church; as Moses confounded idolatry, so Pepin heresy. The rapturous

¹ Grotzer, p. 81; Mansi, sub ann. 758.

expressions of the Psalms about the Messiah are scarcely too fervent to be applied to Pepin. All his acts are under divine inspiration.¹ The only apprehensions of Paul seemed to be on the side of the Greeks. On one occasion he writes that six Byzantine ships menaced a descent on Rome; on another he dreads an attack by sea on Ravenna. He entreats the King of the Franks to urge Desiderius to make common cause against the enemy; but he represents the hostility of the Greeks as arising not from their desire to recover their rights in Italy, but solely from the impious design of destroying the images, of subverting the Catholic faith and the traditions of the holy fathers. They are odious iconoclastic heretics, not the Imperial armies warring to regain their lost dominions in Italy. The Greeks have now succeeded to the appellation of the "most wicked," a term hitherto appropriated to the Lombards; but hereafter the epithet of all those who resisted the temporal or spiritual interest of the Papal See.²

Such was the singular position of Rome and of the Roman territory. In theory they were still part of the Roman Empire, of which the Greek Emperor, had he been orthodox, would have been the acknowledged

¹ Gretser, Epist. xvi. "Novus quippe Moses, novusque David in omnibus operibus suis effectus est Christianissimus et a Deo protectus filius et spiritalis compater Dominus Pepinus." — Epist. xxii. Thou, after God, art our defender and aider; if all the hairs of our head were tongues, we could not give you thanks equal to your deserts. — Epist. xxxvi. Throughout it is St. Peter who has anointed Pepin king; St. Peter who is the giver of all Pepin's victories over the Barbarians; St. Peter whom he protects; St. Peter whose gratitude he has a right to command; and St. Peter is all powerful in heaven.

² Non ob aliud nefandissimi nos persequuntur Græci, nisi propter sanctam et orthodoxam fidem, et venerandorum patrum piam traditionem, quam cupiunt destruere et conculcare." — Epist. ad Pepin.

sovereign;¹ but his iconoclasm released the members of the true Church from their allegiance: he was virtually or actually under excommunication. In the mean time the right of conquest, and the indefinite title of Patrician, assigned by the Pope, acting in behalf and with the consent of the Roman republic, to Pepin—a title which might be merely honorary, or might justify any authority which he might have power to exercise—gave a kind of supremacy to the King of the Franks in Rome and her domain. The Pope, tacitly at least, admitted as the representative of the Roman people, awarded this title, which gave him a right to demand protection, while himself, by the donation of Pepin, possessed the actual property and the real power. In the Exarchate he ruled by the direct grant of Pepin, who had conquered this territory from the Lombards, they having previously dispossessed the Greeks. Popes of this time kept up the pious fiction that the donations even of sovereigns, though extending to cities and provinces, were given for holy uses, the keeping up the lights in the churches, and the maintenance of the poor.² But who was to demand account of the uses to which these revenues were applied? The Pope took possession as lord and master; he received the homage of the authorities and the keys of the cities. The local or municipal institutions remained; but the revenue, which had before been received by the Byzantine crown, became the

¹ The Greeks still retained Naples and the South of Italy.

² "Unde pro animæ vestre salute indefessa luminarium concinnatio Dei ecclesiis permaneat, et esuries pauperum, egenorum, vel peregrinorum nihilominus relevetur, et ad veram saturitatem perveniant."—Steph. II. ad Pepin. Epist.

revenue of the Church: of that revenue the Pope was the guardian, distributor, possessor.

The pontificate of Paul, on the whole, was a period of peace. If Desiderius, after his first expedition against the rebel Duke of Spoleto, did not maintain strictly amicable relations with the Papal See, he abstained from hostility.

But, as heretofore, the loftier the papal dignity and the greater the wealth and power of the Pope, the more it became an object of unhallowed ambition. On the death of Paul, that which two centuries later reduced the Papacy to the lowest state of degradation, the violent nomination of the Pope by the petty barons and armed nobles of the neighboring districts was prematurely attempted. Toto, the Duke of Nepi, suddenly, before Paul had actually expired, entered the city with his three brothers and a strong armed force. As soon as Paul was dead, they seized a bishop and compelled him to ordain Constantine, one of the brothers, yet a layman. They then took possession of the Lateran palace, and after a hasty form of election, forced the same bishop, George of Palestrina, with two others, Eustratius of Alba and Cito-
Papacy seized by Toto. natus of Porto, to consecrate Constantine as Pope.¹ The usurper retained possession of the see for more than a year, ordained and discharged all the offices of a pontiff, a period reckoned as a vacancy in the papal annals. At the end of that time two distinguished Romans, Christopher the Primicerius and Sergius his son, made their escape to the court of Pavia, to entreat the intervention of Desiderius. They obtained the aid of some Lombards, chiefly

Constantine
Pope.
July 6, 767,
to Aug. 1, 768.

¹ Vit. Stephan. III.

from the duchy of Spoleto, and appeared in arms in the city. Toto at first made a valiant defence, but was betrayed by his own followers and slain. Constantine, the false Pope, with his brother and a bishop named Theodorus, endeavored to conceal themselves, but were seized by their enemies.

During the tumult part of the successful insurgents hastily elected a certain Philip, and installed him in the Lateran palace. The stronger party assembled a more legitimate body of electors, the chief of the clergy, of the army, and of the people. The unanimous choice fell on Stephen III., who had been employed in high offices by Paul.¹ The scenes which followed in the city of the head of Christendom must not be concealed.² The easy victory was terribly avenged on Constantine and his adherents. The Bishop Theodorus was the chief object of animosity. They put out his eyes, cut off his tongue, and shut him up in the dungeon of a monastery, where he was left to die of hunger and of thirst, vainly imploring a drop of water in his agony. They put out the eyes of Passianus, the brother of the usurping Pope, and shut him up in a monastery: they plundered and confiscated all their possessions. The usurper was led through the city riding on a horse with a woman's saddle, with heavy weights to his feet; then brought out, solemnly deposed (for he was yet Pope elect),³ and thrust into the monastery of Centumcellæ. Even there he was not allowed to repent in peace of his ambition. A party of his ene-

July 81.
Philip.

A.D. 768.
Stephen III.
Cruelties in
Rome.

¹ He is called Vice Dominus.

² Anastas. Vit. Stephan. III.

³ "Dum adhuc electus extitisset." — Vit. Steph. III.

mies first seized a tribune of his faction named Gracilis, Aug. 6. put out his eyes, surprised the convent, treated the Pope in the same inhuman manner, and left him blind and bleeding in the street. These atrocities were not confined to the adherents of Constantine. A presbyter named Waldipert had taken a great part in the revolution, had accompanied Christopher, the leader of the deliverers, to Rome, but he had been guilty of the hasty election of Philip to the papacy. He was accused of a conspiracy to betray the city to the Duke of Spoleto. He fled to the church of the Virgin ad Martyres. Though he clung to and clasped the sacred image, he was dragged out, and plunged into one of the most noisome dungeons in the city. After a few days he was brought forth, his eyes put out, his tongue cut in so barbarous a manner that he died. Some of these might be the acts of a fierce, ungovernable, excited populace; but the clergy, in their collective and deliberative capacity, cannot be acquitted of as savage inhumanity.

The first act of Stephen was to communicate his election to the Patrician, the King of the Franks. Aug. 1, 768. Pepin had expired before the arrival of the ambassadors. His son sent a deputation of twelve bishops to Rome. The Pope summoned the bishops of Tuscany, of Campania, and other parts of Italy, and with the Frankish bishops formed a regular Council in the Lateran. The usurper Constantine was brought in, blind and broken in spirit, to answer for April 12, 769. his offences. He expressed the deepest contrition, he grovelled on the earth, he implored the mercy of the priestly tribunal. His sentence was deferred. On his next examination he was asked how.

being a layman, he had dared to venture on such an impious innovation as to be consecrated at once a bishop. It is dangerous at times to embarrass adversaries with a strong argument. He replied that it was no unprecedented innovation; he alleged ^{Punishment of Constantine.} the cases of the Archbishops of Ravenna and of Naples, as promoted at once from laymen to the episcopate. The indignant clergy rose up, fell upon him, beat him cruelly with their own hands, and turned him out of the church.

All the instruments which related to the usurpation of Constantine were then burned; Stephen solemnly inaugurated; all who had received the communion from the hands of Constantine professed their profound penitence. A decree was passed interdicting, under the strongest anathema, all who should aspire to the episcopate without having passed through the inferior orders. All the ordinations of Constantine ^{April 14, 730.} were declared null and void; the bishops were thrown back to their inferior orders, and could only attain the episcopate after a new election and consecration. The laymen who had dared to receive these irregular orders fared worse: they were to wear the religious habit for their lives, being incapable of religious functions. This Lateran Council closed its proceedings by an unanimous decree in favor of image-worship, anathematizing the godless Iconoclasts of the East.

These tragic scenes closed not with the extinction of the faction of Constantine: new victims suffered the dreadful punishment of blinding, some also seclusion in a monastery, the ordinary sentence of all whose lives were spared in civil conflict. But the causes of this new revolution and the conduct of the Pope are con

tested and obscure. All that is undoubted is that the King of the Lombards appears as the protector of the Pope; Carloman the Frank, the son of Pepin, threatens his dethronement.¹

Desiderius, the Lombard King, presented himself before Rome with the avowed object of delivering the Pope from the tyranny of Christopher the primicerius, and his son Sergius. These men had been the leaders, with Lombard aid, in the overthrow of the usurper. Christopher and his son hastily gathered some troops, and closed the gates of the city. They were betrayed by Paul (named Afiarta), the Pope's chamberlain, seized, blinded: the elder, Christopher, died of the operation. Desiderius boasted of this service as equivalent to and annulling all the papal claims to certain rights in the cities of Lombardy. Carloman the Frank, on the other hand, espoused the cause of these oppressors, as they were called, of the Pope, who had menaced his life, in conjunction with Dodo, Carloman's ambassador. Carlo-

Desiderius,
King of Lombardy,
A.D. 757, in Rome,
A.D. 769.

¹ The great object of dispute, after the surrender of the exarchate, that which the popes constantly demanded, and the Lombard kings endeavored to elude, was the full restitution of the "justitiae" claimed by the pope within the Lombard kingdom. — Vit. Stephan. III. This term, intelligible in the forensic language of the day, is now unmeaning. Muratori defines it, "Allodiale, rendite e diritte, che appartenevano alla chiesa Romana nel regno Longobardico." But what were these allodial rights, in a kingdom of which the full sovereignty was in the Lombards? Were they estates held by the Church, as landlords, like those in Sicily or elsewhere? or *dues* claimed at least of all Roman Christians in Italy? Sismondi's suggestion, that it means the royal cities, the property of the crown, which were administered in France by judges, seems quite inapplicable to the Lombard kingdom (Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, ii. p. 281). Manzoni, in a note to his *Adelchi*, supposes that it was a vague term, intended to comprehend all the demands of the Church. Yet in the epistles of the several popes, the two Stephens, Paul, and Hadrian, it seems to mean something specific and definite. To me Muratori appears nearest to the truth.

man threatened to avenge their punishment by marching to Rome and dethroning the Pope. This strange statement is confirmed by a letter of Stephen himself, addressed to Bertha, the mother of the Frankish kings, and to Charlemagne.¹ The biographer of Pope Stephen gives an opposite version. The hostility of Desiderius to Christopher and Sergius arose from their zeal in enforcing the papal demands on the Lombard kings. He denounces the Lombards as still the enemies of the Pope, and accuses Paul, the Pope's chamberlain, their ally, of the basest treachery.

At all events this transitory connection between the pope and the Lombards soon gave way to the old implacable animosity. Whatever might be the claim of Desiderius on the gratitude of Stephen, the intelligence of a proposed intimate alliance between his faithful protectors the Franks, and his irreconcilable enemies the Lombards, struck the Pope with amazement and dismay.

¹ "Unde (Christophorus et Sergius, cum Dodone Carlomanni regis misso) in basilicam domni Theodori papæ, ubi sedebamus, introierunt, sicque ipsi maligni homines insidiabantur nos interficere." Cenni, Monument. I. 267. Jaffe, p. 201. This letter is by some supposed to have been written under compulsion, when Desiderius was master of the Pope and of Rome. Muratori hardly answers this by showing that it was written after the execution of Christopher and Sergius.

CHAPTER XII.

CHARLEMAGNE ON THE THRONE.

THE jealousies of Carloman and Charles, the sons of Pepin, who had divided his monarchy, were for a time appeased. Bertha, their mother, seized the opportunity of strengthening and uniting her divided house by intermarriages with the family of the Lombard sovereign. Desiderius was equally desirous of this connection with the powerful Transalpine kings. His unmarried son, Adelchis, was affianced to Gisela,¹ the sister of Charlemagne; his daughter Hermingard proposed as the wife of one of the royal brothers. Both Carloman and Charles were already married; Carloman was attached to his wife Gisberta, by whom he had children. The ambition of Charles was less scrupulous; he at once divorced his wife (an obscure person, whose name has not been preserved by history), and wedded the daughter of Desiderius. In this union the Pope saw the whole policy of his predecessors threatened with destruction: their mighty protector was become the ally, the brother of their deadly enemy. Already the splendid donation of Pepin seemed wrested from his unresisting hands. Who should now interpose to prevent the Lombards from becoming masters of the Exarchate, of Rome, of Italy? The Pope lost all self-

¹ Or Desiderata. Gisela became a nun. — Eginh. v. k. l. xviii.

command ; he gave vent to the full bitterness of Roman, of papal hatred to the Lombards and to the agony of his terror, in a remonstrance so unmeasured in its language, so unpapal, it might be said ^{Letter of Pope Stephen.} unchristian, in its spirit, as hardly to be equalled in the pontifical diplomacy.¹

“The devil alone could have suggested such a connection. That the noble, the generous race of the Franks, the most ancient in the world, should ally itself with the fetid brood of the Lombards, a brood hardly reckoned human, and who have introduced the leprosy into the land.² What could be worse than this abominable and detestable contagion? Light could not be more opposite to darkness, faith to infidelity.” The Pope does not take his firm stand on the high moral and religious ground of the French princes’ actual marriage. He reminds them of the consummate beauty of the women in their own land ; that their father Pepin had been prevented by the remonstrances of the Pope from divorcing their mother ; then briefly enjoins them not to dare to dismiss their present wives.³ Again he urges the evil of contaminating their blood by any foreign admixture (they had already declined an alliance with the Greek emperor), and then insists on the absolute impossibility of their maintaining their fidelity to

¹ Muratori faintly hints a doubt of its authenticity ; a doubt which he is too honest to assert.

² Manzoni has pointed out with great sagacity, that in the 170th law of Rotharis there is a clause prescribing the course to be pursued with lepers ; thus showing that the nation was really subject to the disease. Stephen might thus be expressing a common notion, that from the Lombards, at least in Italy, “came the race of the lepers.” Thus this expression, instead of throwing suspicion, as Muratori supposes, on the letter, confirms its authenticity. — *Discorso Storico*, subjoined to the tragedy “*Adelchi*,” p. 199.

³ “*Nec vestras quodammodo conjuges audeatis demittere.*” But it is the guilt of the alliance, not of the divorce, on which he dwells.

the papal see, "that fidelity so solemnly sworn by their father, so ratified on his death-bed, so confirmed by their own oaths," if they should thus marry into the perfidious house of Lombardy. "The enmity of the Lombards to the papal see is implacable. Wherefore St. Peter himself solemnly adjures them, he, the Pope, the whole clergy, and people of Rome adjure them by all which is awful and commanding, by the living and true God, by the tremendous day of judgment, by all the holy mysteries, and by the most sacred body of St. Peter, that neither of the brothers presume to wed the daughter of Desiderius, or to give the lovely Gisela in wedlock to his son. But if either (which he cannot imagine) should act contrary to this adjuration, by the authority of St. Peter he is under the most terrible anathema, an alien from the kingdom of God, and condemned with the devil and his most wicked ministers and with all impious men, to be burned in the eternal fire; but he who shall obey shall be rewarded with everlasting glory."

But Pope Stephen spoke to obdurate ears. Already Charlemagne began to show that, however highly he might prize the alliance of the hierarchy, he was not its humble minister. Lofty as were his notions of religion, he would rarely sacrifice objects of worldly policy. Sovereign as yet of but one half the dominions of his father Pepin, he had not now by the death of his brother and the dispossession of his brother's children consolidated the kingdom of the Franks into one great monarchy. It was to his advantage, in case of hostilities with his brother (already they had once broken out), to connect himself with the Lombard kingdom. He married the daughter of Desiderius; and his own

irregular passions, not the dread of papal censure, dissolved, only a year after, the inhibited union.

The acts and the formal documents of the earlier Popes rarely betray traces of individual character. The pontificate of Stephen III. was short—about a year and a half. Yet in him there appears a peculiar passionate feebleness in his relation to the heads of the different Roman factions and to the King of the Lombards, no less than in his invective against the marriage of the French princes into the race of Desiderius.

His successors, Hadrian I. and Leo III., not only occupy the papal throne at one of the great ^{A.D. 768-772.} epochs of its aggrandizement, but their pontificates were of much longer duration than usual. ^{Feb. 1.} Hadrian I. Hadrian entered on the 23d, Leo on the 21st year of his papacy, and Hadrian at least, a Roman by birth, appears admirably fitted to cope with the exigencies of the times;—times pregnant with great events, the total and final disruption of the last links which connected the Byzantine and Western empires, the extinction of the Lombard Kingdom, the creation of the Empire of the West.

If the progress of the younger son of Pepin, Charles the Great, to almost universal empire now occupied the attention of the West, it was watched by the Pope with the profoundest interest. If Stephen III. had trembled at the matrimonial alliance which he had vainly attempted to prevent, between the King of the Franks and the daughter of Desiderius, which threatened to strengthen the closer political relations of those once hostile powers, his fears were soon allayed by the sudden disruption of that short-lived connection. After one year of wedlock, Charles, apparently without

alleging any cause, divorced Hermingard, threw back upon her father his repudiated daughter, and embittered the insult by an immediate marriage with Hildegard, a German lady of a noble Suabian house.¹ The careless indifference with which Charlemagne contracted and dissolved that solemn bond of matrimony, the sanctity if not the indissolubility of which the Church had at least begun to assert with the utmost rigor, shocked some of his more pious subjects. Adalhard, the Abbot of Corbey, could not disguise his religious indignation; so little was he versed in courtly ways, he would hold no intercourse with the unlawful wife.² Pope Hadrian maintained a prudent silence. He was not called upon officially to take cognizance of the case; and the divorce from the Lombard Princess, the severance of those unhallowed ties with the enemy of the Church against which his predecessor had so strongly protested, might reconcile him to a looser interpretation of the law. A marriage, not merely unblessed but anathematized by the Church, might be considered at least less binding than more hallowed nuptials.

Every step which the ambition of Charles made towards dominion and power, showed, it might be hoped, a more willing and reverent, as well as a more formidable defender of the Church. At his great national assemblies, as in those of his pious father, the bishops met on equal terms with the nobles, the peaceful prelates mingled with the armed counts and dukes in the councils of Charles the Great.

¹ Eginhard. i. 18.

² Paschas. Radbert., Vit. Adalhard Abbatis. — "Nullo negotio beatus senex persuaderi, dum adhuc esset *tiro palatii*, ut ei, quam vivente illa, rex acceperat, aliquo communicaret servitutis obsequio."

Charlemagne's first Saxon war was a war of religion ; it was undertaken to avenge the destruction of a church, the massacre of a saintly missionary and his Christian congregation.

Even his more questionable acts had the merit of estranging him more irrevocably from the ^{Charlemagne} enemies of the Pope. On the death of his ^{sole King} brother Carloman, Charles seized the opportunity of reconsolidating the kingdom of his father Pepin. It is difficult to decide how far this usurpation offended against the justice or the usages of the age. The old Teutonic custom gave to the nobles the right of choosing their chieftain from the royal race.¹ A large party of the Austrasian feudatories, how induced or influenced we may conjecture rather than assert, deliberately preferred a mature and able sovereign to the precarious rule of helpless and inexperienced children. Some, however, of the nobles, more strongly attached to the right of hereditary succession, more jealous of the rising power of Charles, or out of generous compassion, adhered to the claims of Carloman's children, who, thus dispossessed, took refuge at the court of the Lombard Desiderius. The opportunity of revenge was too tempting for the rival king and the insulted father ; he espoused their cause ; but the alliance with Desiderius put the fatherless children at once out of the pale of the Papal sympathy. Desiderius thought he saw his advantage ; he appealed to the justice, to the compassion, to the gratitude of the head

¹ Eginhard may show that this was a right, claimed at least by the common sentiment of the day. Of the Merovingians he says, in the first sentence of his life of Charlemagne, "Gens de qua Franci reges sibi creare soliti erant."

of Christendom; he urged him to befriend the orphans, A.D. 772. to anoint the heirs of the pious Carloman, and thus to recognize their royal title, as their papal predecessors had anointed Pepin, Carloman and Charles.

But Hadrian had too much sagacity not to discern the rising power of Charles, and would not be betrayed by any rashly generous emotions into measures hostile to his interests. Desiderius resented his steadfast refusal. He heard at the same time of the death of his faithful partisan in Rome, Paul Afiarta, whom the Pope had condemned to exile in Constantinople. Paul, accused of having blinded and killed the secondary Sergius, before the decease of Pope Stephen, had been put to death, not, it was declared, with the connivance of the Pope, before he could leave Italy.¹

Desiderius supposed that Charles was fully occupied in establishing his sovereignty over his brother's kingdom, and in the war against the Saxons. He collected his forces, fell on Sinigaglia, Montefeltro, Urbino, and Gubbio, and ravaged the whole country of Romagna with fire and sword. His troops besieged, stormed, and committed a frightful massacre in Blera, a town of Tuscany, and already threatened the Pope in his capital. Desiderius, at the A.D. 778. head of his army, and accompanied by all his family, advanced towards Rome to compel an interview declined resolutely by the Pontiff.

¹ The death of Paul Afiarta was attributed to the indiscreet zeal of Leo, Archbishop of Ravenna (Leo owed his archiepiscopate to Pope Stephen). It was disclaimed by Hadrian: "Animam ejus cupiens salvare, poenitentiae eum submitti decreveram . . . huc Romam eum deferendum." — Vit. Hadrian. Paul Afiarta's crime was that he had pledged himself to bring the Pope, willing or unwilling, before Desiderius. — Ibid.

Hadrian relied not on the awe of his personal presence, by which Popes on former occasions ^{Hadrian sends to} had subdued the hostility of Lombard kings. ^{Charlemagne.} He sent messengers in the utmost haste to solicit, to entreat immediate succor from Charles, but he himself neglected no means for the defence of Rome. Hadrian (a new office for a Pope) superintended the military preparations; he gathered troops from Tuscany, Campania, and every district within his power; strengthened the fortifications of Rome, transported the sacred treasures from the less defensible churches of St. Peter and St. Paul into the heart of the city; barricaded the gates of the Vatican, and having so done, reverted to his spiritual arms. He sent three Bishops, of Alba, Palestrina, Tibur, to meet the King, and to threaten him with excommunication if he dared to violate the territory of the Church. Desiderius had reached Viterbo; he was struck with awe, or with the intelligence of the preparations of Charles.

The ambassadors of the Frank arrived in Rome; on their return they passed through Pavia. Desiderius had returned to his capital: they urged him to reconciliation with the Pope. New ambassadors arrived, offering a large sum, ostensibly for his concessions to the demands of the Pope, but no doubt for the surrender of Carloman's children, whom Charles was anxious to get into his power.

Desiderius, who would not know the disproportion of his army to that of Charles, blindly re-^{Charlemagne's} sisted all accommodation. With his usual ^{descent into} Italy. rapidity Charles, who had already assembled his forces, approached the passes of the Alps, one division that of Mont Cenis, the other that of the Mont St. Bernard.

Treachery betrayed the passes,¹ in one of which, however, the hosts of Charlemagne suffered a signal defeat by the Lombards, under Adelchis, the king's son. This was no doubt the secret of the Lombard weakness. The whole of the Roman population of Lombardy looked to the Pope as their head and representative; to the Franks as their deliverers. The two races had not mingled; the Lombards were but an armed aristocracy, lording it over a hostile race. A sudden famine dispersed the victorious troops of Adelchis, who still guarded the descent from Mont Cenis. Adelchis shut himself up in Verona; and Charles, encountering no enemy on the open plain, laid siege to Pavia.² That city was, for those times, strongly

A.D. 774.

April 2.

fortified; it resisted for many months. During the siege in the Holy Week of the next year, the King of the Franks proceeded to Rome to perform his devotions at the shrine of St. Peter, and to knit more closely his league with the Pope. Charles was already the deliverer, it might be hoped he would be the faithful protector of the Church. Excepting the cities of Verona and Pavia, he was already master of all Northern Italy. With his father Pepin, he had been honored with the name of Patrician of Rome; by this vague adoption, which the lingering pride of Rome might still esteem an honor to a Barbarian, he was head of the Roman republic. He might become, in their hopes, the guardian, the champion of the old Roman society, while at the same time his remote

¹ "A suis quippe fideles callidè ei traditus fuit."—Chron. Salernit. This chronicle shows the curious transition from the Latin inflection to the uninflected Italian, "et dum de fatus Karolus Sermo."

² A.D. 773, October. Muratori sub ann.

residence beyond the Alps diminished the danger which was always apprehended from neighboring barbarians.

Accordingly the civil and ecclesiastical authorities vied in the honors which they paid to the Patrician of Rome and the dutiful son of the Church, who had so speedily obeyed the summons of his spiritual father, and had come to prostrate himself before the relics of the Apostles. At Novi, thirty miles distant, he was met by the Senate and the nobles of the city, with their banners spread. For a mile before the gates the way was lined by the military and the *schools*. At the gates all the crosses and the standards of the city, as was usual on the entrance of the Exarchs the representatives of the Emperor, went out to meet the Patrician. As soon as he beheld the cross, Charles dismounted from his horse, proceeded on foot with all his officers and nobles to the Vatican, where the Pope and the clergy, on the steps of St. Peter's, stood ready to receive him; as he slowly ascended he reverently kissed the steps; at the top he was affectionately embraced by the Pope. Charles attended with profound devotion during all the ceremonies of the Holy Season; at the close he ratified the donation of his father Pepin. The diploma which contained the solemn gift was placed upon the altar of St. Peter. Yet there is much obscurity as to the extent and the tenure of this most magnificent oblation ever made to the Church. The original record has long perished; its terms are but vaguely known. It is said to have comprehended the whole of Italy, the exarchate of Ravenna, from Istria to the frontiers of Naples, including the island of Corsica. The nature of the

Papal tenure and authority is still more difficult to define. Was it the absolute alienation of the whole temporal power to the Pope? In what consisted the sovereignty still claimed and exercised by Charlemagne over the whole of Italy, even over Rome itself?

Charlemagne made this donation as lord by conquest over the Lombard kingdom, and the Donation of Charlemagne. territory of the Exarchate. For Pavia at length fell, and Desiderius took refuge in the usual asylum of dethroned kings, a monastery. His son, Adelchis, abandoned Verona, and fled to Constantinople. Thus expired the kingdom of the Lombards; and Charles added to his royal titles that of Lombardy. The Exarchate, by his grant, was vested, either as a kind of feud, or in absolute perpetuity, in the Pope.¹

But, notwithstanding the grant of the conqueror, the Pope did not enter into undisputed possession of this territory. An ecclesiastic, Leo, the Archbishop of Ravenna, set up a rival claim. He withheld the cities A.D. 776. of Faenza, Forlì, Forlimpopoli, Cesena, Bobbio, Comachio, Ferrara, Imola, the whole Pentapolis, Bologna, from their allegiance to the see of Rome, ejected the judges appointed by Rome, appointed others of his own authority in the whole region, and sent missives throughout the province to prevent their submission to the papal officers.² Hadrian became the

¹ See the passage quoted by Muratori from the anonymous Scriptor Salernitanus, sub anno 774. The Lombard dukedom of Benevento raised itself into a principality, and asserted its independence.

² Agnelli, Vit. Pontif. Ravennat. — "Troppo è credibile che questo sagace ed ambizioso prelato s'ingegnasse di far intendere a Carlo, ch'è avrebbe egualmente potuto servire a onor di Dio, e de' santi apostoli, la liberalità, ch'è fosse piaciuto al re di fare alla chiesa di Ravenna, come a quella di Roma; ch'è già non mancavano ai Roman! pontifici ubertosi

scorn of his enemies, who inquired what advantage he had gained by the destruction of the Lombards. He wrote the most pressing letter to Charles, entreating him to prevent this humiliation of St. Peter and his successors. The Archbishop of Ravenna succeeded to the title which, in the language of the papal correspondence, belongs to all the adversaries of the Pope's temporal greatness, the "Most wicked of Men."¹ The Pope asserted his right to the judicial authority, not only over the cities of the Pentapolis, but in Ravenna itself.

But the rivalry of Ravenna did not long restrain the ambition of a pontiff, secure in the protection of Charlemagne.

After some time, and some menaced interference from the East, Hadrian took possession of ^{Hadrian in possession of the Exarchate.} the Exarchate, seemingly with the power and privileges of a temporal prince. Throughout the Exarchate of Ravenna, he had "his men," who were judged by magistrates of his appointment, owed him fealty, and could not leave the land without his special permission. Nor are these only ecclesiastics subordinate to his spiritual power (that spiritual supremacy Hadrian indeed asserted to the utmost extent; Rome had a right of judicature over all churches.)²

patrimoni in piti parte d' Italia è di Sicilia," &c. &c. This ingenious conjecture of Denina (*Revoluz. d' Italia*. vol. i. p. 352) is but conjecture.

¹ Nefandissimus. Compare Muratori, *Annal. d' Italia*, sub ann. 777. The epistle does not state on what the Archbishop of Ravenna rested his claim to this jurisdiction. This dispute shows still further the ambiguous and undefined supremacy supposed to be conferred, even in his own day, by the donation of Charlemagne. Did the Archbishop claim in any manner to be Patrician of the Exarchate? See following note.

² "Quanta enim auctoritas B. Petro Apostolorum principi, ejusque sacratissimæ sedi concessa est, cuiquam non ambigimus ignorari: utpote quæ de omnibus ecclesiis fas habeat judicandi, neque cuiquam liceat de ejus

His language to Charlemagne is that of a feudal suzerain also: "as your men are not allowed to come to Rome without your permission and special letter, so my men must not be allowed to appear at the court of France without the same credentials from me." The same allegiance which the subjects of Charlemagne owed to him, was to be required from the subjects of the See of Rome to the Pope. "Let him be thus admonished, we are to remain in the service, and under the dominion of the blessed apostle St. Peter, to the end of the world." The administration of justice was in the Pope's name; not only the ecclesiastical dues, and the rents of estates forming part of the patrimony of St. Peter, the civil revenue likewise came into his treasury. Hadrian bestows on Charlemagne, as a gift, the marbles and mosaics of the imperial palace in Ravenna, that palace apparently his own undisputed property.¹

Such was the allegiance claimed over the Exarchate and the whole territory included in the donation of Pepin and of Charlemagne, with all which the ever watchful Pope was continually adding (parts of the old Sabine territory, of Campania and of Capua) to the immediate jurisdiction of the Papacy. Throughout these territories the old Roman institutions remained under the Pope as Patrician, the Patriciate seemed tantamount to imperial authority.² The city of Rome

judicare judicio. Quorumlibet sententias legati Pontificum, Sedes B. Petri Apostoli jus habet solvendi, per quos ad unam Petri sedem universalis ecclesie cura confluit, et nihil unquam a suo capite dissidet." — *Epist. Hadrian. ad Carol. Magn. Cod. Carol. lxxxv., apud Bouquet, p. 579.*

¹ "Tam marmora, quamque mosaicum, cæteraque exempla de eodem palatio vobis concedimus auferenda." — *Epist. lxxvii. apud Gretser.*

² The Frankish monarch, afterwards the Emperor, was the *Patrician of Rome*. On the vague yet extensive authority conveyed by this title of

alone maintained, with the form, somewhat of the independence of a republic. Hadrian, with the power, assumed the magnificence of a great potentate: his expenditure in Rome, more especially, as became his character, on the religious buildings, was profuse. Rome, with the increase of the papal revenues, began to resume more of her ancient splendor.

Twice during the pontificate of Hadrian, Charlemagne again visited Rome. The first time was an act of religious homage, connected with his ^{Charlemagne in Rome.} future political plans. He came to celebrate the baptism of his younger son Pepin by the Pope, a son for whom he destined the kingdom of Italy. The second time he came as a protector, at the summons of the Pope, to deliver him from a new and formidable enemy at the gates of Rome. Arigiso the Lombard Duke of Benevento, who had married the daughter of Desiderius, had grown in power, and around him had rallied all the adversaries of the Papal and the Frankish interests. It was a Lombard league, embracing almost all Italy — Rotgadis Duke of Friuli, his father-in-law Stebelin Count of Treviso, the Duke of Spoleto. Arigiso had obtained the title of Patrician, with all its vague and indefinite pretensions,

Patrician, Muratori is the most full and satisfactory. Charlemagne, as his ancestors had been, was Patrician of Rome. Was this only an honorary title, while the civil supremacy over the city was vested in a republic (so Pagi supposes, but according to others this notion is purely imaginary), or did the office invest him in full imperial authority? That he had a theoretic supremacy, the surrender to the successive Frankish monarchs of the keys of the city and of the sepulchre of St. Peter clearly shows. As imperial representative, or substitute, there was a Patrician of Sicily. The Lombard Dukes of Benevento obtained a grant of the *Patriciate* from Constantinople. The Pope claimed to be *Patrician* of the *Exarchate*. (See above.)

from Constantinople; he was in close correspondence with Adelchis, the son of the fallen Desiderius. Hadrian accused this dangerous neighbor of hostile encroachments on the patrimony of St. Peter. He entreated the invincible Charlemagne to cross the Alps to his succor. Charlemagne obeyed. He passed the Christmas at Pavia. He appeared at Rome: the Lombard shrunk from the unequal contest, and purchased peace by an annual tribute of 7000 pieces of gold. He gave his two sons as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty.¹ Hadrian, however, did not feel secure; he still suspected the designs and intrigues of the Lombard. The death of Arigiso, in the same year in which he swore allegiance to Charlemagne, did not allay the jealousies of Hadrian; for Charlemagne, in his generosity, placed the son of Arigiso, Grimoald, in the Dukedom of Benevento. Grimoald, during the lifetime of Charlemagne, repaid this generosity by a faithful adoption, not only of the interests, but even the usages of the Franks. He shaved his beard, and clothed himself after the Frank fashion. In later days he became a formidable rival of Pepin, the son of Charlemagne, for the ascendancy in Italy.

While Charlemagne was yet at Rome, a more formidable rebellion began to lower. Adelchis, the son of Desiderius, was upon the seas with a considerable Greek force, supplied by order of the Byzantine Em-

¹ Eginhard, Vit. Karol., x.; Annal. sub ann. 786. Compare the very strange account in the Chronic. Salernit. 9, 10, 11, of the interference of the bishops at Benevento to save Arigiso from the wrath of Charlemagne; and the conspiracy of Paulus Diaconus, the historian, to murder Charlemagne. "How," says the Emperor, when urged to punish him, "can I cut off one who writes so elegantly?"

peror, Constantine. The Huns broke into Bavaria and Friuli. Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria, whose wife Liutberga was the sister of Adelchis, meditated revolt. Charlemagne, with his wonted rapidity, appeared in Germany. Tassilo was summoned before a diet at Ingelheim. He dared not refuse to appear, was condemned to capital punishment; in mercy shut up, with his son, in a monastery. His Lombard wife suffered the same fate. The Huns were driven back, the Greek army deserted Adelchis; the son of Desiderius fled; John, the Byzantine general, was strangled in prison.

This great pontiff Hadrian, who, during above twenty-four years, had reposed, not undisturbed, but safe under the mighty protection of Charle-
A.D. 795.
Death of
Hadrian.
 magne, died before the close of the eighth century. The coronation of Charlemagne, as Emperor of the West, was reserved for his successor. At that coronation our history will pause to take a survey of Latin Christendom, now a separate Western Empire, under one temporal, and under one spiritual sovereign. Charlemagne showed profound sorrow for the death of Hadrian. He wept for him, according to his biographer,¹ as if he had been a brother or a dear son. An epitaph declared to the world the respect and attachment of the Sovereign of the West for his spiritual father.

On the death of Hadrian,² an election of unexampled rapidity, and, as it seemed, of perfect unanimity among the clergy, the nobles, and the people, raised

¹ Eginhard, c. xix.

² Hadrian died on Christmas day. The election was on the following day, that of St. Stephen, A.D. 795.

Leo III. Leo III. to the pontifical throne.¹ The first act of Leo was to recognize the supremacy of Charles, by sending the keys, not only of the city, with the standard of Rome, but those also of the sepulchre of St. Peter, to the Patrician. This unusual act of deference seems as if Leo anticipated the necessity of foreign protection; even the precipitancy of the election may lead to the suspicion that the unanimity was but outward. Secret causes of dissatisfaction were brooding in the minds of some of the leading men in Rome. The strong hand of Hadrian had kept down the factions which had disturbed the reign of his predecessor Stephen; now it is among the court, the family of Hadrian, even those whom he had raised to the highest offices, that there is at first sullen submission, ere long furious strife. Dark rumors spread abroad of serious charges against the Pope himself. Leo III. ruled, however, in seeming peace for three years and two months, at the close of which a frightful scene betrayed the deep and rooted animosity.

Hadrian had invested his two nephews, Paschalis and Campulus, in two great ecclesiastical offices, the Primicerius and Sacellarius. This first example of nepotism was a dismal omen of the fatal partiality of future Popes for their kindred. These two men, or one of them, may have aspired to the Pontificate, or they hoped to place a pontiff, more under their own influence, on the throne: their dark crime implies dark motives. The Pope was to ride in solemn pomp, on St. April 26, 799. George's day, to the church of St. Lawrence, called in Lucinà. These ecclesiastics formed part of the procession. One of them excused himself for some in-

¹ Ann. Til. sub ann. 796; Eginhard, Annal.

formality in his dress.¹ On a sudden, a band of armed men sprang from their ambush. The Pope was thrown from his horse, and an awkward attempt was made to practice the Oriental punishment of mutilation, as yet rare in the West, to put out his eyes, and to cut out his tongue. Paschalis and Camplius, instead of defending the Pope, dragged him into a neighboring church, and there, before the high altar, attempted to complete the imperfect mutilation, beat him cruelly, and left him weltering in his blood. From thence they took him away by night (no one seems to have interposed in his behalf), carried him to the convent of St. Erasmus, and there threw him into prison. Leo recovered his sight and his speech; and this restoration, of course, in process of time became a miracle.² His enemies had failed in their object, the disqualifying him by mutilation for the Papacy. A faithful servant rescued him, and carried him to the church of St. Peter. There, no doubt, he found temporary protectors, until the Duke of Spoleto (Winegis), a Frank, marched into Rome to his deliverance, and removed him from the guilty city to Spoleto.

Urgent letters entreated the immediate presence of the Patrician, of Charles the protector of the Papacy,

¹ He was *sine planetâ*.

² "*Carnifices geminas traxerunt fronte fenestras,
Et celerem absceindunt lacerato corpore linguam.*"

• • • • •
*Sed manus alma Patris oculis medicamina ademptis
Obtulit atque novo reparavit lumine vultum;*

• • • • •
Explicat et celerem truncataque lingua loquelam."

— See the poem of Angilbert, the poet of Charlemagne's court, *Periz*, ii. p. 400. The papal biographer is modest as to the miracle.

in Rome. But Charles was at a distance, about to engage in quelling an insurrection of the Saxons.¹ The Pope condescended, or rather was compelled by his necessities, to accept the summons to appear in person before the Transalpine monarch. Charles was holding his court and camp at Paderborn, one of the newly-erected German bishoprics. The reception of Leo was courteous and friendly, magnificent as far as circumstances might permit. The poet describes the imperial banquet; nor does he fear to shock his more austere readers by describing the Pope and the Emperor as quaffing their rich wines with convivial glee.²

But at the same time arrived accusations of some unknown and mysterious nature against the Pope; accusations, according to the annalists, made in the name of the Roman people.³ Charles did not decline, but postponed till his arrival in Rome the judicial investigation of these charges; but he continued to treat the Pope with undiminished respect and familiarity.

The return of Leo to Rome is said to have been one long triumph. Throughout Italy he was received with the honors of the apostle. The clergy and people of Rome thronged forth to meet him, as well as the military, among whom were bands (scholars) of Franks, of Frisians, and of Saxons, either at Rome for purposes of devotion, or as a foreign body-guard of the Pope.

The journey of Charles to Rome was slow. He went to Rouen, and to Tours, to pay his adorations at the shrine of St. Martin. There

Charlemagne
sets out for
Rome.

¹ Eginhard, Ann 799.

² Angilbert, apud Pertz, ii. 401, describes, as an eye-witness, the meeting of the Pope and the Emperor.

³ "Quæ a populo Romano ei objiciebantur."

his wife, Liutgarda, died, and her funeral caused further delay. He then held a great diet at Mentz; and towards the close of the following year crossed the Alps, and halted at Ravenna. At Nomentana he was met by the Pope with high honors. After ^{Nov. 23, 800.} he had entered Rome he was received on the ^{Nov. 24.} steps of St. Peter's by the Pope, the bishops, and the clergy; he passed into the church, the whole assembly joining in the solemn chant of thanksgiving.

But Charles did not appear at Rome as the avowed protector and avenger of the injured Pope ^{Dec. 1.} against those who had so barbarously violated his sacred person. He assumed the office of judge.¹ At a synod held some days after, a long and difficult investigation of the charges made against Leo by his enemies proceeded, without protest from the Pope.² Paschalis and Campulus were summoned to prove their charges. On their failure, they were condemned to death; a sentence commuted, by the merciful interposition of the Pope, to imprisonment in France. Their other noble partisans were condemned to decapitation. Yet this exculpation of Leo hardly satisfied the public mind. It was thought necessary that the Pope should openly, in the face of the people, in the sight of God, and holding the holy Gospels in his hands, avouch his own innocence. There was no complaint of ^{Dec. 22.} the majesty of heaven insulted in his person, no reproof for the indignity offered to St. Peter in his suc-

¹ The clergy, according to the biographer, refused to judge the Pope, declaring their incompetency.

² "In quibus vel maximum vel difficillimum erat."—Eginhard, *Ann.* Eginhard expressly says, "Hujus factionis fuere principes Paschalis nomenclator et Campulus Sacellarius et multi alii Romanæ urbis habitatores nobiles."—*Ibid.*

cessor ; it was a kind of recognition of the tribunal of public opinion. The humiliation had something of the majesty of conscious blamelessness, — “ I, Leo, Pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, being subject to no judgment, under no compulsion, of my own free will, in your presence, before God who reads the conscience, and his angels, and the blessed Apostle Peter in whose sight we stand, declare myself not guilty of the charges made against me. I have never perpetrated, nor commanded to be perpetrated,¹ the wicked deeds of which I have been accused. This I call God to witness, whose judgment we must all undergo ; and this I do, bound by no law, nor wishing to impose this custom on my successors, or on my brother bishops, but that I may altogether relieve you from any unjust suspicions against myself.”²

This solemn judgment had hardly passed when Christmas day arrived : the Christmas of the last year in the eighth century of Christ. Charles and all his sumptuous court, the nobles and people of Rome, the whole clergy of Rome, were present at the high services of the Nativity. The Pope himself chanted the mass, the full assembly were wrapt in profound devotion. At the close the Pope arose, advanced towards Charles, with a splendid crown in his hands, placed it upon his brow, and proclaimed him *Cæsar Augustus*. “ God grant life and victory to the great and pacific Emperor.” His words were lost in the acclamations

¹ These words positively negative the notion that the crime of which Leo was accused was adultery or unchastity, which some expressions in Alcuin's letters seem to intimate. I cannot help suspecting that the charge was some simoniacal proceeding (spiritual adultery) by which he had thwarted the ambitious views of Hadrian's relatives.

² Baronius gives this form as “ *ex sacris ritibus Romanæ Ecclesiæ.*”

of the soldiery, the people, and the clergy. Charles, with his son Pepin, humbly submitted to the ratification of this important act, and was anointed by the hands of the Pope.

Was this a sudden and unconcerted act of gratitude, a magnificent adulation of the Pope to the unconscious and hardly consenting Emperor? Had Leo deliberately contemplated the possible results of this assumption of authority—of this creation of a successor to the Cæsars over Latin Christendom? In what character did the Pope perform this act—as vicegerent of God on earth, as the successor of St. Peter, or as the representative of the Roman people? What rights did it convey? In what, according to the estimation of the times, consisted the Imperial supremacy? To these questions history returns but vague and doubtful answers. Charlemagne—writes Eginhard the secretary of the Emperor, the one contemporary authority—declared that holy as was the day (the Lord's nativity), if he had known the intention of the Pope he would not have entered the church.¹ To treat this speech as mere hypocrisy agrees neither with the character nor the position of Charles; yet the Pope would hardly, even in the lavish excess of his gratitude, have ventured on such a step, if he had not reason, from his long conferences with the Emperor at Paderborn and his intercourse in Rome, to suppose that it was in accordance at least with the unavowed and latent ambition of Charles. In its own day it was perhaps a more daring and violent measure than it appears in

¹ Eginhard, in Vit. xx.; but Eginhard adds, "*Insidiam tamen suscepti nominis Romanis Imperatoribus super hoc indignantibus, magnâ tulit patientiâ, vicitque eorum contumaciam magnanimitate.*"—Vit. Kar., xxviii

ours. A Barbarian monarch, a Teuton, was declared the successor of the Cæsars. He became the usurper of the rights of the Byzantine emperors, which, though fallen into desuetude, had never been abandoned on their part, or abrogated by any competent authority.¹ The Eastern Cæsars had not been without jealousy of the progress of the Frankish dominion. The later Greek emperors sent repeated but vain remonstrances. It was alleged that the Greek Empire having fallen to a woman, Irene, and that woman detestable as the murderess of her son, in her the Byzantine Empire had come to an end. But the enmity of the Byzantine court to Charlemagne had betrayed itself by acts of hostility. Adelchis, the heir of the Lombard kingdom, that kingdom of which Charlemagne had assumed the title, still held the dignity of Roman Patrician in Constantinople.²

The significance of this act, the coronation, the subsequent anointing, the recognition by the Roman peo-

¹ "Imperatores etiam Constantinopolitani, Nicephorus, Michael et Leo, ultro amicitiam et societatem ejus expetentes, complures ad eum misere legatos; cum quibus tamen propter susceptum a se Imperatoris nomen et ob hoc quasi qui Imperium eis præripere vellet, valde suspectum, fœdus firmissimum statuit, ut nulla inter partes cujuslibet scandali remaneret occasio. Erat enim semper Romanis et Græcis suspecta Francorum potentia, quia ipsam Romam matrem Imperii tenebat, ubi semper Cæsares et Imperatores soliti erant sedere." — Chron. Moissiac. In the other copy of this Chronicle (apud Bouquet, p. 79), we read, "Delati quidem sunt ad eum dicentes, quod apud Græcos nomen Imperii cessasset, et femina apud eos nomen Imperii teneret, Hirena nomine, quæ filium suum Imperatorem fraude captum oculos eruit, et nomen sibi imperii usurpavit." Compare, for a curious passage, Annal. Lauresheimenses, sub eodem anno. The chronicle of Salerno says: "Imperator quippe omnimodis non dici possit, nisi qui regnum Romanum præest, hoc est Constantinopolitanum. Reges Galliarum nunc usurparunt sibi talem nomen, nam antiquitus omnimodis sic non vocitati sunt." — c. ii.

² "In Constantinopoli itaque in patriciatus ordine atque honore consecuit." — Eginhard, 774.

ple, was not merely an accession of vague and indefinite grandeur (which it undoubtedly was), but added to the substantive power of Charlemagne. It was the consolidation of all Western Christendom under one monarchy. By establishing this sovereignty on the basis of the old Roman empire, it could not but gain something of the stability of ancient right.¹ It was the voluntary submission of the Barbarians to the title at least of Roman dominion. In Rome Charlemagne affected to be a Roman: he condescended to put off his native Frankish dress, and appeared in the long tunic and chlamys, and with Roman sandals. While the Barbarians were flattered by this their complete incorporation with the old disdainful Roman society, the Latins, conscious that in the Franks resided the real power, still aimed at maintaining their traditionary superiority in intellectual matters—a superiority which Charlemagne might hope to emulate, not to surpass. The Pope (for Charlemagne swore at the same time to maintain all the power and privileges of the Roman Pontiff) obtained the recognition of a spiritual dominion commensurate with the secular empire of Charlemagne. The Emperor and the Pope were bound in indissoluble alliance; and notwithstanding the occasional outbursts of independence, or even superiority, asserted by Charlemagne himself, he still professed and usually showed the most profound veneration for the Roman spiritual supremacy; and left to his successors

¹ Eginhard, c. 23. But compare Lehuierou, p. 362, who attributes Charlemagne's reluctance to assume the empire, and his apparent depreciation of the importance of the title of Cæsar, to the dominant Teutonism of his character. Lehuierou espouses the theory that the emperor was only the advocate of the Church of Rome. But this was a purely German theory utterly unknown to Pope Hadrian or Pope Leo, and to the Roman Italians.

and to their subjects an awful sense of subjugation, from which they were not emancipated for ages.

The imperial title was understood, no doubt, by the senate and people of Rome, to be conferred by themselves, as representing the republic, not by the Pope, of his sole religious authority. Without their assenting acclamations, in their estimation it would not have been valid. The Pope, as one of the people, as his subject therefore, paid adoration to the Emperor.¹

But it is even more difficult to ascertain the rights which the imperial title conveyed in Rome itself, especially in one important particular. Rome became, it is clear, one of the subject cities of Charlemagne's empire. Even if the Pope had ever possessed any actual or asserted magisterial power, the events of the last year had shown that he did not govern Rome. He had no force, even for his personal security, against conspiracy or popular tumult. But the Emperor of Rome was bound to protect the Bishop of Rome: he was the conservator of the peace in this as in all the other cities of his empire, though here, as elsewhere, there was no abolition of the old Roman municipal institutions. The Senate still subsisted, the people called itself the Roman people; the shadow of a republic which had been suffered to survive throughout the Empire, and had occasionally seemed to acquire form, if not substance, still lurked beneath the Teutonic, as in later times beneath the Papal, sovereignty. The great undefined, undefinable point was the conflicting right of the Emperor,

¹ "Et summus eundem

Præsul adoravit, sicut mos debitus olim
Principibus fuit antiquis, ac nomine dempto
Patricii, quo dictus erat prius, inde vocari
Augustus meruit pius, Imperii quoque princeps."

Poeta Saxo, sub ann. 801.

the clergy, and the people, in the election and ratification of the election to the Popedom; as well as that which was hereafter to be the source of such long and internecine strife, the boundary of the two sovereignties, the temporal and the spiritual. This was the fatal feud which for centuries distracted Latin Christendom.

It was perhaps in its vagueness that chiefly dwelt its majesty and power, both as regards the Pope who bestowed and the Frank who received the Empire. In some unknown, undefined manner, the Empire of the West flowed from the Pope; the successor of St. Peter named, or sanctioned the naming of, the successor of Augustus and of Nero. The enormous power of Charlemagne, as contrasted with that of the Pope, disguised or ennobled the bold fiction, quelled at least all present inquiry, silenced any insolent doubt. If Charlemagne acknowledged the right of the Pope to bestow the Empire by accepting it at his hands, who should presume to question the right of the Pope to define the limits of the Imperial authority thus bestowed and thus received? And Charlemagne's elevation to the Empire invested his protection of the Pope in the more sacred character of a duty belonging to his office, ratified all his grants, which were now those not only of a conqueror¹ but of a successor to all the rights of the Cæsars. On one side the Teuton became a Roman, the King of the Franks was merged in the Western Emperor; on the other, Rome created the sovereign of the West, the sovereign of Latin Christendom.

¹ All writers, even ecclesiastics, call Charlemagne's descent into Italy a conquest. — See epitaph on his Queen Hildegard at Metz.

"Cumque vir arripotens sceptris junxisset avide
Cycniferumque Padum, Romuleumque Tiberim."

Pauli Gesta Episc. Met. Petz., . 236.

BOOK V.
CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPE.	PAPALISM OF CONTEMPORARY.	EMPERORS OF THE WEST.	EMPERORS OF THE EAST.
A.D. 796 Leo III. 810 Stephen III. 817 Paschal I. 827 Gregory IV. 844 Sergius II. 847 Leo IV. 855 Benedict III. 855 (Anastasio, misappre) 856 Hadrian I. 857 Hadrian II. 858 John VIII. 859 Marcius I. 860 Hadrian II. 860 Stephen V. 861 Formosus 868 Basilio II. 868 Stephen VII. 869 Stephen 870 Theodore II.	A.D. 797 Theodor 807 Nicholas, deposed 810 Theodor 811 Theodor 812 Theodor 813 Theodor 814 Theodor 815 Theodor 816 Theodor 817 Theodor 818 Theodor 819 Theodor 820 Theodor 821 Theodor 822 Theodor 823 Theodor 824 Theodor 825 Theodor 826 Theodor 827 Theodor 828 Theodor 829 Theodor 830 Theodor 831 Theodor 832 Theodor 833 Theodor 834 Theodor 835 Theodor 836 Theodor 837 Theodor 838 Theodor 839 Theodor 840 Theodor 841 Theodor 842 Theodor 843 Theodor 844 Theodor 845 Theodor 846 Theodor 847 Theodor 848 Theodor 849 Theodor 850 Theodor 851 Theodor 852 Theodor 853 Theodor 854 Theodor 855 Theodor 856 Theodor 857 Theodor 858 Theodor 859 Theodor 860 Theodor 861 Theodor 862 Theodor 863 Theodor 864 Theodor 865 Theodor 866 Theodor 867 Theodor 868 Theodor 869 Theodor 870 Theodor 871 Theodor 872 Theodor 873 Theodor 874 Theodor 875 Theodor 876 Theodor 877 Theodor 878 Theodor 879 Theodor 880 Theodor 881 Theodor 882 Theodor 883 Theodor 884 Theodor 885 Theodor 886 Theodor 887 Theodor 888 Theodor 889 Theodor 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NO	NAME	GENERAL REFERENCE.	NAME OF STATE.	NO	NAME
900	John IX.			900	Charles the Simple
901	Benedict IV.			901	Alexander
902	Leo V.			902	Constantine Porphyro-
903	Christopher			903	genitor
904	Stephen III.			904	Constantine IX.
905	Stephen III.			905	Leo V.
906	Stephen III.			906	Leo V.
907	Stephen III.			907	Leo V.
908	Stephen III.			908	Leo V.
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BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

CHARLEMAGNE.

THE empire of Charlemagne was almost commensurate with Latin Christendom ;¹ England was the only large territory which acknowledged the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome, not in subjection to the Empire. Two powers held sway in Latin Christendom, the Emperor and the Pope : of these incomparably the greatest at this time was the Emperor. Charlemagne, with the appellation, assumed the full sovereignty of the Cæsars, united with the commanding vigor of a great Teutonic conqueror. Beyond the Alps he was a German sovereign, assembling in his Diet the whole nobility of the Romanized Teutonic nations, and bringing the still barbarous races by force under his yoke. In Italy he was a Northern Conqueror, though the ally of the Pope and of Rome. But he was likewise an Emperor attempting to organize his vast dominions with the comprehensive policy of Roman administration, though not without respect for Teutonic freedom. He was the sole legislator in ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs ; the Carolinian institutions em-

¹ Compare limits of the empire of Charles — Eginhard, *Vit. Car.* xv
He includes within it the whole of Italy, from Aosta to Lower Calabria.

brace the Church as well as the State ; his Council at Frankfort dictates to the West, in despite of Papal remonstrances, on the great subject of image-worship. For centuries no monarch had stood so high, so alone, so unapproachable as Charlemagne. He ruled — ruled absolutely — by that strongest absolutism, the over-awed or spontaneously consentient, cordially obedient, coöperative will of all other powers. He ruled from the Baltic to the Ebro, from the British Channel to the duchy of Benevento, even to the Straits of Messina. In personal dignity, who, it must not be said rivalled, approximated in the least degree, to Charlemagne? He had added, by his personal prowess in war, and this in a warlike age, by his unwearied activity, and by what success would glorify as military skill, almost all Germany, Spain to the Ebro, the kingdom of the Lombards, to the realm of the Franks, to Christendom. Huns, Avars, Slavians, tribes of unknown name and descent, had been repelled or subdued. His one defeat, that of Roncesvalles, is only great in recent poetry.¹ Every rebel, the independent German princes, like Tassillo of Bavaria, had been crushed ; the obstinate Saxon, pursued to the court of the Danish King, at last became a subject and a Christian. On the Byzantine throne had sat an iconoclastic heretic, a boy, and a woman a murderess. Hadrian, during his long pontificate, had worn the Papal tiara with majesty. His successor, maimed and maltreated, had fallen to implore protection before the throne of Charlemagne ; he

¹ See in H. Martin, *Histoire de France*, ii. p. 310, the very curious and spirited song (from a French historic periodical), called the *Chant d'Altabizar*, said to have been preserved from the ninth or tenth century among the Pyrenean mountaineers.

had been obliged to clear himself of enormous crimes, to purge himself by oath before, what seemed to all, the superior tribunal of the Emperor. The gift of the Imperial crown had been the flattering homage of a grateful subject, somewhat loftily and disdainfully received; the donations of Charlemagne to the Pope were the prodigal but spontaneous alms of a religious King to the Church which he condescended to protect—free grants, or the recognition of grants from his pious ancestors.

Nor was it on signal occasions only that Charlemagne interfered in the affairs of the Church. His all comprehending, all pervading, all compelling administration was equally and constantly felt by his ecclesiastical as by his civil subjects. The royal commissioners inspected the conduct, reported on the lives, fixed and defined the duties, settled the tenure of property and its obligations, determined and apportioned the revenues of the religious as well as the temporal hierarchy. The formularies of the Empire are the legal and authorized rules to bishops and abbots as to nobles and knights. The ecclesiastical unity is but a subordinate branch of the temporal unity. The State, the Empire, not the Church, is during the reign of Charlemagne a supreme unresisted autocracy. Later romance has fallen below, rather than heightened, the full reality of his power and authority.

But it was only during his long indeed but transitory reign. For the power of Charlemagne was altogether personal, and therefore unenduring: it belonged to the man, to the conqueror, to the legislator, to the patron of letters and arts, to Charles the Great. At his death the Empire inevitably fell to

His power
personal.

pieces, only to be reunited occasionally and partially by some one great successor like Otho I., or some great house like that of Swabia. It was the first and last successful attempt to consolidate, under one vast empire, the Teutonic and Roman races, the nations of pure German origin and those whose languages showed the predominance of the Roman descent. It had its inherent elements of anarchy and of weakness in the first principles of the Teutonic character, the independence of the separate races, the vague notions of succession, which fluctuated between elective and hereditary sovereignty with the evils of both; the empire transmitted into feeble hands by inheritance, or elections contested by one half of the Empire; above all, in the ages immediately following Charlemagne, the separation of the Empire into independent kingdoms, which became the appanages of several sons, in general the most deadly enemies to each other. It was no longer, it could not be, a single realm united by one wide-embracing administration, but a system of hostile and conflicting states, of which the boundaries, the powers, the wealth, the resources, were in incessant change and vicissitude.

The Papacy must await its time, a time almost certain to arrive. The Papacy, too, had its *The Papacy*. own source of weakness, the want of a settled and authoritative elective body. It had its periods of anarchy, of menaced — it might seem, at the close of the tenth century, inevitable — dissolution. But it depended not on the sudden and accidental rise of great men to its throne. It knew no minorities, no divisions or subdivisions of its power between heirs of coequal and therefore conflicting rights. It was a

succession of mature men; and the interests of the higher ranks of its subjects, of the hierarchy, even of the great ecclesiastical potentates throughout the West, were so bound up with his own, that the Pope had not to strive against sovereigns as powerful as himself. Till the times of the antipopes the papal power, though often obscured, especially in Rome itself, appeared to the world as one and indivisible. Its action was almost uniform; at least it had all the steadiness and inflexibility of a despotism—a despotism, if not of force, of influence, or of sympathy, and of cordial concurrence among all its multifarious agencies throughout the world to its aggrandizement.

But the empire of Charlemagne, as being the great epoch in the annals of Latin Christendom, demands more full consideration. Out of his universal Empire in the West and out of his Institutes rose, to a great degree, the universal empire of the Church and the whole mediæval polity; feudalism itself. Western Europe became, as it were, one through his conquests, which gathered within its frontiers all the races of Teutonic origin (except the formidable Northmen, or Normans, who, after endangering its existence, or at least menacing the rebarbarizing of many of its kingdoms, were to be the founders of kingdoms within its pale), and those conquests even encroached on some tribes of Slavian descent. It became a world within the world; on more than one side bordered by Mohammedanism, on one by the hardly less foreign Byzantine Empire. The history, therefore, of Latin Christianity must survey the character of the founder of this Empire, the extent of his dominions, his civil as well as his ecclesiastical institutes. As yet we have only traced him in

his Italian conquests, as the ally and protector of the Popes. He must be seen as the sovereign and law-giver of Transalpine as well as of Cisalpine Europe.¹

Karl, according to his German appellation, was the model of a Teutonic chieftain, in his gigantic stature, enormous strength, and indefatigable activity; temperate in diet, and superior to the barbarous vice of drunkenness. Hunting and war were his chief occupations; and his wars were carried on with all the ferocity of encountering savage tribes. But he was likewise a Roman Emperor, not only in his vast and organizing policy, he had that one vice of the old Roman civilization which the Merovingian kings had indulged, though not perhaps with more unbounded lawlessness. The religious Emperor, in one respect, troubled not himself with the restraints of religion. The humble or grateful Church beheld meekly, and almost without remonstrance, the irregularity of domestic life, which not merely indulged in free license, but treated the sacred rite of marriage as a covenant dissoluble at his pleasure. Once we have heard, and but once, the Church raise its authoritative, its comminatory voice, and that not to forbid the King of the Franks from wedding a second wife while his first was alive, but from marrying a Lombard princess. One pious ecclesiastic alone in his dominions, he a relative, ventured to protest aloud. Charles repudiated his first wife to marry the daughter of Desiderius; and after a year repudiated her to marry Hildegard, a Swabian lady. By Hildegard he had six children. On her death he married Fastrada, who bore him two; a nameless concubine another. On

¹ Eginhard. Vit. Car. sub fine.

Fastrada's death he married Liutgardis, a German, who died without issue. On her decease he was content with four concubines.¹ A darker suspicion, arising out of the loose character of his daughters, none of whom he allowed to marry, but carried them about with him to the camp as well as the court, has been insinuated, but without the least warrant from history. Under the same double character of the Teutonic and the Roman Emperor, Charlemagne introduced Roman arts and civilization into the remoter parts of his dominions. Aix-la-Chapelle, his capital, became, in buildings and in the marble and mosaic decorations of his palace, a Roman city, in which Karl sat in the midst of his Teutonic Diet. The patron of Latin letters, the friend of Alcuin, encouraged the compilation of a grammar in the language of his Teutonic subjects. The hero of the Saxon poet's Latin hexameter panegyric collected the old bardic lays of Germany. Even Charlemagne's fierce wars bore Christianity and civilization in their train.

The Saxon wars of Charlemagne, which added ~~al-~~
~~Saxon wars.~~ most the whole of Germany to his dominions, were avowedly religious wars. If Boniface was the Christian, Charlemagne was the Mohammedan, Apostle of the Gospel. The declared object of his invasions, according to his biographer, was the extinction of heathenism;² subjection to the Christian faith or

¹ The reading is doubtful. Bouquet has *quatuor*. Pertz has followed a MS. which gives three.

² Some of the heathen Frisian temples appear to have contained much wealth. St. Luidger was sent out to destroy some. His followers brought back a considerable treasure, which they found in the temples. Charlemagne took two thirds, and gave one to the Church. — Vit. S. Luidg. apud Pertz. ii. p. 408.

extermination.¹ Baptism was the sign of subjugation and fealty: the Saxons accepted or threw it off according as they were in a state of submission or of revolt. These wars were inevitable, they were but the continuance of the great strife waged for centuries, from the barbarous North and East, against the civilized South and West; only that the Roman and Christian population, now invigorated by the large infusion of Teutonic blood, instead of awaiting aggression, had become the aggressor. The tide of conquest was rolling back; the subjects of the Western kingdoms, of the Western Empire, instead of waiting to see their homes overrun by hordes of fierce invaders, now boldly marched into the heart of their enemies' country, penetrated the forests, crossed the morasses, and planted their feudal courts of justice, their churches, and their monasteries in the most remote and savage regions, up to the Elbe and the shores of the Baltic.

The Saxon race now occupied the whole North of Germany, from the Baltic along the whole The Saxons. Eastern frontier of the Frankish kingdom. The interior of the land was yet an unknown world, both as to extent and population. Vast forests, in which it was said that squirrels might range for leagues without dropping to the ground,² broken only by wide heaths, sandy moors, and swamps, were peopled by swarms which still were thought inexhaustible. These countless hosts, which seemed but the first wave of a yet undiminished flood, might still precipitate themselves or be precipitated by the impulse of nations from the further

¹ "Eo usque perseveravit, dum aut victi Christianæ religioni subjicerentur aut omnino tollerentur." — Eginhard, sub ann. 775.

² Vit. S. Lebuini.

North or East, on the old Roman empire and the advanced settlements beyond the Rhine. The Saxons were divided into three leading tribes, the Ostphalians, the Westphalians, and the Angarians; but each clan or village maintained its independence, waged war, or made peace. Each clan, according to old Teutonic usage, consisted of nobles, freemen, and slaves; but at times the whole nation met in a great armed convention. A deadly hatred had grown up between the Franks and Saxons, inevitable between two warlike and restless races separated by a doubtful and unmarked border, on vast level plains, with no natural boundary, neither dense forests, nor a chain of mountains, nor any large river or lake.¹ The Saxons were not likely, when an opportunity of plunder or even of daring adventure might offer itself, to respect the frontier of their more civilized neighbors; or the Franks to abstain from advancing their own limits wherever the land offered any advantage for a military, commercial, or even religious outpost. But it was not merely this casual hostility of two adventurous and unquiet people, encountering on a long and doubtful border—the Saxons scorned and detested the Romanized Franks, the Franks held the Saxons to be barbarians and heathens. The Saxons no doubt saw in the earlier and peaceful Christian missionaries the agents of Frankish as well as of Christian conquest. Even where their own religion hung so loosely on their minds, they could not but be suspicious of foreigners who began by undermining their

¹ "Suberant et causæ, quæ quotidie pacem conturbare poterant, termini videlicet nostri et illorum pæne ubique in plano contigui, præter pauca loca in quibus, vel silvæ majores, vel montium juga interjecta utrorumque agros certo limite determinant, et rapinæ et incendia vicissim fieri non cessabant."—Eginhard, Vit. Carol. cvii.

national faith, and might end in endangering the national independence. They beheld with impatience and jealousy the churches and monasteries, which gradually rose near to, upon, and within their frontier, though probably the connection of the missionaries with the Romanized Franks, rather than the religion itself, which otherwise they might have admitted with the usual indifference of barbarians, principally excited their animosity.

The first expedition of Charlemagne against the Saxons before his Lombard conquest arose ^{First Saxon invasion.} out of religion. Among the English mis- ^{A.D. 772.} sionaries who, no doubt from speaking a kindred language, were so successful among the Teutonic tribes, was St. Lebuin, a man of the most intrepid zeal. Though the oratory which he had built on the Saxon bank of the Ysell had been burned by the Saxons, he determined to confront the whole assembled nation in their great diet on the Weser. Charles was holding at the same time his Field of May at Worms : this Saxon diet might be a great national council to watch or obtain intelligence of his proceedings.¹ The Saxons were in the act of solemn worship and sacrifice, when Lebuin stood up in the midst, proclaimed himself the messenger of the one true God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and denounced the folly and impiety of their idolatries.² He urged them to repentance, to belief, to baptism, and promised as their reward temporal and eternal peace. So far the Saxons seemed to have listened with decent or awe-struck reverence ; but when

¹ May, however, was probably the usual month for the German national assemblies.

² Vit. S. Lebuini, apud Pertz.

Lebuin ceased to speak in this more peaceful tone, and declared that, if they refused to obey, God would send against them a mighty and unconquerable King who would punish their contumacy, lay waste their land with fire and sword, and make slaves of their wives and children, the proud barbarians broke out into the utmost fury; they threatened the dauntless missionary with stakes and stones: his life was saved only by the intervention of an aged chieftain. The old man insisted on the sanctity which belonged to all ambassadors, above all the ambassadors of a great God.

The acts and language of Charles showed that he warred at once against the religion and the freedom *The Irminsul.* of ancient Germany. Assembling his army at Worms, he crossed the Rhine, and marched upon the Eresburg, a strong fortress near the Drimel.¹ Having taken this, he advanced to a kind of religious capital, either of the whole Saxon nation or at least of the more considerable tribes. It was situated near the source of the Lippe,² and contained the celebrated idol, the Irmin-Saule.³

This may have been simply the great pillar, the trunk of a gigantic tree, consecrated by immemorial reverence, or the name may imply the war-god, or the parental-god, or demigod of the race. This no-

¹ Supposed Stadbergen, in the bishopric of Paderborn.

² Eckhart (Pertz, p. 151) says distinctly that it was some way beyond the Eresburg.

³ Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 81 *et seq.*, 208 *et seq.*, "Irminsul, colossus, altissima columna." He quotes Rudolf of Fulda: "Truncum quoque ligni non parvæ magnitudinis in altum erectum sub dive colebant, patriâ eum linguâ Irminsul appellantes, quod Latine dicitur universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia." Yet Irmin seems to have been the name of a national god or demigod.

tion suits better with the simpler description of the idol in the older writers. This rude and perhaps, therefore, not less imposing idol, has been exalted into a great symbolic image, either of the national deity or of the nation, arrayed in fanciful attributes, which seem to belong to a later mythology;¹ and German patriotism has delighted to recognize in this image consecrated by the Teutonic worship, that of the great Teutonic hero, Herman, the conqueror of Varus. Throughout the neighborhood the names and places are said to bear frequent and manifest allusion to this great victory over Rome,—the field of victory, the stream of blood, the stream of the bones. Not far off is the field of Rome, the mountain of Arminius, the forest of Varus.²

But whether rude and shapeless trunk, or symbolic image of the Saxon god, or the statue of the Teutonic hero, the Irmin-Saule fell by the remorseless hands of the Christian Frank.³

The war of the Franks and the Saxons lasted for thirty-three years;⁴ it had all the horrors of an internecine strife between two hordes of barbarians. The

¹ He was clothed in armor; his feet rested on a field of flowers; in his right hand he held a banner with a rose in the centre, in his left a balance; on his buckler was a lion commanding other animals.—Spelman, in *Irminsul*.

² The neighborhood of Dethmold abounds with these sacred reminiscences. At the foot of the Teutberg is Wintfield, the field of victory; the Rodenbach, the stream of blood; and the Knochenbach, where the bones of the followers of Varus were found. Feldrom, the field of the Romans, is at no great distance. Rather farther off, near Pyrmont, Hermansberg, the mountain of Arminius; and on the banks of the Weser, Varenholz, the wood of Varus.—Stapfer, art. Arminius, in *Biograph. Universelle*.

³ Luden is indignant at the destruction of this monument of German freedom by the renegade Charlemagne.—*Geschichte*, iv. p. 224.

⁴ From 772 to 806.

armies of Charles were almost always masters of the field; but no sooner were they withdrawn than the indefatigable Saxons rose again, burst through the encroaching limits of the Empire, and often reached its more peaceful settlements. Hardly more than two years after the capture of Eresburg, and of their more sacred place, the site of the Irmin-Saule, they revenged the destruction of their great idol by burning, or at Aug. 1, 776. tempting to burn, the church in Fritzlar, founded by St. Boniface. It was said to have been saved by the miraculous appearance of two angels in white garments; possibly two of the younger ecclesiastics.¹ In their inroads they respected neither age, nor sex, nor order, nor sacred edifice; all was wrapped in one blaze of fire, in one deluge of blood. But their especial fury was directed against the monasteries and churches. Widekind, the hero of these earlier exploits, was no less deadly an enemy of Christianity than of the Franks. He began his career by destroying all the Christian settlements in Friesland, and restoring the whole land to heathenism.²

The historians of Charlemagne denounce the perfidy of the Saxons to the most solemn engagements; but in fact there was no supreme government which

¹ Ann. Franc. A.D. 774. Bouquet, p. 19.

² The Saxon Campaigns, according to Boehmer, Regesta: 1. Taking of Eresburg, A.D. 772. 2. Charlemagne crosses the Weser, Aug. 776. 3. To the Lippe, 776. 4. Diet of Paderborn, 777. 5. Revolt of Saxons, who waste as far as the Moselle, 778. 6. Advance to the Weser, 779. 7. To the Elbe, 780. 8. Diet at Lippe Brunnen. 9. Capitulation of the Saxons, 782. 10. Great victory at Thietmar, 783. 11. Readvance to the Elbe. 12. Further campaign, 784. 13. Widekind surrenders, and is baptized, 785. There were, however, later insurrections, and later progresses of Charlemagne through the subjugated land.

had the power or could be answerable for the fulfilment of treaties. Each village had its chieftain and its freemen, independent of the rest; the tribes whose land Charles occupied, or whose forests he menaced, submitted to the yoke, but those beyond them held themselves in no way bound by such treaties.¹

After a few years, at a great Diet at Paderborn, the whole nation seemed to obey the summons Diet at Paderborn, A.D. 777. of Charles to acknowledge him as their liege lord. Multitudes were baptized; and all the more considerable tribes gave hostages for their peaceful conduct. Yet but two years after, on the news of Charlemagne's defeat at Roncesvalles, they appeared again in arms, with the indefatigable Widekind at their head; he alone had kept aloof from the Diet at Paderborn, having taken refuge, it A.D. 779. was said, with the King of Denmark, no doubt beyond the Elbe. Notwithstanding their baptism and the hostages, they reached the Rhine, ravaging as they went, threatened Cologne from Deutz, and were only prevented from invading France by the difficulty of crossing the river; along its right bank they burned and slaughtered from Cologne to Coblenz. This sudden outburst was followed by the most formidable revolt, put down by Charles's victories at Dethmold and near the river Hase. Throughout the war Charlemagne endeavored to subdue the tribes as he went on by the terror of his arms; and terrible indeed were those arms! On one occasion, at Verdun-on-

¹ "Quæ nec rege fuit saltem sociata sub uno
Ut se militiæ pariter defenderet usu,
Sed variis divisa modis plebs omnis habebat
Quot pagos tot pæne duces."

Poeta Saxo. ad ann. 773, v. 24.

the-Allier, he massacred 4000 brave warriors who had surrendered, in cold blood. Nor did he trust to the humanizing influence of Christianity alone, but to the diffusion of Roman manners, and what might appear Roman luxury. The more submissive chieftains he tried to attach to his person by honors and by presents. The poor Saxons first became acquainted with the produce of wealthy Gaul. To some he gave farms, whence they were tempted and enabled to purchase splendid dresses, learned the use of money, the pleasures of wine.¹

His frontier gradually advanced. In his first expedition he had crossed the Drimel and the Lippe, and reached the Weser; but twelve years of alternate victory and revolt had passed before he arrived at the Elbe. In four years more, during which Widekind himself submitted to baptism, although the unquiet people still renewed their revolt, he reached the sea, the limit of the Saxon territory.²

The policy of Charlemagne in the establishment of Christianity in the remote parts of Germany was perhaps wisely incongruous. Though wars ^{Establishment of Christianity.} of religion, they were waged entirely by the secular arm. He encouraged no martial prelate to appear at the head of his vassals, or to join in the work of bloodshed. On no point are his edicts more strong, more frequent, or more precise, than in prohibiting the clergy from bearing arms, or joining any military ex-

¹ "Prædia præstiterat cum rex compluribus illis
Ex quibus acciperent pretiosæ tegmina vestis
Argenti cumulos, dulcisque fluenta Lymæ."

Poeta Saxo. iv. 130.

² "Usque ad oceanum trans omnes paludes et invia loca transitum est."
— Ann. Tiliac. sub ann.

pedition.¹ They followed in the wake of war, but did not mingle in it. A few priests only remained with the camp to perform divine service, and to offer ministrations to the soldiers. The religion, though forced upon the conquered, though baptism was the only security (a precarious security, as it often proved) which the conqueror would accept for the submission of the vanquished, yet this was part of the treaty of peace, and as a pledge of peace was fitly performed by the ministers of peace. The conquest was complete, the carnage over, before the priests were summoned to their office to baptize the multitudes, who submitted to it as the chance of war, as they would to the surrender of property or of personal freedom. For this baptism no preparation was deemed necessary; the barbarians assented by thousands to the creed, and were immediately immersed or sprinkled with the regenerating waters. The clergy on the other hand were exposed to the fury of the insurgent people on every revolt; to hew down the crosses was the first sign that the Saxons renounced allegiance, and baptism was, according to their notion, cancelled by the renunciation of allegiance.

The subjugation of the land appeared complete before Charlemagne founded successively his great religious colonies, the eight bishoprics ^{Foundations of bishoprics and monasteries.} of Minden, Seligenstadt, Verden, Bremen,²

¹ "Hortatu omnium fidelium nostrorum et maxime episcoporum et reliquorum sacerdotum consultu, servis Dei per omnia omnibus armaturam portare vel pugnare, aut in exercitum et in hostem pergere, omnino prohibemus, nisi illi tantummodo qui propter divinum ministerium." — Caroli M. Capit. General. A.D. 769. Carloman, A.D. 742, Pepin, 744, had made similar enactments; but it appears that the restraint was unwelcome to some of the more warlike of the order. Charlemagne was supposed to detract from their dignity by prohibiting them from bearing arms.

² Bremen, founded July 14, 787.

Munster, Hildesheim, Osnaburg, and Paderborn. These, with many richly-endowed monasteries, like Hersfeld, became the separate centres from which Christianity and civilization spread in expanding circles. But though these were military as well as religious settlements, the ecclesiastics were the only foreigners. The more faithful and trustworthy Saxon chieftains, who gave the security of seemingly sincere conversion to Christianity, were raised into Counts; thus the profession of Christianity was the sole test of fealty. The Saxon remained a conquered, but in some respects an independent, nation; it was ruled by a feudal nobility and a feudal hierarchy. The Saxons paid no tribute to the Empire; Charlemagne was content with their payment of tithes to the clergy,—a part of his ecclesiastical system, which was extended throughout his Transalpine dominions. Yet even after this period another great general insurrection broke out while Charles was engaged in a war with the Avars; the churches were destroyed, dreadful ravages committed. The revolt arose partly from the severe avarice with which the clergy exacted their tithes, and the impatience of the rude Germans at this unusual taxation. It was not till ten thousand men had been transplanted from the banks of the Elbe into France that the contest came to an end. The gratitude of the Saxon poet, who wrote under the Emperor Arnulf, for the conversion of his ancestors to Christianity, dwells but slightly on the sanguinary means used for their conversion, and their obstinate resistance to his persuasive sword.¹ On

¹ "Tum Carolus gaudens Saxonum turba sequatur,
Illi perpetuæ gloria lætitiæ;
O utinam vel cunctorum sequar ultimus horum." — v. 635.

the day of judgment, when the Apostles render an account of the nations which they have converted, when Charlemagne is followed into heaven by the hosts of his Saxon proselytes, the poet expresses his humble hope that he may be admitted in the train.

Charlemagne, in Christian history, commands a more important station even than for his subjugation of Germany to the Gospel, on account ^{Charlemagne's} ~~Charlemagne's~~ ^{legislation.} of his complete organization, if not foundation, of the high feudal hierarchy in great part of Europe. Throughout the Western Empire was, it may be said, constitutionally established this double aristocracy, ecclesiastical and civil. Everywhere the higher clergy and the nobles, and so downwards through the different gradations of society, were of the same rank, liable to many of the same duties, of equal, in some cases of coördinate, authority. Each district had its Bishop and its Count; the dioceses and counties were mostly of the same extent. They held for some purposes common courts, for others had separate jurisdiction, but of coequal power.

At the summit of each social pyramid, which rose by the same steps from the common base, the vast servile class, which each ruled with the right of master and possessor, or that of serfs attached to the soil, which were gradually succeeding to the baser and more wretched slavery of the Roman Empire,¹ stood the Sovrans, the Emperor, and the Pope. So at least it was in later times. At present Charlemagne stood alone on his unapproachable height. As monarch of

¹ On the slow and gradual transition from slavery to serfdom and villedinage, see Mr. Hallam's supplemental note 79, and the remarkable quotation from M. Guérard

the Franks, as King of Italy, still more as Emperor of the West, he was supreme, the Pope his humble, grateful subject. Charlemagne, with the title, assumed the imperial power of a Theodosius or a Justinian. His legislation embraces ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs. In the general assembly, of which, with the nobles, they were constituent parts, the assent of the bishops may be expressed or implied; but the laws which fix the obligations, the revenues, even the duties of the clergy, are issued in the name of the Emperor: they are monarchical and imperial, not papal or synodical canons. Already, indeed, the principles on which the loftier pretensions of the Church were hereafter to be grounded, had crept imperceptibly in under the specious form of religious ceremonies. The very title to the Frankish monarchy, the Empire itself, had to the popular view something of a papal gift. The anointing of the Kings of France had become almost necessary for the full popular recognition of the royal title.¹ The part taken by the pope in the offer of the Empire to Charlemagne, his coronation by the hands of the Pope in the same manner, gave a vague notion, a notion to be matured by time, that it was a Papal grant. He who could bestow could withhold; and, as it was afterwards maintained, he who could elevate could degrade; he who could crown could discrown the Emperor.

But over the Transalpine clergy, Charlemagne had not only the general authority of a Teutonic monarch and a Roman Emperor, he had like-

Authority of
Charlemagne.

¹ The Old Testament, which had suggested and sanctioned this ceremony, had become of equal authority with the New. The head of the Church was not merely the successor of the chief apostle. He was the high priest of the old Law, Samuel or Joas as well as St. Peter.

wise the same feudal sovereignty, founded on the same principles, which he had over the secular nobility. Their estates were held on the same tenure; they had been invested in them, especially in Germany, according to the old Teutonic law of conquest. ^{Transalpine hierarchy.}

Every conquered territory, or a portion of it, became the possession of the conquerors; it was a vast farm, granted out in lots, on certain conditions; the king reserved certain portions as the royal domain, others were granted to the warriors (the leudes), under the title first of allodes, which gradually became benefices.¹ But bishoprics and abbacies were originally, or became, in the strictest sense, benefices. The great ecclesiastics took the same oath with other vassals on a change of sovereign. They were bound, bishops, abbots and abbesses, to appear at the Herr-bann of the sovereign. Charlemagne submits them without distinction to the visitation of his officers, who are to make inquest as to their due performance of their duties as beneficiaries, the maintenance not merely of the secular buildings, but also of the churches, and the due solemnization of the divine offices.² The men of the church were

¹ French learning, especially that of M. Guizot, of M. Lehuverou, and of the authors of the prefaces to the valuable volumes of the "Documents Inédits," has exhausted every subject relating to the national and social institutions of the prefeudal and feudal times; the ranks and orders of men: the growth of the cities; their guilds and privileges; the particular tenure and obligations of land. Mr. Hallam has diligently watched and in his supplemental notes summed up with his characteristic strong English sense and fairness, the results of all these vast and voluminous inquiries; not only those of France, but those of Belgium, England, Italy, Germany.

² "Volumus atque iubemus ut missi nostri per singulos pagos prævidere studeant omnia beneficia quæ nostri et aliorum homines habere videntur, quomodo restaurata sint post annuntiationem nostram sive destructa. Primum de ecclesiis, quomodo structæ aut destructæ sint in tectis, in maceris, sive parietibus, sive in pavimentis, necnon in picturâ, etiam in

bound to obey the summons to military service, as duly as any other liegemen, only that they marched under a lay captain. The same number were allowed to stay at home to cultivate the land. The great prelates, even in the days of Charlemagne, resisted the laws which prohibited their appearing in war at the head of their own troops, as lowering their dignity, and depriving the Church of some of its honors.¹ Bishops and abbots, in return for the oath of protection from the sovereign, took an oath of fealty as counsellors and as aids to the sovereign; but the great proof of this ecclesiastical vassalage is that they were amenable to the law of treason, were deposed as guilty of violating their allegiance.²

Charlemagne himself was no less prodigal than Estates of the Church. weaker kings of immunities and grants of property to churches and monasteries. With his queen Hildegard he endows the church of St. Martin, in Tours, with lands in Italy. His grants to St. Denys, to Lorch, to Fulda, to Prum, more particularly to Hersfeld, and many Italian abbeys, appear among the acts of his reign.³

luminariis, sive officiis. Similiter et alia beneficia, casas cum omnibus appendiciis eorum." — K. Magn. Cap. Aquense, A.D. 807; Lehuierou, p. 517.

¹ "Quia instigante antiquo hoste audivimus quosdam nos suspectos habere propterea quod concessimus episcopis et sacerdotibus ac reliquis Dei servis ut in hostes . . . non irent . . . nec agitatores sanguinum fierent . . . quod honores sacerdotum et res ecclesiarum auferre vel minuire voluissimus." — Cap. Incert. Ann.; Lehuierou, 520.

² "Promitto et perdono vobis . . . defensionem, quantum potero, adjuvante Domino, exhibebo . . . ut vos mihi secundum Deum et secundum sæculum sic fideles adjutores et consilio et auxilio sitis sicut vestri antecessores boni meis melioribus prædecessoribus extiterunt." — Promissa. Dom. Karlomanni regis, A.D. 882; Lehuierou, p. 519. Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, was deposed as traitor to Louis the Debonnaire; Tertoldus, Bishop of Bayeux, was accused of treason against Charles the Bald. — Bouquet.

³ See the *Regesta* in Boehmer, *passim*. Lehuierou (p. 539) gives an

Nor were these estates always obtained from the pious generosity of the king or the nobles. The stewards of the poor were sometimes the spoilers of the poor. Even under Charlemagne there are complaints against the usurpation of property by bishops and abbots, as against counts and laymen. They compelled the poor free man to sell his property, or forced him to serve in the army, and that on permanent or continual duty, and so to leave his land either without owner, with all the chances that he might not return, or to commit it to the custody of those who remained at home in quiet and seized every opportunity of entering into possession.¹ No Naboth's vineyard escaped their watchful avarice.

In their fiefs the bishop or abbot exercised all the rights of a feudal chieftain. At first, like all seignorial privileges, their administration was limited, and with appeal to a higher court, or in the last resort, to the king. Gradually, sometimes by silent usurpation, sometimes by actual grant, they acquired power over all causes and all persons. The right of appeal, if it

instance of the enormous possessions of some of the monasteries: they were larger in the north than in the south of France (compare Thierry, *Temps Mérovingiens*). The abbey of S. Wandrille, or Fontenelle, according to its chartulary, owned, less than 150 years after its foundation (A.D. 650-788) 8974 mansees (the manse contained 12 jugera, acres), besides mills and other property. Compare the lands heaped on churches and monasteries by the Merovingians, p. 221.

¹ "Quod pauperes se reclamant expoliatos esse de eorum proprietate; et hoc equaliter supra episcopos et abbates et eorum advocatos et supra comites et eorum centenarios. . . . Dicunt etiam quod quicumque proprium suum episcopo, abbati, comiti aut judici . . . dare noluerit, occasiones querunt super illum pauperem, quomodo eum condemnare possint, et illum semper in hostem faciant ire, usque dum pauper factus, volens nolens suum proprium aut tradat aut vendat; alii vero qui traditum habent, absque allius inquietudine domi resideant."—Kar. M. Capit. de Exped. Exercit. A.D. 811. Compare Capit. Longobard. ap. Pertz iii p. 192, and Lehuereu, p. 311.

existed, was difficult to exercise, was curtailed, or fell into desuetude.¹

Thus the hierarchy, now a feudal institution, parallel to and coördinate with the temporal feudal aristocracy, aspired to enjoy, and actually before long did enjoy, the dignity, the wealth, the power of suzerain lords. Bishops and abbots had the independence and privileges of inalienable fiefs; and at the same time began either sullenly to contest, or haughtily to refuse, those payments or acknowledgments of vassalage, which sometimes weighed heavily on other lands. During the reign of Charlemagne this theory of spiritual immunity slumbered, or rather had not quickened into life. It was boldly (so rapid was its growth) announced in the strife with his son, Louis the Pious. It was then asserted by the hierarchy (become king-makers and king-deposers) that all property given to the Church, to the poor, and to the servants of God, or rather to the saints, to God himself (such were the specious phrases) was given absolutely, irrevocably, with no reserve. The king might have power over knight's fees, over those of the Church he had none whatever. Such claims were impious, sacrilegious, and implied forfeiture of eternal life. The clergy and their estates belonged to another realm, to another commonwealth; they were entirely, absolutely independent of the civil power. The clergy belonged to the Herr-bann of Christ, and of Christ alone.²

¹ Compare the luminous discussion of Lehuierou, p. 243, *et seq.* The right of basse justice was inseparable from property. The bishop or abbot was head of the family; all were in his mundium. He afterwards acquired moyenne, finally haute justice. In the cities he became chief magistrate by another process.

² "Quod semel legitime consecratum est Deo, in suis militibus, et pauperi-

These estates, however, thus sooner or later held by feudal tenure, and liable to feudal service, were the aristocratic possessions of the ecclesiastical aristocracy; on the whole body of the clergy Charlemagne bestowed their even more vast dowry — the legal claim to tithes.¹ Already, under the Merovingians, the clergy had given significant hints that the law of Leviticus was the perpetual and unrepealed law of God.² Pepin had commanded the payment of tithe for the celebration of peculiar litanies during a period of famine.³ Charlemagne made it a law of the Empire: he enacted it in its most strict and comprehensive form, as investing the clergy in a right to the tenth of the substance and of the labor alike of freeman and of serf.⁴ The collection of tithe was regulated by compulsory statutes; the clergy took note of all who paid or refused to pay;⁵ four, or eight, or more jurymen were summoned from each parish, as witnesses for the claims disputed;⁶ the contumacious were three times summoned; if still obstinate, excluded from the church;

bus ad usus militiæ suæ libere concedatur. Habeat igitur Rex rempublicam libere in usibus militiæ suæ ad dispensandum; habeat et Christus res ecclesiarum quasi alteram rempublicam, omnium indigentium et sibi servitium usibus. . . . Sin alias ut apostolus ait, qui aliena diripiunt, regnum non possidebunt eternum. Quanto magis qui ea quæ Dei sunt et ecclesiarum defraudantur, in quibus sacrilegia copulantur. — Vit. Walæ, apud Pertz. Walæ's doctrines were not unopposed. Compare Lehuierou, p. 538.

¹ On Tithes, see Planck, ii. pp. 402 and 411.

² Sirmond, Concil. Eccles. Gall. i. p. 543; Council of Macon, A.D. 585.

³ Peppini Regis Capitul. A.D. 764.

⁴ "Similiter secundum Dei mandatum præcipimus ut omnes decimur partem suis ecclesiis et sacerdotibus donent, tam nobiles quam ingenui similiter et liti." — Capit. Paderborn. A.D. 785. See also Cap. A.D. 779. It was confirmed by the Council of Frankfort, Capitul. Frankfurtense, A.D. 794.

⁵ Capit. Aquigran. A.D. 801.

⁶ Capitul. Longobard. A.D. 808.

if they still refused to pay, they were fined over and above the whole tithe, six solidi; if further contumacious, the recusant's house was shut up; if he attempted to enter it, he was cast into prison, to await the judgment of the next plea of the crown.¹ The tithe was due on all produce, even on animals.² The tithe was usually divided into three portions—one for the maintenance of the Church, the second for the Poor, the third for the Clergy. The bishop sometimes claimed a fourth. The bishop was the arbiter of the distribution: he assigned the necessary portion for the Church, and apportioned that of the clergy.³ This tithe was by no means a spontaneous votive offering of the whole Christian people—it was a tax imposed by Imperial authority, enforced by Imperial power. It had caused one, if not more than one, sanguinary insurrection among the Saxons. It was submitted to in other parts of the Empire, not without strong reluctance.⁴

¹ Capitul. Longobard. A.D. 803, et Capitul. Hlotharii, i. 825, et Hludovici, ii. 875.

² Capitul. Aquisgran. 801.

³ The tithe belonged to the parish church; that in which alone baptisms were performed. But there was a constant struggle to alienate them to churches founded by the great land-owners on their own domain, of which churches they retained the patronage. Charlemagne himself set a bad example in this respect, alienating the tithes to the succursal churches on his own domain.—Capitul. de Villis. Compare Lehuereu, p. 489.

⁴ Even Alcuin ventures to suggest, that if the Apostles of Christ had demanded tithes they would not have been so successful in the propagation of the Gospel:—"An Apostoli quoque ab ipso Christo edocti, et ad prædicandum mundo missi, exactiones decimarum exegissent . . . considerandum est. Scimus quia decimatio substantiæ nostræ valde bona est; sed melius est illam amittere quam fidem perdere. Nos vero in fide catholicæ nati, nutriti, edocti, vix consentimus substantiam nostram pleniter decimare. Quanto magis tenera fides et infantilis animus, et avara mens."—Alcuin, Epist. apud Bouquet, I. v. Compare a note of Weissenberg (Die grossen Kirchen Versammlungen, vol. i. p. 178), on some curious consequences of enforcing the law of tithes.

But in return for this magnificent donation, Charlemagne assumed the power of legislating for the clergy with as full despotism as for the ^{Ecclesiastical laws of} Charlemagne. laity: in both cases there was the constitutional control of the concurrence of the nobles and of the higher ecclesiastics, strong against a feeble monarch, feeble against a sovereign of Charlemagne's overruling character. His Institutes are in the language of command to both branches of that great ecclesiastical militia, which he treated as his vassals, the secular and the monastic clergy.¹ He seemed to have a sagacious foresight of the dangers of his feudal hierarchical system; the tendency still further to secularize the secular clergy; the inclination to independence in the regulars, which afterwards led to the rivalry and hostility between the two orders. The great church fiefs would naturally be coveted by men of worldly views, seeking only their wealth and power, without discharging their high and sacred offices; they would become hereditary in certain families, or at least within a limited class of powerful claimants. Each separate benefice would be exposed to perpetual dilapidation by its successive holders; there was no efficient security against the illegal alienation of its estates to the family, kindred, or friends of the incumbent;² it might be squandered in war by a martial, in magnificence by a princely, in rude voluptuousness by a dissolute prelate.³ Charle-

¹ See, on the kind of spiritual jurisdiction exercised by former kings of France, Ellendorf, i. 281.

² "Si sacerdotes plures uxores habuerint:" that probably means married more than once. — Caput. lib. i.

³ There are many sumptuary provisions. Bishops, abbots, abbesses, are not to keep hounds, falcons, hawks, or jugglers. Drunkenness is forbidden, as well as certain oaths.

magne endeavored to bring the great monastic rule of mutual control to hallow the lives and secure the property of the clergy. The scheme of St. Augustine, that the clergy should live in common, under canonical rule, and under the immediate control and superintendence of the Bishop, had never been entirely obsolete. Charlemagne endeavored to marshal the whole secular clergy under this severe discipline; he would have all either under canonical or monastic discipline.¹ But the legislator passed his statutes in vain; rich chapters were founded, into which the secular spirit entered in other forms. The great mass of the clergy continued to lead their separate lives, under no other control than the more or less vigilant rule of the Bishop.

Charlemagne endeavored with equal want of success to prevent the monastic establishments from growing up into separate and independent republics, bound only by their own rules, and without the pale of the episcopal or even metropolitan jurisdiction. The abbots and the monks were commanded to obey in all humility the mandates of their Bishops.² The abbot received his power within the walls of his convent from the hands of the Bishop; the doors of

The monas-
teries.

¹ "Qui ad clericatum accedunt, quod nos nominamus *canonicam vitam* volumus ut episcopus eorum regat vitam. Clerici — ut vel veri monachi sint vel veri canonici." — Capit. A.D. 789, 71 et 75. "Canonici . . . in domo episcopali vel etiam in monasterio . . . secundum *canonicam vitam* erudiantur." A.D. 802. *Ut omnes clerici unum de duobus eligant, aut pleniter secundum canonicam, aut secundum regularem institutionem vivere debeant.* A.D. 805.

² "Abbatas et monachos omnimodis volumus et precipimus, ut episcopis suis omni humilitate et obbedientiâ sint subjecti, sicut canonica constitutione mandati." — Capit. Gen. A.D. 769; Hludovic. i. Imp. Capit. Aquigran. 825.

the monastery were to fly open to the Bishop; an appeal lay from the Bishop to the Metropolitan, from the Metropolitan to the Emperor.¹ The Bishops themselves too often granted full or partial immunities, which gradually grew into absolute exemption from episcopal authority.² In later times many of the more religious communities, to escape the tyranny and rapacity of a secular bishop, placed themselves under the protection of the King, or some powerful lord, whose tyranny in a certain time became more grinding and exacting than that of the Bishop.³

The extent of Charlemagne's Empire may be estimated by the list of his Metropolitan Sees: ^{Extent of} they were Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Friuli ^{empire.} (Aquila), Grado, Cologne, Mentz, Salzburg, Treves, Sens, Besançon, Lyons, Rouen, Rheims, Arles, Vienne, Montiers in the Tarantaise, Ivredun, Bordeaux, Tours, Bourges.⁴ To these Metropolitans lay the appeal in the first instance from the arbitrary power of the Bishop. This power it was the policy of Charlemagne to elevate to the utmost.⁵ The Capitularies enact the

¹ "Statutum est a domino rege et sancto synodo, ut episcopi justitias faciant in suas parrochias. Si non obedierit aliqua persona episcopo suo de *abbatibus*, presbyteris . . . *monachis* et cæteris clericis, veniant ad metropolitanum suum, et ille dijudicet causam cum suffraganeis suis . . . Et si aliquid est quod episcopus metropolitanus non possit corrigere vel pacificare, tunc tandem veniant accusatores cum accusatu, cum literis metropolitani, ut sciamus veritatem rei." — Capitul. Frankfurt. 705.

² Lehuereu, p. 493.

³ Baluzius, Formula 33.

⁴ Eginhard, c. xxxiii. The omission of Narbonne and one or two others perplexes ecclesiastical antiquarians. To these 21 archbishoprics of his realm Charlemagne in his last will bequeathed a certain legacy, two thirds of his personal property.

⁵ Ellendorf (Die Karolinger) asserts that the capitularies nowhere recognize appeals to the Pope. The metropolitans and metropolitan synods were the courts of last resort, except that should seem, the emperors'

regular visitation of all the parishes within their diocese by the Bishops, even those within peculiar jurisdiction.¹ Their special mission, besides preaching and confirmation and the suppression of heathen ceremonies, was to make inquisition into all incests, parricides, fratricides, adulteries, heresies, and all other offences against God. The Bishop on this visitation was received at the expense of the clergy and the people (he was forbidden to oppress the people by exacting more than was warranted by custom.)² The monasteries were subject to the same jurisdiction. The clergy made certain fixed payments, either in kind or money, as vassals to their superiors of the hierarchy;³ the Bishops, notwithstanding the prohibition of the canons, persisted in demanding fees for the ordination of clerks. Both these are, as it were, tokens of ecclesiastical vassalage, strikingly resembling the commuted services and the payments for investiture.

The clergy were under the absolute dominion of the Bishop; they could be deposed, expelled from communion, even punished by stripes. No priest could officiate in a diocese, or leave the diocese, without permission of the Bishop.⁴

The primitive form of the election of the Bishop remained, but only the form; the popular election had, in all higher offices, faded into

*Election of
Bishops.*

¹ "Similiter nostras in beneficio datas, quam et aliorum ubi reliquis preesse videntur." — Capitular. A.D. 813.

² Capitular. A.D. 769 and 813.

³ "Ut unum modium frumenti, et unum modium ordei, atque unum modium vini . . . episcopi a presbyteris accipiant, et frisingam (a lamb) sex valentem denarios. Et si hæc non accipiant, si volunt, pro his omnibus duos solidos in denariis." — Karol. ii. Syn. apud Tolosam, A.D. 844.

⁴ Capitular. vi. 163. "Clerici, quos increpatio non emendaverit, verberibus coercesantur." — vii. 302.

a shadow. That of the clergy retained for a long time more substantive reality. It was this growing feudality of the Church, which, if it gave not to the sovereign the absolute right of nomination, invested him with a coördinate power, and made it his interest if not his royal duty to assert that power. The Metropolitan, the Bishop, the Abbot, had now a double character; he was a supreme functionary in the Church, a beneficiary in the realm. The Sovereign would not and could not abandon to popular or to ecclesiastical election the nomination to these important fiefs; Charlemagne held them in his own hands, and disposed of them according to his absolute will.

Charlemagne himself usually promoted men worthy of ecclesiastical dignity; but his successors, like the older Merovingian kings, were not superior to the ordinary motives of favor, force, passion, or interest; they were constantly environed by greedy and rapacious candidates for Church preferments; helmeted warriors on a sudden became mitred prelates, needy adventurers wealthy abbots. Still was the Church degraded, enslaved, disqualified for her own office, by her power and wealth. The successors of Boniface, and his missionary clergy on the shores of the Rhine, became gradually, as they grew rich and secure, like the Merovingian hierarchy who had offended the austere virtue of Boniface. The pious and death-defying men whom Charlemagne planted in his new bishoprics and abbeys in the heart of Germany, with the opulence assumed the splendor, princely pride, secular habits, of their rival nobles. Even his son witnessed and suffered by the rapid, inevitable, melancholy change.

The parochial clergy were still appointed by the

Parochial
clergy.

election of the clergy of the district, with the assent of the people; the Bishop nominated only in case a fit person was not found by those with whom lay the ordinary election.¹ Nor could he be removed unless legally convicted of some offence. Yet even in France there was probably not as yet a regular, and by no means an universal division of parishes; certainly not in the newly-conquered dominions. They were either chapels endowed, and appointed to by some wealthy prince or noble (the chaplain dwelt within the castle-walls, and officiated to the immediate retainers or surrounding vassals): or the churches were served from some cathedral or conventual establishment, where the clergy either lived together according to canonical rule, or were members of the conventual body. The Bishop alone had in general the title to the distribution of the tithes, one third, usually, to himself and his clergy (of his clergy's necessities and his own he was the sole, not always impartial or liberal judge); one to the Fabric, the whole buildings of the See; one to the Poor. Each, however, in his narrower sphere, and according to his personal influence, the devotion or respect of his people, had his sources of wealth; the gifts and oblations, the fees, which were often prohibited but always prohibited in vain. The free gratuity became an usage, usage custom, custom right. Where spiritual life and death depended on priestly ministration, that which love and reverence might not be

¹ "Et primum quidem ipsius loci presbyteri, vel ceteri clerici, idoneum sibi rectorem eligant; deinde populi qui ad eandem plebem aspicit, sequatur assensus. Si autem in ipsâ plebe talis inveniri non poterit, qui illud opus competententer peragere possit, tunc episcopus de suis quem idoneum judicaverit, inibi constituat." — Hladowici, ii. Imp. Convent. Ticin. A.D. 885.

strong enough to lure forth would be wrung from fear. Where the holy image might be veiled, the relic withdrawn from worship, the miracle unperformed, to say nothing of the actual ritual services, the priest might exact the oblation. Whether from the higher or lower, the purer or more sordid motive, neither the land nor the tithes of the Church were the measure of the popular tribute. While, on the other hand, the alms of the clergy themselves out of their own revenues, those bestowed at their instance by the wealthy, by the princely or the vulgar robber as an atonement or commutation for his sins, the bequests made on the death-bed of the most wicked as well as the most holy, redistributed a vast amount of that fund of riches — if not wisely, at least without stint, without cessation.

Yet, no doubt, by the deference which Charlemagne paid to the clergy, by his own somewhat ostentatious religion, by his munificent grants and donations, above all by his elevation of their character through his wise legislation, however imperfect or unenduring the success of his laws, Charlemagne raised the hierarchical power far more than he depressed it by submitting it to his equal autocracy. There was no humiliation in being, with the rest of Western Christendom, subject to Charlemagne. Even if the Church did feel some temporary obscuration of her authority, some slight limitation of her independence, conscious of her own strength, she might be her own silent prophet of her future emancipation and more than emancipation.

The Council of Frankfort displays most fully the power assumed by Charlemagne over the hierarchy as well as the lay nobility of the realm, the mingled character, the all-embracing comprehen-

Council of
Frankfort.

siveness of his legislation. The assembly at Frankfort was at once a Diet or Parliament of the Realm and an ecclesiastical Council. It took cognizance alternately of matters purely ecclesiastical and of matters as clearly secular. Charlemagne was present and presided in the Council of Frankfort.¹ The canons as well as the other statutes were issued chiefly in his name. The Council was attended by a great number of bishops "from every part of the Western Empire, from Italy, Germany, A.D. 794. Gaul, Aquitaine, some (of whom Alcuin was the most distinguished, though Alcuin was now chiefly resident at the court of Charlemagne) from Britain. Two bishops, named Theophylact and Stephen, appeared as legates from Pope Hadrian. The powerful Hadrian was still on the throne, in the last year of his pontificate, when Charlemagne summoned and presided over this Diet-Council.

The first object of this Council was the suppression of a new heresy, and the condemnation of its authors, certain Spanish bishops. Nestorianism, which had been a purely Oriental heresy, now appeared in a new form in the West. Two Spanish prelates, Elipand, Archbishop of Toledo, and Felix, Bishop of Urgel (whether to conciliate their Mohammedan masters,² or trained to more than usual subtlety by communication with

¹ "Precipiente et presidente piissimo et gloriosissimo domino nostro Carolo rege." — Synod. ad Episc. Gall. et German. Labbe, 1032. Charles himself writes: "Congregationi sacerdotum auditor et arbiter ad sedi." — Car. Magn. Epist. ad Episc. Hisp.

² Charlemagne expresses his sympathy with the oppression of Elipand under the Gentiles: "Vestram quam patimini inter gentes lacrymabili gemitu condoleamus oppressionem." But his language almost implies that he considers them as subjects of his Empire, as well as subjects of the Church. Urgel, near the Pyrenees, was in the dominions of Charlemagne.

Arabian writers),¹ had framed a new scheme, according to which, while they firmly maintained the coequality of the Son as to his divine nature, they asserted that, as to his humanity, Christ was but the adopted Son of the Father. Hence the name of the new sect, the Adoptians. It was singular that, while the Greeks exhausted the schools of rhetoric for distinctive terms applicable to the Godhead, the Western form of the heresy chose its phraseology from the Roman law. This strange theory had been embraced by a great number of proselytes.² Felix of Urgel, a subject of Charlemagne, had already been summoned before a synod at Ratisbon, at which presided Charles A.D. 782. himself. Felix recanted his heresy, and swore never to teach it more. He was sent to Rome, imprisoned by order of Pope Hadrian, and condemned to sign and twice most solemnly to swear to his abandonment of his opinions. He resumed his bishopric, and returned to his errors; he was again prosecuted, and took refuge among the Saracens.

The doctrines of Elipand and Felix were condemned as wicked and impious with the utmost unanimity. Already Pope Hadrian, in a letter to the Bishops of Spain and Gallicia, had condemned these opinions; but the Emperor, not content with communicating the unanimous decision of the Pope and the Bishops of Italy, of those of Gaul and Germany, with certain

¹ According to Alcuin, the scheme had originated in certain writers at Cordova. — Alcuin, *Epist.* v. 11, 5.

² St. Leidrad is said to have converted 20,000 bishops, priests, monks, laymen, men and women. — Paullin. *Epist. ad Episc. Arno.* edited by Mabillon. *Cozapare Walch*, p. 743. Leo III. *Epist.*; Alcuin, v. 11, 7; other authorities in Walch, ix. p. 752. Walch wrote a history of the Adoptians.

wise and holy doctors whom he had summoned from Britain, thinks it necessary to address the condemned bishops in his own name. He enters into the theology of the question; and it must be said that both the divinity and the mild and even affectionate tone of the royal letter are much superior to that of Pope Hadrian and of the Italian bishops.¹

But the more important act of the Council of Frankfort was the rejection of the Second Council of Nicea, or, as it was inaccurately called, the Council of Constantinople. To this Council the East had given its assent. It had been sanctioned by Pope Hadrian, it spoke the opinions of successive pontiffs, it might be considered as the established law of Christendom. This law Charlemagne and his assembly of feudal prelates scrupled not to annul and abrogate. Image-worship in the East had gained the victory, and was endeared to the Byzantine Greeks as distinguishing them more decidedly from the iconoclastic Mohammedans (the Image-worshippers branded Iconoclasm as Mohammedanism). It had a strong hold on all the population of Southern Europe, as the land of the yet unextinguished arts, as the birthplace of the new polytheistic Christianity, but it was far less congenial to the Teutonic mind. The Franks were at war with the Saxon idolaters; and though there was no great similitude between the rude and shapeless deities of the

¹ According to the report of the Italian bishops, a letter arrived from Elipand of Toledo while Charlemagne was seated in his palace in the midst of his clergy. It was read aloud. At its close the imperial theologian immediately rose from his throne, and from its steps addressed the meeting in a long speech, refuting all the doctrines of Elipand. When he had ended, he inquired, "What think ye of this?"—*Epist. Episcop. Ital. apud Labbe*, p. 1022.

Teutonic forests and the carved or painted saints and angels of the existing Christian worship, yet, though with the passion of most savage nations for ornament and splendor the Franks delighted in the brilliant decorations of their churches (Charlemagne laid Italy under contribution to adorn his palace); still their more profound spirituality of conception, their inclination to the vague, the mystic, the indefinite, or their unhabituated deadness to the influence of art, made them revolt from that ardent devotion to images which prevailed throughout the South. Such at least was the disposition of Charlemagne himself, and the author of the Carolinian Books.

Constantine Copronymus, the Iconoclast, had endeavored to make an alliance with Pepin the A.D. 767.

Frank. Pepin held a council on image-worship at Gentilly, at which the ambassadors of Copronymus appeared, it is not known for what ostensible purpose, perhaps to negotiate a matrimonial union between the courts, but no doubt with the view to detach Pepin from the support of the Italian rebels to the Eastern Empire. Of these the real head was the Pope, whose refusal of allegiance to the Emperor, and alliance with the Franks, were defended on the plea that the Emperor was an iconoclast and a heretic. Pepin probably took no great pains to understand the religious question; in that he was content to acquiesce in the judgment of the Pope; nor were the offers of Constantine sufficiently tempting to incline him to break up his Italian policy. Image-worship remained an undecided question with the Franks.

But Charlemagne and the Council of Frankfort proclaimed their deliberate judgment on a question already,

it might seem, decided by a Council which aspired to be thought Ecumenic, and by the notorious sanction of more than one Pope. The canon of the Council of Frankfort overstates the decrees of Nicea. It arraigns that synod as commanding, under the pain of anathema, the same service and adoration to be paid to the images as to the Divine Trinity. This adoration they reject with contempt, and condemn with one voice. But the brief decree of Frankfort must be considered in connection with the deliberate and declared opinions of Charlemagne, as contained in the famous Carolinian Books. These books speak in the name of the Emperor; Charlemagne himself boldly descends into the arena of controversy. The real authorship of these books can never be known; it is difficult not to attribute them to Alcuin, the only known writer equal to the task. It is probable indeed that the Emperor may have called more than one counsellor to his assistance in this deliberate examination of an important question, but to Christendom the books spoke in the name and with the authority of the Emperor.

Throughout the discussion, Charlemagne treads his middle path with firmness and dignity. He rejects, with uncompromising disdain, all worship of images; he will not tamper, perhaps he feels or writes as if he felt the danger of tampering, in the less pliant Latin, with those subtle distinctions of meaning which the Western Church was obliged to borrow, and without clear understanding, from the finer and more copious Greek. He rejects alike adoration, worship, reverence, veneration.¹ He will not admit the kneeling before

¹ Lib. ii. 21, 22; iii. 18; ii. 27; ii. 30.

them ; the burning of lights or the offering of incense ;¹ or the kissing of a lifeless image, though it represent the Virgin and the Child. Images are not even to be revered, as the saints, as living men, as relics, as the Bible, as the Holy Sacrament, as the Cross, as the sacred vessels of the Church, as the Church itself.² But, on the other hand, Charlemagne is no Iconoclast : he admits images and pictures into churches as ornaments, and, according to the definition of Gregory the Great, as keeping alive the memory of pious men and of pious deeds.³ The representatives of the Pope ventured no remonstrance either against the accuracy or the conclusion of the Council. The Carolinian Books were sent to the Pope at Rome. Hadrian still ruled : he was too prudent not to dissemble the indignation which he must have felt at this usurpation of spiritual authority by the temporal power, at least by this assertion of independence in a Transalpine Council, a Council chiefly of barbarian prelates ; or to betray his wounded pride at this quiet contempt of his theological arguments, which could hardly be unknown as forming part of the proceedings in the Nicene Council, yet were not even noticed by the Imperial controversialist. There is no peremptory declaration of his own infallibility, no anathema against the contumacious prelates, no protest against the Imperial interference. A feeble answer, still extant, testi-

A.D. 795.
Hadrian died
Dec. 26, 796.

¹ "Quod ante imagines luminaria concinnentur, et thymiamata adoleantur." — iv. 3 ; iv. 28.

² Lib. ii. 21, 24 ; iii. 25 ; ii. 30, 27 ; i. 28, 29 ; iii. 27 ; iv. 3, 12. Walsh, vol. xi. pp. 57, 59.

³ See the very curious description of Charlemagne's own splendid palace at Ingelheim. — Ermondus Nigellus, iv. The whole Scripture history was painted on the walls. There were sculptures representing all the great events in profane history. "*Regia namque domus late persculpta nitescit.*"

fies at once the authenticity of the Carolinian Books, the embarrassment of the Pope within the grasp of a more powerful reasoner and more learned theologian, his awe of a superior power. Nor did this controversy lead to any breach of outward amity, or seem to deaden the inward feelings of mutual respect. Hadrian writes this, his last letter, with profound deference. Charlemagne shed tears at the death of the Pontiff; and, as has been said, showed the strongest respect for his memory.

These theological questions settled before the Council of Frankfort, a singular spectacle was exhibited, as though to make an ostentatious display of the power and dubious clemency of Charlemagne. Tassilo, the Duke of Bavaria, cousin to the Emperor, who had been subdued, deposed, despoiled of his territory, was introduced, humbly to acknowledge his offences, against the Frankish sovereign, to entreat his forgiveness, to throw himself and all his family on the mercy of Charlemagne. The Emperor condescended to be merciful, but he kept possession of the territory. The unfortunate Tassilo and all his family ended their days in a monastery. The Council added to its canons, condemnatory of the Spanish heresy and of image-worship, a third, ratifying this degradation, spoliation, and life-long imprisonment of the Duke of Bavaria.

Of the two following canons, one regulated the sale of corn, and fixed a price beyond which it was unlawful to sell it. The other related to the circulation of the coin, and enacted that whoever should refuse the royal money, when of real silver and of full weight, if a freeman, should pay a fine of fifteen shillings to the

Crown; if a slave, forfeit what he offered for sale, and be publicly flogged on his naked person.

The ninth canon decreed that Peter, a Bishop, should appear, with the two or three bishops who had assisted at his consecration, or at least his Archbishop, as his compurgators, and should swear before God and the angels that he had not taken counsel concerning the death of the King, or against his kingdom, or been guilty of any act of disloyalty.¹ But as the Bishop could not bring his compurgators into court, he proposed that *his man* should undergo the ordeal, the judgment of God; that himself should swear, without touching either the holy relics or the Gospel, to his own innocence; and that God would deal with *his man* according to the truth or falsehood of his oath. What the ordeal was does not appear, but *the man* passed through it unhurt; and the Bishop, by the clemency of the King, was restored to his honors.

Other canons, of a more strictly ecclesiastical character, were passed: — I. To enforce discipline in monasteries.² II. On the residence of the clergy. III. On Ordinations, which were fixed for presbyters to the age of thirty. Virgins were not to take the vows before twenty-two. No one was to receive the slave of another; no bishop to ordain a slave without permission of his master. IV. The payment of tithe. V. For the maintenance of churches by those who held the benefices.³ VI. Against the worship of new saints

¹ This conspiracy is alluded to in Eginhard, sub ann. 792. See the note of Sirmond in Labbe, p. 1066.

² No abbot was to blind or mutilate one of his monks for any crime whatever. "Nisi regulari disciplinæ subjaceant."

³ If any one was found "by true men" to have purloined timber, stone or tiles, from the churches, for his own house, he was compelled to restore them. — xxvi

without authority. VII. For the destruction of trees and groves sacred to pagan deities. VIII. Against the belief that God can be adored only in three languages; "there is no tongue in which prayer may not be offered." The Teutonic spirit is here again manifesting itself. The last statute of the Council, at the suggestion of the Emperor, admitted the Briton Alcuin, on account of his ecclesiastical erudition, to all the honors, and to be named in the prayers of the Council.¹

Such was the Council of Frankfort, the first example of that Teutonic independence in which the clergy appear as feudal beneficiaries around the throne of their temporal liege lord, with but remote acknowledgment of their spiritual sovereign, passing acts not merely without his direct assent, but in contravention of his declared opinions. Charlemagne, not yet Emperor, is manifestly lord over the whole mind of the West. Except that he condescends to take counsel with the prelates instead of the military nobles, he asserts the same unlimited authority over ecclesiastical and civil affairs. He is too powerful for the Pope not to be his humble and loyal subject. The Pope might take refuge in the thought that the assembly at Frankfort was but a local synod, and aspired not to the dignity of an Ecumenic Council; and to local or national synods much power had always been allowed to regulate the discipline of their Churches, provided they issued no canons which infringed on the Catholic doctrines: yet these were statutes for the whole realm of Charlemagne, almost commensurate with the Western Patriarchate the actual spiritual dominion of the Roman Pontiff, with Latin Christendom. Yet, on the other hand, the

¹ Canon lii.

hierarchy of the Church is advancing far beyond the ancient boundaries of its power; it is imperceptibly, almost unconsciously, trenching on temporal ground. The Frankfort assembly is a diet as well as a synod. The prelates appear as the King's counsellors, not only in religious matters, or on matters on the doubtful borders between religion and policy, but likewise on the affairs of the Empire — affairs belonging to the internal government of the State.

And though Charlemagne, as liege lord of the Teutonic race, as conqueror of kingdoms beyond the Teutonic borders, as sovereign of almost the whole Transalpine West, and afterwards as Emperor, stood so absolutely alone above all other powers; though the Pope must be content to lurk among his vassals; yet doubtless, by his confederacy with the Pope, Charlemagne fixed, even on more solid foundations, the papal power. The Pope as well as the hierarchy was manifestly aggrandized by his policy. The Frankish alliance, the dissolution of the degrading connection with the East, the magnificent donation, the acceptance of the Imperial crown from the Pope's hand, the visits to Rome, whether to protect the Pope from his unruly subjects or for devotion; everything tended to throw a deepening mysterious majesty around the Pope, the more imposing according to the greater distance from which it was contemplated, the more sublime from its indefinite and boundless pretensions. The Papacy had yet indeed to encounter many fierce contentions from without, and still more dangerous foes around, before it soared to the plenitude of its power and influence in the period from Gregory VII. to Innocent III. It was to sink to its lowest point of deg-

radation in the tenth century, before it emerged again to contest the dominion of the world with the Empire, with the successors of Charlemagne, to commit the spiritual and temporal powers in a long and obstinate strife, in which for a time it was to gain the victory.

The brief epoch of nascent letters, arts, education, during the reign of Charlemagne, was as premature, as insulated, as transitory, as the unity of his Empire. Alcuin, whom one great writer¹ calls the intellectual prime minister of Charlemagne, with all his fame, his well-merited fame, and those whom another great writer² calls the Paladins of his literary court, Clement, Angilbert,³ all but Eginhard, were no more than the conservators and propagators of the old traditionary learning, the Augustinian theology, the Boethian science, the grammar, the dry logic and meagre rhetoric, the Church music, the astronomy, mostly confined to the calculation of Easter, of the trivium and quadrivium. The *Life of Charlemagne* by Eginhard is unquestionably the best historic work which had appeared in the Latin language for centuries; but Eginhard, during his later years, in his monastery in the Odenwald, stooped to be a writer of legend.⁴ Perhaps the Carolinian books are the most

¹ M. Guizot.

² Mr. Hallam.

³ Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, of a much higher cast of mind, was bred under Charlemagne.

⁴ The history of the Translation of the relics of St. Marcellinus and St. Peter Martyr,* and their miracles, is one of the most extraordinary works of this extraordinary age, written, as it was, by a statesman and counselor of two emperors. Two clerks, servants of Abbot Eginhard and the abbot of St. Médard in Soissons, are sent to Rome to *steal* relics. They

* An exorcist martyred at Rome. The martyrdom is related in a curious trochaic poem, not without spirit and vigor, ascribed also to Eginhard. — *Eginhardi Opera*, by M. Teulet. Soc. Hist. de France.

remarkable writings of the time. It might seem as if Latin literature, as it had almost expired in its originality among the great lawyers, so it revived in jurisprudence. Even the schools which Charlemagne established, if he did not absolutely found, on a wide and general scale,¹ had hardly a famous teacher, and must await some time before they could have their Erigena, still later their Anselm, their Abelard, with his antagonists and followers. What that Teutonic poetry was which Charlemagne cherished with German reverence, it is vain to inquire: whether tribal Frankish songs, or the groundwork of those national poems which, having passed through the Latin verse of the monks,² came forth at length as the *Nibelungen* and the *Heldenbuch*.

make a burglarious entry by night into a tomb (such sacrilege was a capital crime), carry off the two saints, with difficulty convey the holy plunder out of Rome and through Italy (some of the party pilfering a limb or two on the way). Eginhard is not merely the shameless receiver of these stolen treasures; there is no bound to his pious and public exultation. The saints are fully consentient, rejoice in their seduction from their inglorious repose; their restless activity reveals itself in perpetual visions, till they are settled to their mind in their chosen shrines. A hundred and fifty pages of miracles follow; wrought in all quarters, even in the imperial palace. It might almost seem surprising that there should be a blind lame, paralytic, or demoniac person left in the land.

¹ See the schools in Hallam, ii. p. 478.

² See the poem *De Expeditione Attilæ*

CHAPTER II.

LOUIS THE PIOUS

THE unity of the Empire, so favorable to the unity of Christendom, ceased not at the death of Charlemagne, it lasted during some years of the reign of his successor. But the unity of the Church, as it depended not on the personal character of the sovereign, remained undiscovered. In the contests among Charlemagne's descendants the Pope mingles with his full unbroken authority; while the strife among the military feudatories of the Empire only weakens, or exposes the weakness of the imperial power. The influence of the great Transalpine prelates, so often on different sides in the strife, aggrandizes that of the Pope, whom each party was eager, at any sacrifice, to obtain as an ally. Already the Papal Legates, before the pontificate of Nicolas I., begin to appear, and to conduct themselves with arrogance which implies conscious power. The awful menace of excommunication is employed to restrain sovereign princes. The Emperor for a time still holds his supremacy. Rome is, in a certain sense, an imperial city. The Pope is not considered duly elected without the Emperor's approbation; the successor of Leo III. throws the blame of his hasty consecration on the clergy and people. But, first the separation of the

Jan. 28.
A.D. 814.

Italian kingdom from the Empire, and afterwards the feebleness, or the distance, or the preoccupation of the Emperor, allows this usage to fall into desuetude.

Yet, during the whole of this period, and indeed much later, in the highest days of the Papacy, the limited and contested power of the Pope in Rome strongly contrasts with his boundless pretensions and vast authority in remoter regions. The Pope and the Bishop of Rome might appear distinct persons. Already that turbulence of the Roman people, which afterwards, either in obedience to, or in fierce strife with, the lawless petty sovereigns of Romagna, degraded the Papacy to its lowest state, had broken out, and was constantly breaking out, unless repressed by some strong friendly arm, or overawed by a pontiff of extraordinary vigor or sanctity. The life of the Pope, in these tumults, was not secure. While mighty monarchs in the remotest parts of Europe were trembling at his word, he was himself at the mercy of a lawless rabble. The Romans still aspired to maintain their nationality. It was rare at that time for any one but a born Roman to attain the Papacy;¹ and no doubt at each promotion there would be bitter disappointment among rival prelates and conflicting interests. It was at once the strength and weakness of the Pope; it arrayed sometimes a powerful party on his side, sometimes condensed a powerful host against him. Though the Romans had been overawed by the magnificence and grandeur of Charlemagne, and had joined, it might seem, cordially in their acclamations at his as-

¹ Of nearly fifty Popes, from Hadrian to Gregory V. (a German created by Otho the Great), there appears one Tuscan (Martin or Marinus), and three or four of doubtful origin: every one of the rest is described as "*patriâ Romanus*."

sumption of the Empire, (which still implied dominion over Rome,) yet the Franks, the Transalpines, were foreigners and barbarians. The Pope was constantly compelled by Roman turbulence to recur to his imperial protector (among whose titles and offices was Defender of the Church of Rome); yet the presence of the Emperor, while it flattered, wounded the pride of the Romans: if it gratified one faction, imbibited the hatred of the others.

Leo III. must have been among the most munificent and splendid of the Roman Pontiffs. Charlemagne had made sumptuous and imperial offerings on the altar of St. Peter. His donation seems to have endowed the Pope with enormous wealth. Long pages in Leo's Life are filled with his gifts to every church in Rome—to many in the Papal territories. Buildings were lined with marble and mosaic: there were images of gold and silver of great weight and costly workmanship (a silent but significant protest against the Council of Frankfort), priestly robes of silk and embroidery, and set with precious stones; censers and vessels of gold, columns of silver. The magnificence of the Roman churches must have rivalled or surpassed the most splendid days of the later republic, and the most ostentatious of the Cæsars.¹

Leo, like other prodigal sovereigns, may have exacted the large revenues, which he spent with such profusion, with hardness, which might be branded as avarice; and hence the Pope, who was thus gorgeously

¹ Anastasius in Vit. Leo expended 1820 pounds of gold (pounds weight?) and 24,000 of silver on the churches in Rome. Thirty-five pages of this faithful chronicler of the wealth and expenditure of the Roman See are devoted to the details—Compare Ellendorf, *Die Karolinger und die Hierarchie ihrer Zeit*, ii. p. 65.

adorning the city and all his dominions with noble buildings, and decorating the churches with unexampled splendor, was still in perpetual danger from popular insurrection. Even during the reign of Charlemagne, Leo was hardly safe in Rome. Immediately on the death of the Emperor, the embers of the old hostility broke out again into a flame; ^{Death of Charlemagne.} and the Pope held his throne only through the awe of the imperial power, at the will of Charlemagne's successor, Louis the Pious.

There was a manifest conflict, during his later years, in the court, in the councils, in the mind of Charlemagne, between the King of the Franks and the Emperor of the West; between the dissociating independent Teutonic principle, and the Roman principle of one code, one dominion, one sovereign. The Church, though Teutonic in descent, was Roman in the sentiment of unity. The great churchmen were mostly against the division of the Empire. The Empire was still one and supreme. The vigorous impulse given to the monarchical authority by its founder maintained for a few years the majesty of his son's throne. That unity had been threatened by ^{A.D. 803.} the proclaimed division of the realm between the sons of Charlemagne. The old Teutonic usage of equal distribution seemed doomed to prevail over the august unity of the Roman Empire. What may appear more extraordinary, the kingdom of Italy was the inferior appanage: it carried not with it the Empire, which was still to retain a certain supremacy; that was reserved for the Teutonic sovereign. It might seem as if this were but the continuation of the Lombard kingdom, which Charlemagne still held by the right of

conquest. It was bestowed on Pepin; after his death intrusted to Bernhard, Pepin's illegitimate but only son. Wiser counsels prevailed. The two elder sons of Charlemagne died without issue; Louis the third son was summoned from his kingdom of Aquitaine, April, 812. and solemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, as successor to the whole Empire.

Louis,¹—his name of Pious bespeaks the man,—thus the heir of Charlemagne, had inherited the religion of his father. But in his gentler and less resolute character that religion wrought with an abasing and enfeebling rather than ennobling influence. As King of Aquitaine Louis had been distinguished for some valor, activity, and conduct in war against the Saracens of Spain;² but far more for his munificence to the churches and convents of his kingdom. The more rigid clergy had looked forward with eager hope to the sole dominion of the pious king; the statesmen among them had concurred in the preservation of the line of the Empire; yet Louis would himself have chosen as his example his ancestor Carloman, who retired from the world into the monastery of Monte Casino, rather than that of his father, the lord and conqueror of so many realms. It required the author-

¹ Ermoldus gives the German derivation of the name Louis (Hludwig): "Neinpe sonat Hluto præclarum, Wigch quoque Mars est."—Apud Pertz, ii. p. 468.

² The panegyrist of Louis, the poet Ermondus Nigellus, asserts his vigorous administration of Aquitaine. He describes at full length the siege of Barcelona, giving probably a much larger share of glory than his due to Louis. For his general character see Thegan. c. xix. Louis understood Greek; spoke Latin as his vernacular tongue. On the youth of Louis see the excellent work of Funck, "Ludwig der Fromme." Sir F. Palgrave highly colors the character and accomplishments of Louis. Louis the Pious renounced the Pagan (Teutonic?) poetry which he was accustomed to repeat in his youth.—Thegan. p. 19.

ity of Charlemagne, not unsupported even by the most austere of the clergy, the admirers of his piety, to prevent him from turning monk.¹

Yet, on his accession, the religion of Louis might seem to display itself in its strength rather than in its weakness. The license of his father's court shrank away from the sight of the holy sovereign. The concubines of the late Emperor, even his daughters and their paramours, disappeared from the sacred precincts of the palace. Louis stood forward the reformer, not the slave of the clergy. To outward appearance, like Charlemagne, he was the Pope, or rather the Caliph of his realm. He condescended to sit in council with his bishops, but he was the ostensible head of the council; his commissioners were still bearers of unresisted commands to ecclesiastical as to temporal princes. Yet the discerning eye might detect the coming change. The ascendancy is passing from the Emperor to the bishops. It is singular, too, that the nobles almost disappear; in each transaction, temporal as well as ecclesiastical, the bishops advance into more distinct prominence, the nobles recede into obscurity. The great ecclesiastics, too, are now almost all of Teutonic race. The effete and dissolute Roman hierarchy has died away. German ambition seizes the high places in the church; German force animates their counsels. The great prelates, Ebbo of Rheims, Agobard of Lyons, Theodolf of Orleans, are manifestly of Teutonic descent. Benedict of Aniane is the assumed name of Witiza, son of the Gothic Count of Mages-

¹ Louis was a serious man. When at the banquet the jonglers and mimes made the whole board burst out into laughter, Louis was never seen to smile.

lone; Benedict, the most rigorous of ascetics, who stooped to the name, but thought the rule of the elder Benedict of Nursia far below monastic perfection. The bastard descendants of Charles Martel appear, two of them even now, not as kings or nobles, but as abbots or monks; compelled, perhaps, to shroud themselves from the jealousy of the legitimate race by this disqualification for temporal rule, only to exercise a more powerful influence through their sacred character.¹ Adalhard, Wala, Bernarius, were the sons of Bernhard, an illegitimate son of Charles Martel. Adalhard, Abbot of Corvey, and Bernarius, were already monks: the Count Wala was amongst the most honored counsellors of Charlemagne. The nomination of Louis to the sole empire had not been unopposed. Count Wala, some of the higher prelates, Theodolf of Orleans, no doubt Wala's own brothers Adalhard and Bernarius, would have preferred, and were known or suspected to have pressed upon the Emperor the young Bernhard, the son, whom Charlemagne had legitimated, or might have legitimated, of the elder Pepin, rather than the monk-King of Aquitaine. Wala indeed had hastened, after the death of Charlemagne, to pay his earliest homage at Orleans to Louis. He thought it more safe, however, to shave his imperilled head, and become a monk. The whole family was proscribed. Adalhard was banished to the island of Noirmoutiers; Bernarius to Lerins; Theodrada and Gundrada the sisters, Gundrada, who alone Aug. 1. had preserved her chastity in the licentious

¹ Funck, p. 42. He observes further: "Die lustigen Gesellen an Karls Hof, die Buhlen seiner Töchter, dem Ludwig mit seiner Heiligkeit, lächerlich war, konnten natürlich den Bibelleser und Psalmsinger nicht an die Stelle Karls wünschen." Politics make strange coalitions!

court of Charlemagne, were ignominiously dismissed from the court.¹

A diet at Aix-la-Chapelle was among the earliest acts of Louis the Pious. From this council commissioners were despatched throughout the empire to receive complaints and to redress all acts of oppression.² Multitudes were found who had been unrighteously despoiled of their property or liberty by the counts or other powerful nobles. The higher clergy were not exempted from this inquest, nor the monasteries. In how many stern and vindictive hearts did this inquest sow the baleful seed of dissatisfaction!

The Emperor is not only the supreme justiciary in his Gallic and German realm; it is his unquestioned right, it is his duty, to decide between the Pope and his rebellious subjects — on the claims of Popes to their throne. Leo III. had apparently bestowed the imperial crown on Charlemagne, had recreated the Western Empire; but he had been obliged to submit to the judicial award of Charlemagne. He is again a suppliant to Louis for aid against the Romans and must submit to his haughty justice. Whether, as suggested, the prodigality of Leo had led to intolerable exactions — whether he had tyrannically exercised his power, or the turbulent Romans would bear no control — (these animosities must have had a deeper root than the disappointed ambition of Pope Hadrian's nephews) — a conspiracy was formed to depose Pope

¹ "Quæ inter venereos palatii ardores et juvenum venustates, etiam inter deliciarum mulcentia, et inter omnis libidinis blandimenta, *sola* meruit (ut credimus) reportare pudicitie palmam." — Vit. Adalh. apud Pertz, ii. p. 527. Theodrada had been married; as a widow, could only claim the secondary praise of unblemished virtue.

* See the Constitutio, Bouquet, vi. p. 410

Leo, and to put him to death. Leo attempted to suppress the tumults with unwonted rigor: he seized and publicly executed the heads of the adverse faction.¹ The city burst out in rebellion. Rome became a scene of plunder, carnage, and conflagration. Intelligence was rapidly conveyed to the court of Louis. King Bernhard, who had been among the first to render his allegiance to his uncle at Aix-la-Chapelle, had been confirmed in the government of Italy. He was commanded to interpose, as the delegate of the Emperor. Bernhard fell ill at Rome, but sent a report by the imperial officer, the Count Gerhard, to the sovereign. With him went a humble mission from the Pope, to deprecate the displeasure of that sovereign, expressed at the haste and cruelty of his executions, and to answer the charge made against him by the adverse faction. No sooner had King Bernhard withdrawn from Rome than, on the illness of Leo, a new insurrection broke out. The Romans sallied forth, plundered and burned the farms on the Pope's estates in the neighborhood. They were only compelled to peace by the armed interference of the Duke of Spoleto.

The death of Leo, and, it should seem, the unpopular election of his successor, Stephen IV., exasperated rather than allayed the tumults. Stephen's first acts were to make the Romans swear fealty to the Emperor Louis;² to despatch a mission, excusing, on account of the popular tumults, his consecration without the approbation of the Emperor, or the presence of his legates.³ In the third

¹ A.D. 815, Eginhard, sub ann.

² Thegan., Vit. Hludovici, li. 594.

³ "Missis interim duobus legatis, qui quasi pro sua consecratione imperatori suggererent." — Eginhard. ann. 816.

month of his pontificate Stephen was compelled to take refuge, or seek protection, at the feet of the Emperor, against his intractable subjects.¹ He was received in Rheims with splendid courtesy, and with his own hand crowned the emperor. Thus the fugitive from his own city aspires to ratify the will of Charlemagne, the choice of the whole empire, the hereditary right of Louis to the throne of the Western world. In Rome the awe of Louis commanded at least some temporary cessation of the conflict, and a general amnesty. Stephen returned to Rome, accompanied by those who had been the most daring and obstinate rebels against his predecessor Leo and the Church.² Stephen died soon after his return to Rome.

On his death Paschal I. was chosen by the impatient clergy and people, and compelled to ^{Jan. 24, 817.} assume the Pontificate without the Imperial ^{Pope Pas-} sanction. But Paschal was too prudent to make com-^{chal I.}

¹ The poet disguises the flight of Stephen; he comes to Rheims at the invitation of Louis:—

"Tum jubet socii Romana ab sede patronum."

The interview is described in his most florid style. He makes the Pope draw a comparison between his visit and that of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon:—

"Rex tamen ante sagax flexato poplite adorat
Terque quaterque, Dei sive in honore Petri,
Suscipit hunc supplex Stephanus, manibusque sacratis
Sublevat e terrâ, basiat ora libens,
Nunc oculos, nunc ora, caput, nunc pectora, colla,
Basiat alterutri Rexque sacerque pius."—II. 221.

All accounts agree in the festivities. The poet says—

"Pocula densa volant, tangitque volentia Bacchus Corda."—II. 227.

The pious king was not averse to wine. Funck erroneously ascribes Stephen's journey in the first instance to the Pope's desire of crowning the Emperor.

² "Qui illic captivitate tenebantur, propter scelera et iniquitates suas, quas in sanctam Ecclesiam Romanam et erga dominum Leonem Papam gesserant."—Anastas. in Vit.

mon cause with the Romans in this premature assertion of their independence; he sent a deprecatory embassy across the Alps, throwing the blame on the disloyal precipitancy of the people. The Romans received a grave admonition not again to offend against the majesty of the Empire.

Louis the Pious held his plenary Court a second time at Aix-la-Chapelle. The four great acts of this Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle. July, A.D. 817. Council were among the boldest and most comprehensive ever submitted to a great national assembly. The Emperor was still in theory the sole legislator; not only were the secret suggestions, but the initiatory motions in the Council, from the supreme power. It might seem, that in the three acts which regarded the hierarchy, the Emperor legislated for the Church; but it was in truth the Church legislating for herself through the Emperor. It was Teutonized Latin Christianity organizing the whole transalpine Church with no regard to the Western Pontiff. The vast reforms comprehended at once the whole clergy and the monasteries. It was the completion, ratification, extension of Charlemagne's scheme, a scheme by its want of success or universality still waiting its consummation. Chrodogang, Bishop of Metz, another Church law. Teuton, had, under the last Merovingians and Pepin, aspired to bring the clergy to live together under the canonical discipline. Charlemagne had given the sanction of his authority to this plan. Now the Archbishops and Bishops are invested in autocratic power to extend, if not absolutely to enforce this rigorous mode of life on all the Priesthood.¹ The sumptuous

¹ Wala, the exiled counsellor of Charlemagne, hereafter to succeed to the influence of Benedict of Aniane, held the same ecclesiastical notions as

ary laws were universal, minute; the prohibition to bear arms; the proscription of their worldly pomp, of their belts studded with gold and precious stones; their brilliant and fine apparel; their gilded spurs. But if stripped of their pomp, it is only to increase immeasurably their power. If the sacerdotal army is to be arrayed under more rigid order and under more absolute command, it is only that it may be more efficient. Church property is strictly inviolable. II. The monasteries (which it might have seemed the sole object of Louis, since his accession, to endow with ampler wealth)¹ are submitted to the iron rule of Benedict of Aniane. III. This hierarchy, so reformed, so reinvigorated, aspires to sever itself entirely from the state. A special Capitular asserted their full and independent rights. The election of Bishops was to be in the clergy and the commonalty; that of the abbots in the brotherhood of monks. The Crown, the nobles, surrendered or were excluded from all interposition. The right of patronage, even in nobles who built churches on their own domain, was limited to the nomination; once instituted, only the Bishop could depose or expel the priests. The whole property of the Church was under their indefeasible, irresponsible administration. The Teutonic aristocracy of the Church maintained its lofty tone. No unfree man could be admitted to holy orders; if he stole into orders, might be degraded and

to the rigorous subordination of monks and clergy to rule. He denounces even the court chaplains: "*Quorum itaque vita neque sub regulâ est monachorum, neque sub episcopo militat canonicè, præsertim cum nulla alia tirocinia sint ecclesiarum, quam sub his duobus ordinibus,*" *et seq.* — Vita Walæ, Pertz, ii. 560.

¹ In the Regesta, during the first years of Louis, it is difficult to find out the public acts, among the long succession of grants to churches and monasteries. — Boehmer, Regesta, Frankfort, 1833.

restored to his lord. If the Bishop would ordain a slave, he must be first emancipated before the whole Church and the people. Yet were there provisions to limit abuses as well as to increase power. The three-fold division of the church revenues is enacted, two-thirds to the poor, one to the monks and clergy. The clergy are prohibited from receiving donations or bequests to the wrong of near relations. None were to be received into monasteries in order to obtain their property. Church treasures might on one account only be pawned — the redemption of captives. Youths of either sex were not to be persuaded to receive the tonsure or take the veil without consent of their parents. All these laws are enacted by the Emperor in council for the whole empire, almost tantamount to Latin Christendom; of approbation, ratification, confirmation by the Pope, not one word!

The Council Diet of Aix-la-Chapelle, having thus legislated for the Church, contemplated the dangers of the State. The accidental fall of a gallery had endangered the life of the Emperor; he was seriously hurt. What, the wiser men bethought them, or had long before thought, were the Emperor thus suddenly cut off, had been the fate of the Empire? They clearly foresaw the danger of the old Teutonic principle, which had been threatened even under Charlemagne — equal division among the three sons of Louis. The mother of these three sons, as well as their closer adherents, might look with profound solicitude at the rivalry of Bernhard, son of Pepin, whom some of the most powerful had in their hearts, probably in their counsels, designated as the successor of Charlemagne. The Council must not separate without regu

Succession to
the empire.

lating the succession of the Empire. His counsellors urged this upon Louis. "I love my sons with equal affection; but I must not sacrifice the unity of the Empire to my love." He laid this question before the Council, — "Is it right to delay a measure on which depends the welfare of the state?" "That," was the universal acclamation, "which is necessary or profitable brooks no delay." But such determination must be made with due solemnity. A fast of three days, prayer for divine grace, is ordered by the pious Emperor. After these three days the decree was promulgated. It proclaimed the great principle of primogeniture. The whole empire fell in its undivided sovereignty, at the death of Louis, to his eldest son, Lothair. Two royal appanages were assigned, with the title of King, to Pepin II., Aquitaine, the Basque Provinces, the March of Toulouse, four Countships in Septimania and Burgundy: to Louis, the third son, Bavaria, Bohemia, Carinthia, the Slavian and Avarian provinces subject to the Franks. But the younger sons were every year to pay homage and offer gifts to the Emperor. Without his consent they could not make war or peace, send envoys to foreign lands, or contract marriage. If either died without heirs, his appanage fell back to the Empire. If he should leave more sons than one, the people were to choose one for their king, the Emperor to confirm the election. If one of the younger brothers should take arms against the Emperor, he was to be admonished; if contumacious, deposed.

This decree was fatal to Bernhard, the son, by a concubine, of Pepin,¹ who still held, by the unrevoked

¹ Funck observes that illegitimate is an unknown word; the term is usually *ex ancilla*.

grant of Charlemagne, the kingdom of Italy. Bernhard king in Italy. He alone was not summoned, had no place, in the great council of Aix-la-Chapelle. In the decree there was a total, inauspicious, significant silence as to his name. And this was the return for the early and ready allegiance which he had sworn to Louis, his fidelity in the affairs of Rome. Bernhard had nothing left but the energy of despair. Italy, weary and indignant, seemed ready to cast off the transalpine yoke. The Lombards may have aspired to restore their ruined kingdom. Two great Bishops, Anselm of Milan, Wulfoald of Cremona, and many of the nobles, tendered him their allegiance, as their independent sovereign. The cities and people as far as the Po were ready or were compelled to take the oath of fealty. Pope Paschal was believed at least not unfriendly to the ambitious views of Bernhard. He was not without powerful partisans beyond the Alps. Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, was still faithful to his cause. Wala and his brothers were at least suspected of the same treasonable inclinations; the three were placed, each in his convent, under more rigid care.

But Louis raised an overpowering force; the Lombards were not united. Defeat and death of Bernhard. The Count of Brescia, the Bishop Rathald of Verona, retired across the Alps to the Emperor. The powerful dukes of Friuli and Spoleto adhered to the Imperial cause. Bernhard had nothing left but submission. He passed the Alps, and threw himself at his uncle's feet at Châlons on the Saone.¹ The mild Louis interposed to

¹ Funck asserts that the Empress Hermingard decoyed him over the Alps, with promise of full pardon. I do not think that his authorities bear him out. — p. 65, and note.

mitigate the capital sentence pronounced against the rebel and the leaders of his party at Aix-la-Chapelle. His sterner counsellors, it is said the implacable Hermingard, insisted that Bernhard should be incapacitated for future acts of ambition by the loss of his eyes. The punishment was so cruelly or unskilfully executed, that he died of exhaustion or a broken heart. April 15, 518. Some of the rebellious leaders suffered the same penalty: one died like Bernhard. The traitor Bishope, Orleans, Milan, Cremona, were shut up in monasteries. Now, too, were the three natural sons of Charlemagne, Drogo, Hugh, and Thierry, compelled to submit to the tonsure. Louis had sworn to be their guardian; the pious Emperor forced them to perpetual holy imprisonment.

Lothair, the eldest son of Louis, now crowned, by the sole authority of Louis, King of Italy, assumed the dominion of the Peninsula. But ^{Lothair king of Italy.} the turbulent state of the whole country compelled him to return to Germany, and to demand succor in men and arms from his father. Rome was not behind the rest, as will speedily appear, in acts of violence and insubordination.

So far the son of Charlemagne had reigned in splendor, in justice, in firmness, in wisdom. He ^{Death of the Empress Hermingard.} had been the legislator of the Empire, both as to its religious and temporal affairs. He had, it might seem, secured the succession in his house; he had suppressed all rebellion with a strong hand, had only yielded to mercilessness, which could not injure him in the estimation of his Teutonic subjects. On the death of his wife Hermingard his mind was shaken, if not partially disturbed; his old religious feelings

came back in all their rigour; it was feared that the pious Emperor would abdicate the throne, and retire into a monastery. His counsellors, to bind him to the world, persuaded him to take a second wife. His choice was made with a singular union of the indifference of a monk and the arbitrary caprice of an Eastern sultan.¹ The fairest daughters of the nobles were assembled for his inspection.² The monarch was at once captivated by the surpassing beauty of Judith, daughter of the Bavarian Count Wippo.³ Judith was not only the most beautiful, according to the flattering testimony of bishops and abbots, she was the most highly educated woman of the time. She played on the organ; she danced with perfect grace; she was eloquent as well as learned. The uxorious monarch yielded himself up to his blind passion.

From this time a strange feebleness comes over the character of Louis. The third year after his marriage the great diet of the Empire is summoned to Attigny-on-the-Aisne, not to take counsel for the defence, extension, or consolidation of the Empire; not to pass ecclesiastical or civil laws, but to witness the humiliating public penance of the Emperor. His sensitive conscience had long been preying upon him; it reproached him with the barbarous blinding and death of his nephew Bernhard; the chastisement of the insurgent Bishops; the presumptuous restraint which he had imposed on the holy monks Adalhard,

¹ "Timebatur a multis, ne regium vellet relinquere gubernaculum. Tandemque eorum voluntati satisfaciens, et undique adductas procerum filias inspiciens, Judith, filiam Wipponis." — Astronomus, c. 32.

² "Inspectis plerisque nobilium filiabus." — Eginhard, p. 332.

³ "The marriage was but four months after the death of Hermingard." — Agobard, Oper. ii. p. 65.

Wala, Bernarius; the enforced tonsure of his father's three sons.

Even in his own time, this act of Louis was compared by admiring Churchmen with the memorable penance of Theodosius the Great. How ^{penance of} great the difference between the crimes and ^{Louis} character of the men! Theodosius, in a transport of passion, had ordered the promiscuous massacre of all the inhabitants of a flourishing city. Bernhard and his partisans had forfeited their lives according to the laws of the Franks: the Emperor had interposed, though vainly and weakly, only to mitigate the penalty. His offence against Adalhard and Wala was banishment from the court, confinement to monasteries of men who had aimed at excluding him from the Empire, whose abilities and influence he might still dread.¹ And for these delinquencies the trembling son of Charlemagne, the lord of his Empire, stood weeping and imploring the intercession of the clergy, and endeavored to appease the wrath of Heaven by prodigal almsgiving and the most abject acts of penitence.² He supplicated the forgiveness of Adalhard and Wala, whom he had already recalled to his court, Wala, now that Benedict of Aniane was dead, speedily to assume absolute power over the mind of Louis.³ Against them it would be difficult to show how he had grievously sinned. He deplored his having compelled the sons of

¹ "Timebatur enim quam maximè Wala, summi apud Karolum Imperatorem habitus loci, ne forte aliquid sinistrum contra imperatorem moliretur." — Astronomus, ii. p. 618. Pertz, ii.

² "Eleemosynarum etiam largitione plurimarum, sed et servorum Christi orationum instantiâ, necnon et propria satisfactione, adeo divinitatem sibi placare curabat, quasi hæc quæ super unumquemque legaliter decucurrant, sua gesta fuerant crudelitate." — p. 626.

³ "Venerabatur passim secundus a Cæsare." — Vit. Wala, p. 585.

Charlemagne to the tonsure. If we respect the conscientious scruples which induced Louis publicly to own his offences, to seek reconciliation with his enemies, some compassion and more contempt mingle with that respect when we see him thus prostrating the imperial dignity at the feet of the hierarchy. The penance of Theodosius was the triumph of religion over the pride and cruelty of man — a noble remorse ; in Louis it was the slavery of superstition : he had lost all moral discrimination as to the nature and extent of his own guilt. The slightest act of authority against monk or priest is become a crime, reconciliation with Heaven only to be obtained by propitiating their favor.

The hierarchy failed not to discover the hour of the monarch's weakness. At the autumnal Diet four great ecclesiastical councils were summoned to meet at Pentecost in the following year, to treat of affairs of religion and the abuses of the civil power. Among the crimes which it was determined to suppress was the granting of monasteries to laymen ; the grants of Church property at pleasure to the vassals of the Crown, without consent of the bishops. Thus the bishops aspired to be co-legislators in the diets, sole legislators in the councils of which themselves determined the powers.

Yet even in his prostrate humiliation before the transalpine clergy, Louis, through his son Lothair, is exercising full sovereignty over Rome. Lothair, accompanied by Wala, now at once the confidential adviser of Louis in the highest matters, had descended into Italy to command disquieted Rome into peace. He had received the crown from the obsequious Pope. Hardly, however, had Lothair recrossed the Alps when

he was overtaken by hasty messengers with intelligence of new tumults.

Two men of the highest rank (Theodorus, the Primicerius of the Church, and Leo, the Nomenclator, who had held high functions at the coronation of Lothair) had been seized, dragged to the Lateran palace, blinded, and afterwards beheaded. The Pope was openly accused of this inhuman act.¹ Two imperial commissioners, Adelung, Abbot of St. Vedast, and Hunfrid, Count of Coire, were despatched with full powers to investigate the affair. At the same time came envoys from the Pope to the court of Louis.² The imperial commissioners were baffled in their inquiry. Paschal refused to produce the murderers; he asserted that they were guilty of no crime in putting to death men themselves guilty of treason; he secured them by throwing around them a half-sacred character as servants of the Church of St. Peter.³ Himself he exculpated by a solemn expurgatorial oath, before thirty bishops, from all participation in the deed. The Emperor received with respect the exculpation May, 824. of the Pope. But Paschal was summoned before a higher judgment: he died immediately after the arrival of the Emperor's messengers. The Romans, though Paschal had vied with his predecessor, Leo III., in his magnificent donations to the churches of Rome,

¹ Both Leo and Theodorus had been sent as ambassadors by Paschal, one to the Emperor, the other to Lothair.—Eginhard. "Erant et qui dicerent, vel jussu vel consilio Paschalis Pontificis rem fuisse perpetrata."—Eginhard, *Annal.* sub ann. 823. "Qua in re fama Pontificis quoque ludebatur, dum ejus consensui totum ascriberetur."—*Astronom* p. 302.

² John, Bishop of Silva Candida; the librarian Sergius; Quirinus subdeacon, Leo, master of the military.

³ Thegan., *Vit. Hludovic.* apud Pertz, c. 30. Eginhard sub ann.

would not permit his burial in the accustomed place, nor with the usual pomp.¹

The contest for the vacant see arrayed against each other the two factions in Rome under their undisguised colors. It was a strife between a transalpine and a June, 824. * cisalpine, a Teutonic and a Roman interest. The patricians, the nobles of Rome, many of Lombard blood, were in the Imperialist party; the plebeians, the commons, asserted their independence, and scorned the subservience of the Popes. They were more papal than the Popes themselves. Wala, now ruling the Emperor's counsels, had remained at Rome. By his dexterous management Eugenius prevailed over his rival, Zinzinnus. Yet the presence of Lothair was demanded to overawe the city, and to maintain the Imperialist Pope.² Lothair is-

Lothair again
in Rome.

sued his mandates in a high tone. He strongly remonstrated with the Pope against the violence and insults suffered by all who were faithful to the Oct., Nov. Emperor and friendly to the Franks. Some had been put to death, others made the laughing-stock of their enemies. There was a general clamor against the Roman pontiffs and against the administrators of justice. By the ignorance or indolence of the popes, by the insatiable avarice of the judges, the property of many Romans had been unjustly confiscated. Lothair had determined to redress these abuses. By his supreme authority many judgments were reversed; the confiscated estates restored to their rightful owners. In other words, the Imperialist nobles obtained redress of all grievances, real or imaginary. The heads of the

¹ Thegan.

² "Eugenius, vincente nobilium parte, ordinatus est." — Eginhard.

popular party were surrendered and sent to France. A constitution was publicly affixed on the Vatican, regulating the election of the Pope, for which no one had a suffrage but a Roman of an approved title : it ^{Constitution.} thus vested the election in the nobles.¹ Annual reports were to be made, both to the Pope and to the Emperor, on the administration of justice. Each of the senate or people was to declare whether he would live according to the Roman, the Lombard, or the Frankish law. On the Emperor's arrival at Rome, all the great civil authorities were to pay him feudal service. There were other provisions for the maintenance of the Papal estates, and prohibiting plunder on the vacancy of the see. As a still more peremptory assertion of the Imperial supremacy, the unrepealed statute was confirmed, that no Pope should be consecrated till his election had been ratified by the Emperor. The Emperor declared his intention of sending commissioners from time to time to watch over the administration of the laws, to receive appeals, and to remedy acts of wrong or injustice.²

But while the Empire thus asserted its supremacy in Rome, beyond the Alps it was gradually sinking into decay. The vast dominions of ^{Growing weakness and division of the empire} Charlemagne, notwithstanding the decree of Aix-la-Chapelle, were severing into independent; soon to become hostile, kingdoms. The imperial power,

¹ The Constitution in Sigonius, *Hist. Italica*; and in Holstenius; Labbe *eum Notis Binli*, p. 1541, sub ann. Bouquet.

² "Statutum est quoque juxta antiquorum morem, ut ex *latere* imperatoris mitterentur, qui judicariam potestatem exercentes justitiam omni populo facerent, et tempore quo visum foret imperatori, æqua lance penderent." — Apud Bouquet, vi. 410. The Emperor Henry II. afterwards appealed to this constitution. — Ellendorf, p. 31.

out of which grew the unity of the whole, was losing its awful reverence. The Emperor was but one of many sovereigns, with the title, but less and less of the substance, of preëminent power. The royal authority itself was becoming more precarious by the rise of the great feudal aristocracy; and in the midst of, above great part of that aristocracy, the feudal clergy of France and Germany were more and more rapidly advancing in strength, wealth, and influence.

In the miserable civil wars which distracted the latter part of the reign of Louis the Pious, in the rebellions of his sons, in the degradation of the imperial authority, the bishops and abbots not merely take a prominent part, but appear as the great arbiters, as the awarers of empire, the deposers of kings.

The jealousies of the sons of Louis by his Queen Hermingard, which broke out into open insurrection, into civil wars with the father, began with the birth of his son by the Empress Judith;¹ and became more violent and irreconcilable as that son, afterwards Charles the Bald, advanced towards adolescence. These jealousies arose out of the apprehension, that in the partition of the Empire, according to Frankish usage confirmed by Charlemagne, on the death or demise of Louis, some share, and that more than a just share, should be extorted by the dominant influence of the beautiful stepmother from the uxorious Emperor. Louis was thought to be completely ruled by his wife and her favorite, Bernhard, Duke of Septimania. Rumors, of which it is impossible to know the truth, accused Duke Bernhard not only of swaying the counsels, but of dishonoring the

Bernhard of
Septimania.

¹ Charles, born June 13, 823, at Frankfort.

bed, of his master.¹ The sons of Louis propagated these degrading reports, and indignantly complained that the bastard offspring of Duke Bernhard should aspire to part of their inheritance. But to Duke Bernhard the unsuspecting Louis, besides the cares of empire, intrusted the education of his son Charles. He had dismissed all his old counsellors: Abbot Elisabeth, the chancellor; the chief chaplain, Hilduin; Jesse, Bishop of Amiens; and other lay officers and ministers of the court. Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, must withdraw to his diocese.² The whole time of Louis seemed to be indolently whiled away between field-sports, hunting and fishing in the forest of Ardennes, and the most rigid and punctilious religious practices.

These melancholy scenes concern Christian history no further than as displaying the growing power of the clergy, the religion of Louis gradually quailing into abject superstition, the strange fusion and incorporation of civil and ecclesiastical affairs. But in this consists the peculiar and distinctive character of these times. The Church gives refuge to, or punishes and incapacitates, by its disqualifying vows, the victims of political animosity. The dethroned Empress is forced into a convent. Civil incapacity is not complete, at least is not absolutely binding, without ecclesiastical censure. The Pope himself appears in person: prin-

¹ "Thorum occupavit." — Vit. Wala. Paschasius Radbert, the friend, partisan, and biographer of Wala, is the fierce accuser of the queen, the fury, the adulteress; and of Bernhard, the most factious monster, the defiler of matrons, the cruel beast. — Vit. Wala. "Fit palatium prostibulum, ubi mœchia dominatur, adulter regnat." Bernhard is even accused of a design to murder Louis and his sons. Thegan declares that these charges were all lies (p. 36): "Mentientes omnia."

² Compare Funck, p. 102.

cipally by his influence, Louis is abandoned by his army, and left at the mercy of his rebellious sons. The degraded monarch, recalled to his throne, will not resume his power without the removal of the ecclesiastical censure.

The first overt act of rebellion by the elder sons of Louis, chiefly Pepin (for Louis held a doubtful course, and Lothair was yet in Italy), was the refusal of the feudal army to engage in the perilous and unprofitable war in Bretagne.¹ Already the fond and uxorious father had awakened jealousy by assigning to the son of Judith the title of King of Alemania.² Pepin, King of Aquitaine, placed himself at the head of the mutinous forces. The Emperor, with a few loyal followers (who, though like the rest they refused to engage in the Breton war, yet would not abandon their sovereign), lay at Compiègne, while his sons, with the mass of the army, were encamped three leagues off at Verberie. Around Pepin had assembled the discarded ecclesiastical ministers, Elisachar, Wala, Hilduin, Jesse; with Godfrey and Richard, and the Counts Warin, Lantbert, Matfrid, Hugo. The demands of the insurgents were stern and peremptory: the dismissal and punishment of Duke Bernhard, the degradation of the guilty Judith. Bernhard made his escape to the south, and took refuge in Barcelona; Judith, by the Emperor's advice, retired into the convent of St. Mary of Laon. There she was seized by the adherents of her step-sons, and compelled to promise that she would use all her influence, if she had opportunity, to urge the Emperor to retire to a cloister.³

¹ The herring was summoned to Rennes, April 14, 830.

² Aug. 829, at Worms.

³ "Quam usque adeo intentatam per diversi generis poenas invite adagere,

Before herself was set the dreary alternative of death or of taking the veil. She pronounced the fatal vows; and, as a nun, edified by her repentance and April, 830. piety the sisters of St. Radegonde at Poitiers. To the people she was held up as a wicked enchantress, who by her potions and by her unlawful bewitchments alone could have so swayed the soul of the pious Emperor. Lothair, the King of Italy, now joined his brothers, and approved of all their acts. Deliberations were held, in which the higher ecclesiastics Jesse, Bishop of Amiens; Hilduin, Abbot of St. Denys; Wala (by the death of his brother Adalhard now Abbot of Corbey) urged the stronger measure, the degradation of the Emperor. The sons, either from fear or respect, hesitated at this extreme course. Some of the Imperial ministers were punished; two brothers of the Empress forced to submit to the tonsure; and Heribert, brother of Duke Bernhard, blinded. In a general Diet of the Empire at Compiègne, Lothair was associated with his father in the Empire.

But the unpopularity of Louis with the Roman Gauls and with the Franks of Gaul was not shared by the German subjects of the Empire. Throughout this contest, the opposition between the Teutonic and the Gaulish Franks (the French, who now began to form a different society and a different language, with a stronger Roman character in their institutions) fore-showed the inevitable disunion which awaited the Empire of Charlemagne. In the Diet of Nimeguen the cause of the Emperor predominated so completely

ut promitteret, se, si copia daretur cum imperatore colloquendi persuasuram quatenus Imperator abjectis armis, comisque recisis monasterio sese conferret " — Astron. Vit. Ludov. A.D. 829.

that Lothair would not listen to the advice of his more desperate followers to renew the war.¹ He yielded to the gentle influence of his father, and abandoned, with but little scruple, his own adherents and those of his brothers. The Emperor and his son appeared in public as entirely reconciled. Sentence of capital condemnation was passed on all who had taken part in the proceedings at Compiègne. Jesse, Hilduin, Wala, Matfrid and the rest were in custody; and it was the clemency of the Emperor rather than the interposition of Lothair in favor of his partisans which prorogued their punishment till the meeting of another Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, summoned for the 2d of February. Louis returned in triumph to pass the winter in that capital. His first act was to release his wife from her monastic prison. She returned from Aquitaine, but the scrupulous Emperor hesitated to restore her to her conjugal rights while the impeachment remained upon her honor, perhaps likewise on account of the vows which she had been compelled to take. On the solemn day of the purification of the Virgin, Judith appeared (no one answering the citation to accuse the Empress of adultery or witchery) to assert her own purity. The loyal assembly at once declared that no accuser appeared against her; an oath was tendered, and without further inquiry her own word was held sufficient to establish her spotless virtue. The gentle Louis seized the opportunity of mercy to commute the capital punishment of all the conspirators against his authority.²

¹ Funck, I think, does not make out his case of the craft of Louis: he seems to have followed rather than guided events.

² Hilduin had appeared with a great armed retinue of the vassals of the abbeys of St. Denys, St. Germain de Prés, and St. Médard. — Funck, p. 111. Jesse of Amiens was deposed by a council of bishops, headed by

His monkish biographer rebukes his too great lenity.¹ The sons of Louis, humiliated, constrained to assent to the condemnation of their partisans, withdrew, each to his separate kingdom — Pepin to Aquitaine, Louis to Bavaria, Lothair to Italy. Duke Bern- A.D. 821. hard presented himself at the court at Thionville in the course of the autumn; he averred his innocence; according to the custom, defied his accusers to come forward and prove their charge in arms. The wager of battle was not accepted, and Duke Bernhard was admitted to purge himself by oath.

Hardly more than a year elapsed, and the three sons were again in arms against their father. Louis seems now to have alienated the able Duke Bernhard, and to have surrendered himself to the undisputed rule of Gombard, a monk of St. Médard in Soissons.

The whole Empire is now divided into two hostile parties: on each side are dukes and counts, bishops and abbots. The Northern Germans espouse the cause of the Emperor; the Gaulish Franks and some of the Southern Germans obey the Kings of Aquitaine and Bavaria. Among the clergy, another element of jealousy and disunion was growing to a great height. Even under the Merovingian kings, it has been seen, the nobles had endeavored to engross the great ecclesiastical dignities. Under the Carlovingians, men of the highest rank, of the noblest descent, even the younger

Ebbo of Rheims; Hilduin imprisoned at Corbey; Wala in a castle on the lake of Geneva.

¹ Astronomus, in Vit. xlv. According to Boehmer (*Regesta*), Lothair and Louis were present at this diet. At this diet too appeared envoys from the Danes to implore the continuance of peace: from the Slavians, and the Caliph of Bagdad, with splendid presents. The Empire appeared still in its strength at a distance.

or illegitimate branches of the royal family, had become Churchmen ; but the higher these dignitaries became, and more and more on a level with the military feudatories, the more the Nobles began to consider the ecclesiastical benefices their aristocratical inheritance and patrimony. They were indignant when men of lower or of servile birth presumed to aspire to these high places, which raised them at once to a level with the most high-born and powerful. They almost aimed at making a separate caste, to whom should belong, of right, all the larger ecclesiastical as well as temporal fiefs. But abilities, piety, learning, in some instances no doubt less lofty qualifications, would at times force their way to the highest dignities. Louis, whether from policy or from a more wise and Christian appreciation of the clerical function in the Church, was considered to favor this humbler class of ecclesiastics. One of his biographers, Thegan, himself an ecclesiastical dignitary of noble birth, thus contemptuously describes the low-

Low-born clergy. born clergy : — “ It was the great weakness of Louis that he did not prevent that worst of usages by which the basest slaves obtained the highest dignities of the Church. He followed the fatal example of Jeroboam, ‘ who made of the lowest of the people priests of the high places. . . . And this thing became sin unto the house of Jeroboam, even to cut it off and to destroy it from the face of the earth.’ No sooner have such men attained elevation than they throw off their meekness and humility, give loose to their passions, become quarrelsome, evil-speaking, ruling men’s minds by alternate menaces and flatteries. Their first object is to raise their families from their servile condition : to some they give a good education,

others they contrive to marry into noble families. No one can lead a quiet life who resents their demands and intrigues. Their relatives, thus advanced, treat the older nobles with disdain, and behave with the utmost pride and insolence. The apostolic canon is obsolete, that, if a bishop has poor relations, they should receive alms like the rest of the poor, and nothing more." Thegan devoutly wishes that God would put an end to this execrable usage.¹ In all this there may have been truth, but truth spoken in bitterness by the wounded pride of caste. These ecclesiastics were probably the best and the worst of the clergy. There were those who rose by the virtues of saints, by that austere and gentle piety, by that winning evangelic charity, united with distinguished abilities, which is sure of sympathy and admiration in the darkest times: and those who rose by the vices of slaves, selfishness, cunning, adulation, intrigue, by the worldly abilities which in such times so easily assume the mask of religion. Now, however, all the higher clergy, of gentle or low birth, seem to have joined the confederates against the Emperor. Ebbo of Rheims, Agobard of Lyons, Barnard of Vienne, Heribald of Auxerre, Hilduin of Beauvais, are united with Jesse of Amiens and the indefatigable Wala. Afterwards appear also, with Lothair at Compiègne, Bartholomew of Narbonne, Otgar of Mentz, Elias of Troyes, Joseph of Evreux.

At length — after many vicissitudes, hostilities, negotiations, in which Louis, under the absolute control of the ambitious Judith, seemed determined to depress

¹ "Jamdudum illa pessima consuetudo erat, ut ex villissimis servis fiant summi Pontifices . . . et ideo omnipotens Deus cum regibus et principibus hanc pessimam consuetudinem amodo et deinceps eradicare et suffocare dignetur, ut amplius non fiat in populo Christiano. Amen!"

his elder sons to advance the young Charles (he had now named him King of Aquitaine) — the armies of the Emperor and of his rebellious sons (all three sons were now in arms) stood in array against each other on the plains of Rothfeld in Alsace, at no great distance from Strasburg. The Pope was announced as in the camp of the King of Italy. This Pope was Gregory IV., by birth a Roman. Eugenius had been succeeded by Valentinus, who died five weeks after his accession. Gregory IV. had then ascended the papal throne, with the sanction of the King of Italy, Lothair.¹ The Pope may have placed himself in this unseemly position, supporting rebellious sons against the authority of their father, either from the desire of courting the favor of Lothair, who was all-powerful in Italy; or, it may be hoped, with the more becoming purpose of interposing his mediation, and putting an end to this unnatural conflict.

But the Emperor Louis and the clergy of his party beheld in Gregory an avowed enemy. He addressed a strong letter to the Frankish hierarchy assembled at Worms. Gregory's answer was in the haughty tone of later times: it was suggested by Wala,² now again in the camp of the foes of Louis.

¹ "Non prius ordinatus est, quam legatus Imperatoris Romani venit et electionem populi qualis esset examinavit." — Eginhard, p. 390.

² "Unde ei dedimus (Wala, &c.) nonnulla SS. Patrum auctoritate formata prædecessorumque suorum conscripta, quibus nullus contradicere possit, quod ejus esset potestas, imo Dei et B. Petri apostoli, suæque auctoritas ire, mittere ad omnes gentes pro fide Christi, et pace ecclesiarum, pro prædicatione evangelii et assertionem veritatis, et in eo esset omnis auctoritas B. Petri excellens et potestas viva, a quo oporteret universos judicari ita ut ipse a nemine judicandus esset." — Vit. Wala, xvi. It is curious to find the Pope, no humble Pope, needing this prompting from a Frankish monk, a higher High Churchman than the Pope. Yet I see nothing here of the false Decretals.

But the enmity of the Pope was not so dangerous as what he called his friendly mediation. He appeared suddenly in the camp of Louis. The clergy, Fulco the chief chaplain, and the bishops, had the boldness to declare that, if he came to threaten them and their Imperial master with excommunication, they would in their turn excommunicate him, and send him back to Italy.¹ There were even threats that they would depose him. Even the meek Emperor received the Pope with cold courtesy, and without the usual honors. He had summoned him indeed, but rather as a vassal than as a mediator. The Pope passed several days in the Imperial camp. Other influences were likewise at work. Unaccountably, imperceptibly, the army of Louis melted away like a heap of snow. The *June 20*. nobles, the ecclesiastics, the troops, gradually fell off and joined his sons. Louis found himself encircled only by a few faithful followers.² "Go ye also to my sons," said the gentle Louis; "no one shall lose life or limb in my behalf."³ Weeping they left him. Ever after this ignominious place was named Lügenfeld, the field of falsehood.⁴

The Emperor, Judith his Queen, and their young son Charles, were now the prisoners of Lothair. The Emperor was at first treated with some marks of respect. Judith was sent into Italy, and imprisoned in

¹ "Sed si excommunicans advenerit, excommunicatus abiret, cum aliter se habere antiquorum auctoritas canonum." — Thegan.

² Of these were four bishops, his brother Drogo of Metz, Modoin of Autun, Wilerich of Bremen, Aldric of Mons.

³ "Ite ad filios meos, nolo ut ullus propter me vitam aut membra dimittat. Illi infusi lacrymis recedebant ab eo." — Thegan, c. xlii.

⁴ "Qui ab eo quod ibi gestum est perpetua est ignominia notatus ut vocetur campus mentitus." — Astronom. Vit. Thegan calls it "campus mendacii."

the fortress of Tortona. The boy was conveyed to the abbey of Prüm: probably on account of his youth he escaped the tonsure. The sons divided the Empire; the Pope, it is said, in great sorrow returned to Rome.¹

Lothair was a man of cruelty, but he either feared or scrupled to take the life of his father. Yet he and his noble and episcopal partisans could not but dread another reaction in favor of the gentle Emperor. A Diet was held at Compiègne. They determined to incapacitate him by civil and ecclesiastical degradation for the resumption of his royal office. They compelled
Oct 833. him to perform public penance in the church of St. Médard, at Soissons. There the Emperor, the father of three kings, before the shrine which contained the relics of St. Médard, and of St. Sebastian the Martyr, laid down upon the altar his armor and his imperial attire, put on a dark mourning robe, and read the long enforced confession of his crimes. Eight weary articles were repeated by his own lips. I. He confessed himself guilty of sacrilege and homicide, as having broken the solemn oath made on a former occasion before the clergy and the people; guilty of the blood of his kinsmen, especially of Prince Bernhard (whose punishment, extorted by the nobles, had been mitigated by Louis). II. He confessed himself guilty
Penance of of perjury, not only by the violation of his
Louis. own oaths, but by compelling others to forswear themselves through his frequent changes in the partition of the Empire. III. He confessed himself guilty of a sin against God, by having made a military expedition during Lent, and having held a Diet on a high festival. IV. He confessed himself guilty of

¹ "Cum maximo mœrore." — Astronom. Vit.

severe judgments against the partisans of his sons — whose lives he had spared by his merciful intervention ! V. He confessed himself again guilty of encouraging perjury, by permitting especially the Empress Judith to clear herself by an oath. VI. He confessed himself guilty of all the slaughter, pillage, and sacrilege committed during the civil wars. VII. He confessed himself guilty of having excited those wars by his arbitrary partitions of the Empire. VIII. And lastly, of having, by his general incapacity, brought the Empire, of which he was the guardian, to a state of total ruin. Having rehearsed this humiliating lesson, the Emperor laid the parchment on the altar, was stripped of his military belt, which was likewise placed there ; and having put off his worldly dress, and assumed the garb of a penitent, was esteemed from that time incapacitated from all civil acts.

The most memorable part of this memorable transaction is, that it was arranged, conducted, *ac-* The clergy. *com-*plished in the presence and under the authority of the clergy. The permission of Lothair is slightly intimated ; but the act was avowedly intended to display the strength of the ecclesiastical power, the punishment justly incurred by those who are disobedient to sacerdotal admonition.¹ Thus the hierarchy assumed cognizance not over the religious delinquencies alone, but over the civil misconduct of the sovereign. They imposed an ecclesiastical penance, not solely for his asserted violation of his oaths before the altar, but for the ruin of the Empire. It is strange to see the pious sov-

¹ "Manifestare juxta injunctum nobis ministerium curavimus, qualis sit vigor et potestas sive ministerium sacerdotale, et quali mereatur damnari sententiâ, qui monitis sacerdotalibus obedire noluerit." — *Acta Exautorationis Ludov. Pii*, apud Bouquet, v. p. 243.

ereign, the one devout and saintly of his race, thus degraded by these haughty Churchmen, now, both high-born and low-born, concurring against him. The Pope had ostensibly, perhaps sincerely, hoped to reconcile the conflicting parties. His mission may have been designed as one of peace, but the inevitable consequence of his appearance in the rebellious camp could not but be to the disadvantage of Louis. He seemed at least to befriend the son in his unnatural warfare against his father. Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, issued a fierce apology for the rebellious sons of Louis, filled with accusations of incontinence against the Empress Judith.¹ Her beauty and the graces of her manner had even seduced the admiration of holy priests and bishops towards this Delilah, who had dared to resume her royal dignity and conjugal rights after having taken the veil: to her he attributes all the weaknesses of the too easy monarch. In the words of the aristocratic Thegan, all the bishops were the enemies of Louis, especially those whom he had raised from a servile condition, or who were sprung from barbarous races. But there was one on whom Thegan pours out all his indignation. One was chosen, an impure and most inhuman man, to execute their cruel decrees, a man of servile origin, Ebbo, the Archbishop of Rheims. "Unheard-of words! Unheard-of deeds! They took the sword from his thigh; by the judgment of his servants he was clad in sackcloth; the prophecy of Jeremiah was fulfilled -- 'Slaves have ruled over us.'² Oh, what a return for his goodness! He made thee free, noble he

¹ "Domina Palatii . . . ludat pueriliter, spectantibus etiam aliquibus de ordine sacerdotali et plerisque conludentibus, qui secundum formam quam apostolus scribat de eligendis episcopis . . ."

² Lamentat. v. 8.

could not, for that an enfranchised slave cannot be. He clothed thee in purple and in pall, thou clothedst him in sackcloth; he raised thee to the highest bishopric, thou by unjust judgment hast expelled him from the throne of his ancestors. O Lord Jesus! where was thy destroying angel when these things were done?" Thegan goes on to quote Virgil, and says that the poet would want the combined powers of Homer, Virgil, and Ovid to describe the guilt of these deeds. The miseries of Louis were greater than those of Job himself. The comforters of Job were kings, those of Louis slaves.¹

It is astonishing to find that this was the same Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, who undertook a perilous mission to the heathen Northmen, brought the Danish King to the court of Louis to receive baptism, and is celebrated by the monkish poet of the day in the most glowing strains for his saintly virtues.²

This strange and sudden revolution, which had left the Emperor at the mercy of his son, was followed by another no less sudden and strange. No doubt the pride of many warlike nobles was insulted by this display of ecclesiastical presumption. The degradation of the Emperor was the degradation of the Empire. The character of Louis, however, could not but command the fond attachment of many. The people felt the profoundest sympathy in his fate; and even among the clergy there were those who could not but think these

¹ "Qui beato Job insultabant Reges fuisse leguntur in libro beati Thobie; qui illum vero affligebant, legales ejus servi erant, et patrum suorum." — Thegan. Vit. Ludov. xlv.

² Ermoldi Nigelli, Carm. iv. Ermoldus makes Louis deliver a charge to Ebbo, when setting out to convert the Normans. Munter, Geschichte der Einführung des Christenthums in Dänemark und Norwegen, has collected the passages about Ebbo's mission. — Page 238 *et seq.*

insults an ungracious and unchristian return for his piety to God, his tenderness to man, his respect for the ecclesiastical order.¹ A revulsion took place in the whole nation. The other sons of the Emperor, Pepin and Louis, had taken no part in this humiliation of their father, and expressed their strong commiseration of his sufferings, their reprobation of the cruelty and insult heaped upon him. The murmurs of the people were too loud to be mistaken. Leaving his father at St. Denys, Lothair fled to Burgundy. No sooner had he retired than the whole Empire seemed to assemble, in loyal emulation, around the injured Louis.

But Louis would not resume his power, and his arms, the symbol of his power, but with the consent of the Bishops. His subjects' reviving loyalty could not remove the ecclesiastical incapacitation. But bishops were not wanting among those who thronged to renew their allegiance.² Louis was solemnly regirt with his

A.D. 834.
March 1. arms by the hands of some of these prelates,

and, amid the universal joy of the people, the Pious resumed the Empire. So great was the burst of feeling, that, in the language of his biographer, the very elements seemed to sympathize in the deliverance of the Emperor from his unnatural son. The weather, which had been wet and tempestuous, became clear and serene. Once more the Empress Judith returned to court;³ and Louis might again enjoy his quiet hunting

¹ "Nithard says, "*Plebe autem non modica, quæ præsens erat, etiamque Lothario pro patre vim inferre volebat.*" — Apud Bouquet, p. 18. The Astronomer says on one occasion, "*Miseratio tamen hujusce rei et talis rerum permutationis, exceptis authoribus, omnes habebat.*" — c. 39.

² Among these, Otgar of Mentz, who had been present at his penance in Soissons.

³ The empress was brought from Tortona by officious nobles, eager to merit the gratitude of the restored emperor.

and fishing, and his ascetic usages, in the forest of Ardennes. Yet it was not a bloodless revolution. The armies of Louis and Lothair encountered Aug. 834. near Châlons. That unfortunate town was burned by the victorious Lothair, whose savage ferocity did not spare even females. Not content with the massacre of a son of Duke Bernhard in cold blood, his sister was dragged from her convent, shut up in a wine-cask, and thrown into the Saone.¹

But the year after a pestilence made such ravages in the army of Lothair, that he was obliged to A.D. 835. return into Italy. Before long he had to deplore the death of almost all his great Transalpine partisans, Wala, Count Hugo, Matfrid, Jesse of Amiens. During this time a Diet at Thionville had annulled the proceedings of that at Compiègne. In a sol- Feb. 28. emn assembly at Metz, eight archbishops² and thirty-five bishops condemned the acts of themselves and their rebellious brethren at that assembly. In the cathedral of Metz, seven archbishops chanted the seven prayers of reconciliation, and the Emperor was then held to be absolutely reinvested in his civil and religious supremacy. At a later Diet at Cremieux, near Lyons, Ebbo of Rheims (the chief chaplain, Fulco, the faithful adherent of Louis, who had defied the June, 835. Pope in his cause, aspired to the metropolitan see) submitted to deposition.³ He was imprisoned in the abbey of Fulda. Yet Rome must be consulted before the degradation is complete, at all events before the succes-

¹ "More maleficorum," says Nithard. No doubt the punishment of a witch. — Apud Bouquet, p. 13.

² Mentz, Treves, Rouen, Tours, Sens, Bourges, Arles, even Ebbo of Rheims.

³ Funck, p. 153, with authorities.

sor is consecrated. Agobard of Lyons was condemned. The Archbishop of Vienne appeared not; he incurred sentence of deposition for his contumacy. The Archbishop of Narbonne, and other bishops, were deposed. A new division of the Empire took place at a later diet at Worms, in which Lothair received only Italy: the Transalpine dominions were divided between the three other sons, Pepin, Louis, and Charles; the Empress Judith secured the first step to equality in favor of her son.¹

The few remaining years of the life of Louis were still distracted by the unallayed feuds in his family. A

visit of devotion to Rome was prevented by a
May, A.D. 887. descent of the Normans, who had long ravaged the coasts of France. A new partition was made at Nimeguen; Charles was solemnly crowned. The

Empress Judith contrived to bring about a
June, 888. reconciliation between Lothair and his father,
Sept. 888. to the advantage of her own son Charles,² and a division of interests between Lothair and his brothers, Louis of Bavaria and Pepin of Aquitaine. Pepin,

King of Aquitaine, died, and the claims of his
Dec. 12, 888. children to the succession were disregarded.
May 20, 889.

Judith knit still closer the alliance of the Emperor and the elder son. Yet one more partition. With the exception of Bavaria, with which Louis was obliged to be content, the Empire was divided between Lothair and the son of Judith.

The death of Louis was in harmony with his life. In a state of great weakness (an eclipse of the sun had thrown him into serious alarm, and from that day he

¹ *Carta Divisionis*, Bouquet, vi. 411; compare Funck 158, 9.

² *Astronomus*, l. iii. Nithard, p. 14, lib. i.

began to fail¹), he persisted in strictly observ-
 ing the forty days of Lent; the Eucharist was ^{May 5,}
 his only food. Almost his last words were expressive ^{A.D. 839.}
 of forgiveness to his son Louis, who was in arms against
 him,² and "bringing down his gray hairs in sorrow to
 the grave." He continued, while he had strength, to
 hold the crucifix, which contained a splinter of the
 true cross, to his breast; when his strength failed, he
 left that office to Drogo, Bishop of Metz, his natural
 brother, who, with the Archbishops of Treves and
 Mentz, attended his dying hours. His last words were
 the German, *aus, aus*. His attendants supposed that
 he was bidding an evil spirit, of whose pres-
 ence he was conscious, *avaunt*. He then ^{June 20,}
 lifted up his eyes to heaven, and, with serenity ap-
 proaching to a smile, expired.³ ^{A.D. 840.}

Christian history has dwelt at some length on the
 life of this monarch. His appellation, the Pious, shows
 what the religion was which was held in especial honor
 in his day, its strength and its weakness, its virtue, and
 what in a monarch can hardly escape the name of vice.
 It displays the firmer establishment of a powerful and
 aristocratic clergy, not merely in that part of Europe
 which became the French monarchy, but also in great
 part of trans-Rhenane Germany; the manner in which
 they attained and began to exercise that power; the
 foundation, in short, of great national Churches, in
 acknowledged subordination, if not always in rigid

¹ *Annales Francorum, Fuldenses, Bertiniani*, 81b ann.

² Louis of Bavaria had not rushed into war without provocation. The Emperor had at least sanctioned the last partition, which left him a narrow kingdom, while Lothair and his younger brother shared the realm of Charlemagne.

³ Louis died on an island of the Rhine, opposite to Ingelheim.

obedience, to the See of Rome, but also mingling, at times with overruling weight, in all the temporal affairs of each kingdom.

But throughout the reign of Louis the Pious, not only did the Empire assert this supremacy in ecclesiastical as in temporal affairs; Teutonic independence maintained its ground, more perhaps than its ground, on the great question of image-worship.

Image-worship in the West.
A.D. 824. The Council of Paris enforced the solemn decree of the Council of Frankfort. The Iconoclastic Byzantine Emperor, Michael the Stammerer, entered into negotiations with the Western Emperor, of which the manifest object was to compel the Pope at least to amity, and to recede from the decrees of the second Council of Nicea asserted by his predecessors. The ambassadors of Constantinople appeared in Rome, accompanied by ambassadors from Louis. The Pope Eugenius, who owed his Popedom to the Franks, who sat on his throne only through their support, was in great embarrassment; he was obliged to elude what he

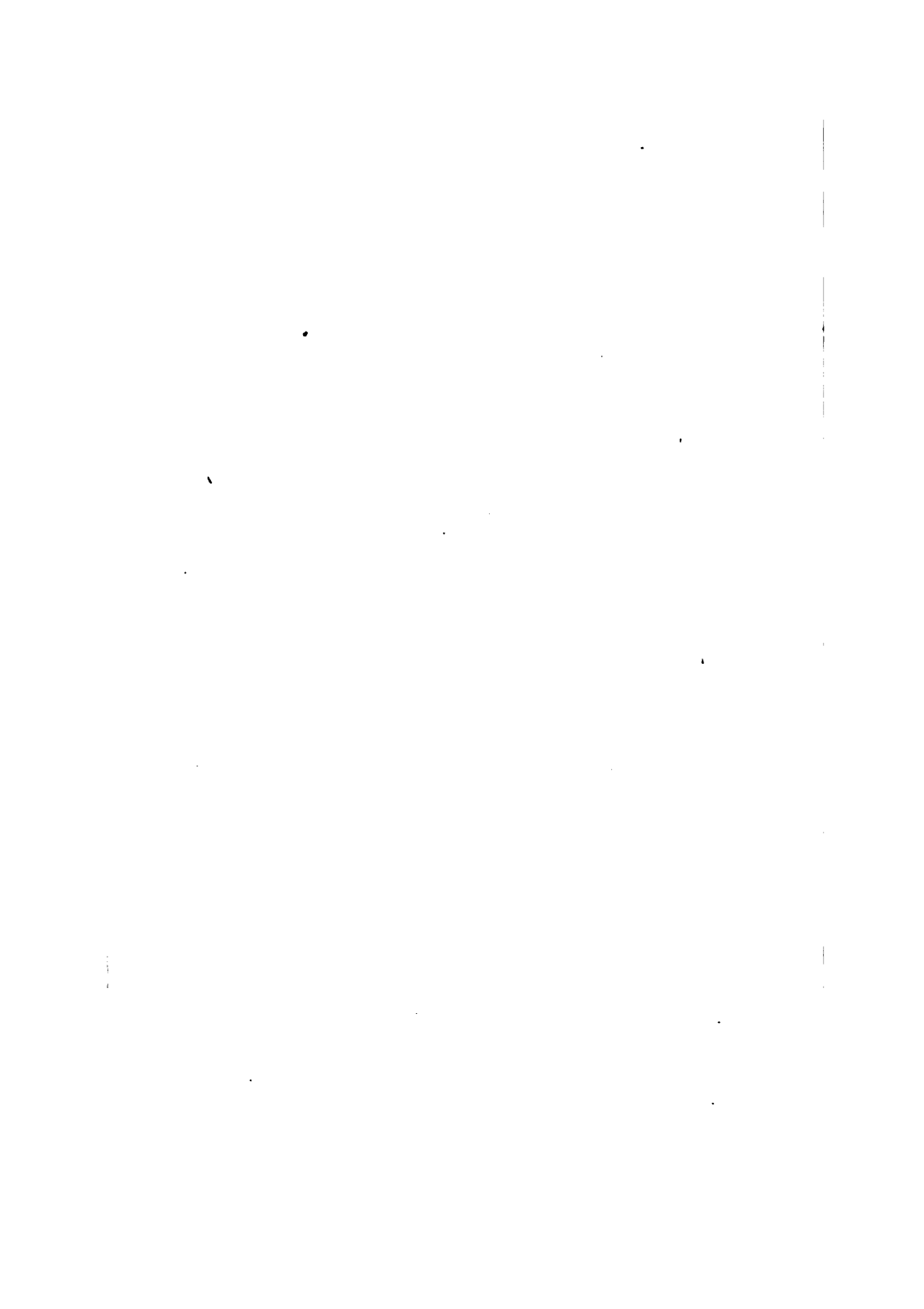
Claudius of Turin. dared not oppose. At no other time could a bishop like Claudius of Turin have acted the fearless Iconoclast in an Italian city, removed all images and pictures, condemned even the cross, and lived and died, if not unassailed by angry controversialists, yet unrebuked by any commanding authority, undegraded, and in the full honors of a Bishop. Claudius was a Spaniard who acquired fame as a commentator on the scriptures in the court of Louis at Aquitaine. Among the first acts of Louis as Emperor was the promotion of Claudius to the bishopric of Turin. The stern reformer at once began to wage war on what he deemed the superstitions of the people. Claudius went

much further than the temperate decrees of the Council of Frankfort. Images were to him idols; the worship of the cross godlessness. Turin was overawed by his vigorous authority. A strong party, not the most numerous, espoused his cause. He was not unopposed. The Abbot Theodemir, of a monastery near Nismes; Dungal, a Scot, a learned theologian of Pavia; Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, denounced his doctrines. But Theodemir ingenuously confesses that most of the great Transalpine prelates thought with Claudius.¹ Agobard of Lyons published a famous treatise, if not in defence of Claudius, maintaining in their utmost strength the decrees of Frankfort.

But it was not on image-worship alone that Claudius of Turin advanced opinions premature and anticipative of later times. The apostolic office of St. Peter ceased with the life of St. Peter. The power of the keys passed to the whole episcopal order. The Bishop of Rome had apostolic power only in so far as he led an apostolic life.

It is difficult to suppose but that some tradition or succession to the opinions of Claudius of Turin lay concealed in the valleys of the Piedmontese Alps, to appear again after many centuries.

¹ Gfröner, iii. p. 726





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